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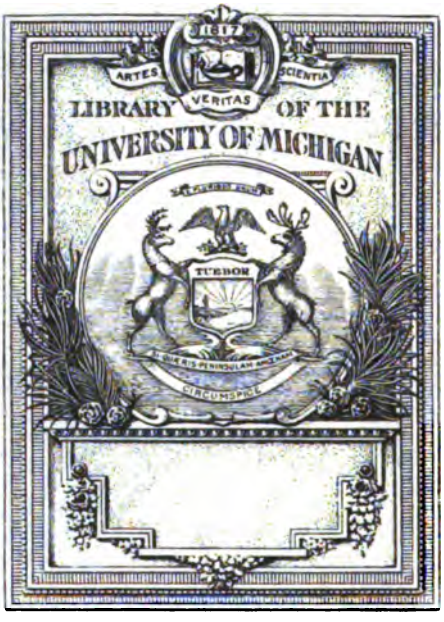
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METHODIST REVIEW.

(BIMONTHLY.)

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DANIEL CURRY, LL.D., EDITOR.

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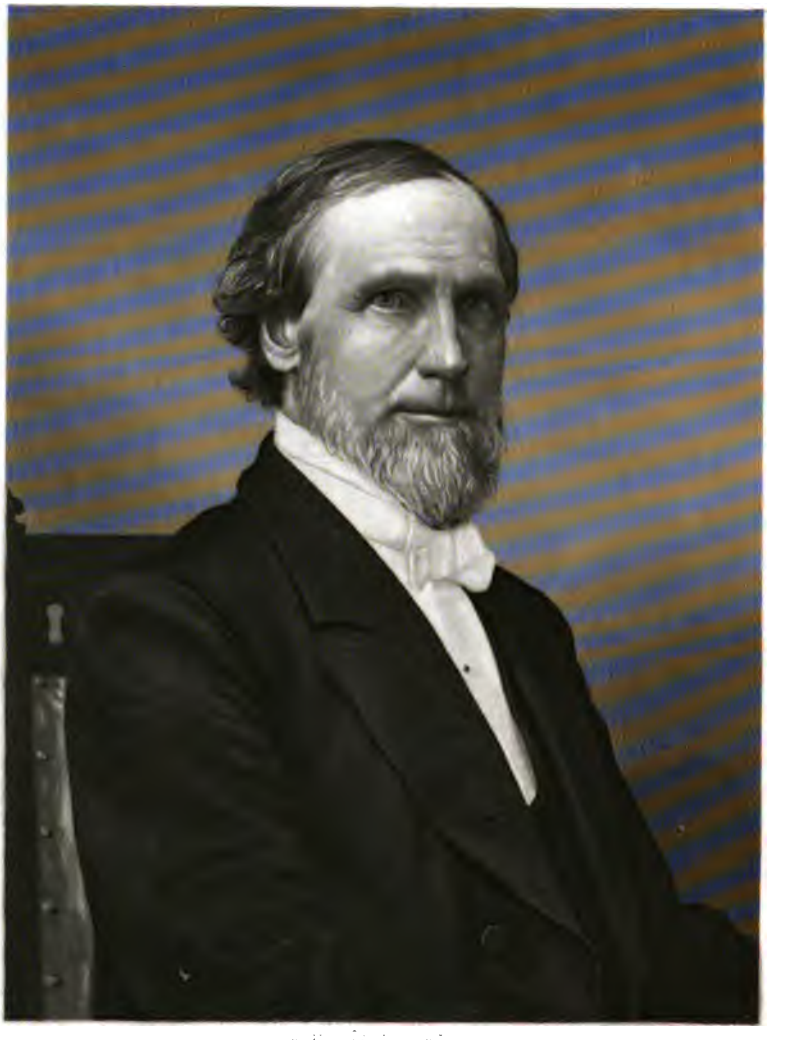

REV. I. W. WILEY, D. D., LL. D.

One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church

METHODI

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IN a hundred years the Me
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but he never could remember the time when he did not love
God and his people and all his works. At fourteen he was in
the academy preparing for college, "with settled convictions
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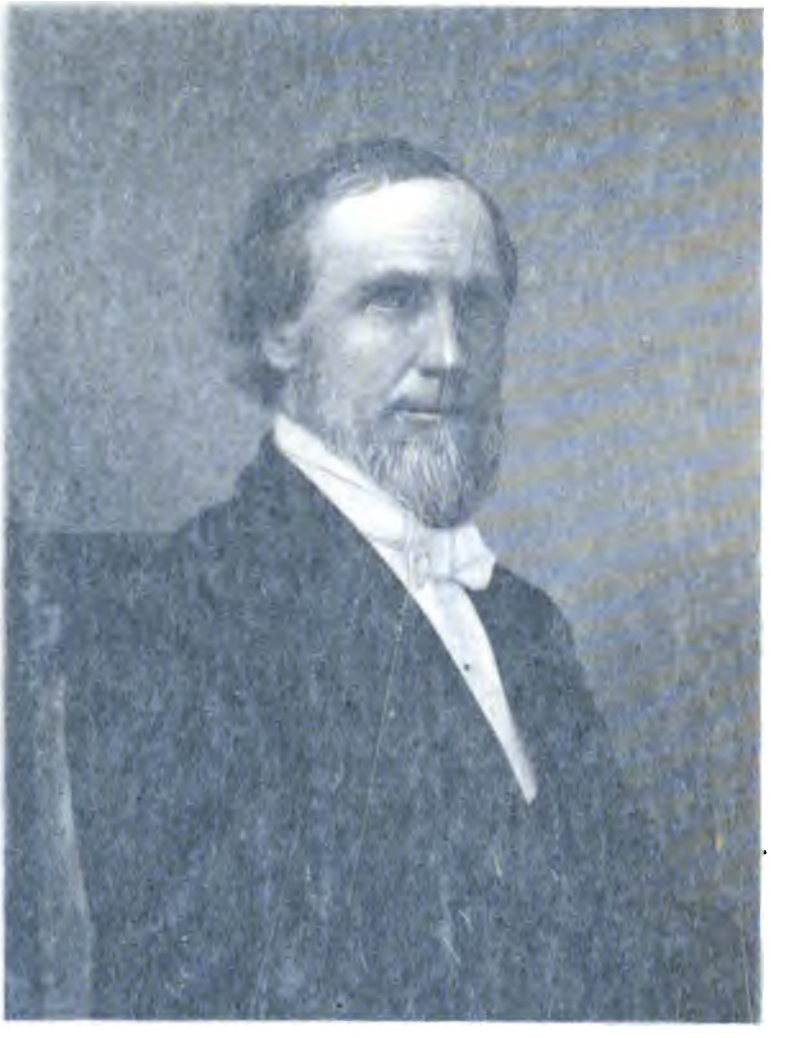

METHODIST REVIEW.

JANUARY, 1886.

ART. I.—BISHOP WILEY.

IN a hundred years the Methodist Episcopal Church has had forty Bishops (including the Missionary Bishops for Africa), of whom twenty-seven are now deceased. Number twenty-seven on the roll, in order of election, and the same on the mortality list, is Isaac W. Wiley, M.D., D.D., LL.D., who was chosen to the episcopal office in 1872 and died in 1884.

The Church now sees how felicitous, almost to a point implying prescience, was the supervision which arranged that the General Conference in Philadelphia last year should be closed by the two Bishops who were to die within six months—by Simpson's wise and loving valedictory and Wiley's solemn and tender prayer, each being a last utterance in the hearing of any American Conference.

ISAAC WILLIAM WILEY, son of a grain merchant, was born from three generations of American ancestry, at Lewistown, Pennsylvania, beside the Juniata and in the shadow of the Alleghanies, March 29, 1825. He was led to the "mourner's bench" by his saintly Sunday-school teacher when ten years old, but he never could remember the time when he did not love God and his people and all his works. At fourteen he was in the academy preparing for college, "with settled convictions for the ministry;" at sixteen, assistant class-leader; at seventeen, exhorter; at eighteen, local preacher. A memorable revival sweeping through the region took the boy-preacher out of school to go about praying and exhorting with flaming enthusiasm day and night for months. Zeal untempered by discre-

tion carried him to such excesses that when the wonderful meetings ended, in the spring of 1843, his throat was about ruined. Six months of mild weather and vocal rest failed to restore his voice, and his career as a preacher was regarded as closed, if indeed health were not injured beyond repair. The next winter, while teaching a country school with difficulty, he meditated what he should do. In the spring of 1844, the ministry seeming impossible, he began studying medicine, and shortly entered on a two years' course in the medical department of the University of New York. While there his throat recovered its tone, so that when he had his medical preparation he also had his voice, the loss of which had driven him to medicine, and the question of his life-work, supposed settled, was again a problem. To preach or practice, cure of bodies or of souls, which? Advice urged both ways. Sturdy Jacob Gruber fairly commanded him to preach. But the young man's affections were involved—he was on the point of wedding Miss Frances J. Martin, a devout young lady of Mifflin, and married preachers could not hope for admission to Conference. Good Father Gruber wanted to cut at once the Gordian knot and the wedding knot, now as good as tied, saying, "Give up marriage and medicine for the itinerant's saddle and circuit!" This was too much for the young man, perplexed at the uncertain purpose of Providence, which turned him to medicine and then embarrassed his way; so in the autumn of 1846 he married and settled to medical practice in Western Pennsylvania. A winter's work with little pay and no satisfaction put him into profound trouble of mind as to duty. The ministry urging its claims afresh by lips of pastor and presiding elder, he allowed his name to go next spring to the Pittsburg Conference, only to be rejected with the answer, "No room for married men." Clearly the door to the ministry was shut in his face. Duty must lie the other way. He must cease to divide his thoughts by preaching, wean himself from the love of it, and give his mind wholly to his appointed profession. His heart's earliest and dearest hope he must bury without a funeral.

Seeking a more promising field for practice in the eastern part of the State, he would go to it purely as a physician, leaving his local preacher's license forever behind, which decision

he announced to his pastor. But Providence easily overturns unapproved plans, and Dr. Wiley had hardly reached his chosen field at Pottsville when Rev. J. B. Hagany, then minister at that place, met him with the information that he had received from Wiley's late pastor his certificate as a member and also local preacher; and the young doctor, who had decided that he was done with the pulpit, actually received his first introduction to the community he had just entered by preaching the next Sunday evening, by urgent request of the pastor, in the Methodist church. Three years he practiced medicine in Pottsville and Port Carbon, a successful but unhappy man. Skillful in his work and inspiring confidence, he won his way to general recognition. A feeling grew in the neighborhood that he was destined to eminence as a doctor, the only obstacle being that his reputation in medicine was in danger of eclipse from his more rapidly spreading popularity as a preacher, for he could not keep out of the pulpit. His mind went more to theology than to therapeutics. He was happy every hour when he could put off the doctor and put on the minister. Within him the will of God was prospering, the primal passion of his soul kindling apace, and, without, faithful voices kept saying to young *medicus*, on his extending rounds, "You have missed your calling, and are out of place!" Once more the pressure of swelling conviction burst his set plans asunder, and in the spring of 1850 his name went up for conditional presentation to the Philadelphia Conference. There was no room. At this juncture the unexpected came to pass. Dr. Durbin, fresh in the missionary office, was foraging for men for the mission field, and pounced on Wiley's name as it lay in the presiding elder's hand. "China wants a medical missionary," he said; "give me this man."

Shortly a message from the missionary secretary exploded like a hand-grenade in the presumptively settled order of the Port Carbon doctor's life, breaking to view unlooked-for possibilities. Awe-struck, as at the sound of God's voice, the young husband and wife knelt by the cradle in their little home and said, "Amen! The will of the Lord be done!"

And now it was apparent why for seven years Providence had held him in uncertainty between medicine and the ministry, unable to escape either, notwithstanding attempts to withdraw

from first the one and then the other. Foochow was to need a missionary physician, and sixteen thousand miles away, on the banks of the Schuylkill, the local-preacher-doctor was preparing unawares, baffled, distracted, vexed with vague unrest, and perplexed about his life until God's hour struck and the reason of things stood clear. Presently came Dr. Durbin to arrange the matter with them at their fireside, and Dr. Wiley engaged to be ready for China in a year. Closing up his practice during the summer, he spent the fall and winter in New York city pursuing special studies in medicine. Having been received, on request of the missionary office, into the Genesee Conference, he was transferred to the Philadelphia, where Bishop Janes ordained him deacon and elder in March, 1851. On the 15th of that month Dr. Wiley and his wife, with baby Adah, sailed for China.

They arrived at Hong-Kong, by way of the Cape of Good Hope, in ninety-six days, and reached Foochow July 9. Four months afterward affliction overtook them. Mrs. Wiley's health gave way in November, and their first winter was one of illness and anxiety. The next April the sick wife was told that, medical treatment having proved vain, her only hope of recovery lay in return to America; to which she answered that she would rather stay and die at Foochow than take her husband from the work in which his soul was absorbed. Shortly, however, disease abated and a good degree of health returned. No sooner had she rallied than Dr. Wiley began to fail rapidly. In September an attack of dysentery for six weeks threatened his life, and for ten days caused it to be entirely despaired of. When he had gone through all the mental part of dying, and most of the physical, favorable symptoms appeared, his life being saved by his wife's tender nursing and close attention from his associate, Dr. White, and Dr. Wilton of the English mission.

During the fall and winter they had their one brief season of quietness in China, with comparative comfort, and opportunity to work. Two native boys about fifteen years of age were taken into Dr. Wiley's family to be taught and trained. He toiled at the tough language, cared for the sick of our own and the American Board missions, and attended the public dispensary twice a week to treat all applicants, Chinese patients, numbering fifty a day, sometimes rising to two hundred. Besides, he had

charge of a school of thirty-two boys, with whom he daily prayed, sang, explained the Scriptures, and taught the Christian religion—all in Chinese. Of his fellow-missionaries in those days, none of whom exceeded him in effort, he speaks as "meeting grave difficulties and performing gigantic labors."

The spring was broken in upon by national disturbance and alarm, and the summer of 1853 was nothing less than dreadful to Dr. Wiley and his family. Woes and horrors combined to make it an *Inferno*. That strange movement, the Taiping rebellion, which kept China in commotion fourteen years until crushed in 1864 by Chinese Gordon and Li Hung Chang at the head of "The Ever-victorious Army," was then in the flush of its greatest triumph.

The Hakka school-master, Hung Sew-tseuen, a sort of semi-Christian El Mahdi, after brooding seventeen years over one of Dr. Morrison's Bible tracts, taking the title of "The Heavenly King," and forming societies of "God-worshipers" until his movement took a political turn and came into collision with government, had started on his northward march from Woosewen in the southern province of Kwang-Si in January, 1851. For over two years he was moving up through the provinces of Hoo-Nan and Hoo-Pe, and on March 19, 1853, took Nanking, the second metropolis of the empire, ending his promenade under the famous Porcelain Tower, which he razed to the ground where it had stood graceful and glittering for four hundred years. The news of this victory blew the spirit of insurrection into blaze wherever it went. Fierce hordes of pirates from the coast, robbers from the mountains, and a motley rabble from the interior rolled waves of destruction over prosperous regions, burning villages and butchering populations—peaceful people fleeing for their lives before the tide of blood and flame. One stream of the successful rebellion swept along down from Nanking between Foochow and the mountains on the west. On the south Amoy was captured by the rebels. Foochow itself was threatened by murder, pillage, and atrocities of every kind with which the insurgents were devastating the district of Saong-hu, a little north-west, in which direction the night-horizon was lit with a lurid aurora. Approaching along the river Min the rebellion brought its slaughter near enough to send scores of mangled bodies float-

ing daily down past Foochow. Dismay and consternation seized the populace. The city was put under martial law. Outside supplies being cut off, food became scarce. Banks closed. Stores and dwellings were looted by lawless mobs in search of money or provisions. Foreign residents were warned by the governor that they could have no protection from him, but must look out for themselves. Many fled. The Maclay and Colder families of our mission left Foochow, May 12, to find security under the British flag at Hong-Kong. Dr. Wiley with intrepid coolness and calm pertinacity determined to remain, although the mission itself had gone off to safe quarters. During that terrible summer and autumn he and his wife were the only missionaries of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Foochow. Their dwelling, in a lonely and exposed situation, was several times entered by robbers at night, and they were obliged to change to one of the vacant houses of the American Board, an abandoned and dilapidated building in which they suffered intense discomfort. Of those days he has written:

> It was a season of immense trial. The summer was fearfully hot, and the city constantly in a state of feverish alarm. A typhoon did vast damage along the coast, and was followed by flood in the city four feet deep in the streets. We were driven to the upper story of our flood-bound house and kept there for more than a week. After the water subsided we were surrounded by a pestilential deposit of the reeking filth of a Chinese city.

The health of Dr. and Mrs. Wiley failed steadily through the scorching and miserable months. A trip down the river in the latter part of July for a few days of purer air and relief from the foul, intolerable city, resulted disastrously. An appalling tempest of wind and rain broke over them at their anchorage. For nine boisterous and drenching days the perilous storm raged upon their little boat. The strain and exposure told severely upon them. When the gale abated, they returned to Foochow seriously worse. Most of August and September both were confined to their beds with debilitating, distressing, and dangerous disease. Under the enormous burden of prolonged misery Mrs. Wiley sank, and died on the third of November.

What a summer! War, tornado, flood, filth, tumult, terror,

heat like a furnace, loneliness, wasting sickness, death, burial, desolation! After Dante had written "The Inferno," and the Florentines had read it, they used to look at him with a kind of awe as he passed by, and speak of him under their breath as "The man who has seen hell." Dr. Wiley might have been so spoken of as that terrible year (1853) drew to its melancholy close and saw the poor tremulous, emaciated young missionary hovering piteously over his helpless babies, with pale face and broken heart, but with unflinching soul, for it was never so lonely but that God seemed to be there.

This tragic and pathetic story is rehearsed, not as mere history, but because the character of Bishop Wiley cannot be comprehended except from a knowledge of those early trials. Foochow was a furnace out of which the gold that came was purified of dross. Rare patience, courage, faith, unselfishness, and spiritual power, developed and perfected there, were ever after part of his endowment and resource. No severer test could ever be put upon him, and the Church was certified as to his quality. A sorely chastened, purified, and heroic though shattered man, holding two motherless children in his arms, was brought to the port of New York from China, in April, 1854, by the good ship *Houqua*. "That is home, my little girls," he said to Adah and Anna, as he lifted them above the bulwarks at first sight of the American coast.

Four years of quiet unsensational pastorates in Asbury Church, Staten Island; Halsey Street, Newark; and Trinity, Jersey City, during which his health gradually recovered from the disastrous experiences of China, were enough to make the New Jersey Conference aware that a man whose modest bearing did not conceal his uncommon powers had been tossed by Providence upon its territory; so that when Pennington Seminary was in such financial straits that Dr. Crane, then principal, refused to undertake another year, and the trustees, in dire perplexity looked about for some one of sufficient ability and courage for the well-nigh desperate task, their thoughts converged on the returned missionary, then thirty-three years old.

Dr. Wiley coolly took up the heavy load and saved the sinking institution, enlarged its scope, relieved its finances, more than doubled the attendance, and set it forward on a new career. But while doing it he was a subject for the

advice Sydney Smith gave Brougham, to content himself with doing three men's work. To eke out the support of his family, he added to his seminary burdens at different times the pastorate of Princeton and of State Street, Trenton. His success was complete, but cost him his health, and in July, 1863, he resigned the principalship into the hands of Rev. D. C. Knowles, and rented the "Brown House" on the west border of the campus for a nine-months' rest.

No part of his life gave him more satisfaction in retrospect than the Pennington years. Alone by themselves they were enough to satisfy a reasonable ambition. Hundreds of students received his powerful imprint, and ever after felt his influence, so that, when a quarter of a century had passed, and they were scattered up and down the world, their still subject and indebted minds "swayed to him from their orbits as they moved." There is to-day a multitude of his former pupils who have seen no nobler manhood, and who, in the unromantic sober sense of middle life, do not believe Carrara has any marble white enough for the carving of his pure name.

The General Conference of 1864 made him the successor of Davis W. Clark in the editorship of the "Ladies' Repository." For him once more a total shifting of scene and change of work; but in this, too, the versatile man with easy grace more than fulfilled the best expectations of Methodism. In difficult times he carried the Repository upon a high level, and after conducting it eight years he held such place in the confidence of the Church that he was promoted to its highest office, one of the nine men whom the Methodist Episcopal Church has taken directly from editorial chairs for its episcopacy; the presiding eldership having furnished eight; educational positions, seven; book agencies four; secretaryships, three; and the pastorate six. The remaining three are Coke, Asbury, and William Taylor.

He came to the episcopacy by virtue of his fitness and the spontaneous choice of the Church. Few Bishops have been before election so variously and critically tested. His capacity had been tested and his election was approved. No one could say that an ordinary man, without elevation of soul, had been lifted to a place above his level; or that a conniving place-seeker had clutched the prize he had been plotting for; or that he was a narrow man, lacking breadth of mind to match the

scope of so great an office, or rash and liable to ill-judged, imprudent, hasty action, or arbitrary and autocratic, or deficient in befitting dignity. If there were any question, it was among the uninformed whether in his placid mind and gentle spirit there could be the decision, firmness, and force requisite for large and difficult administration; but in him there was a rare combination of great force of character with the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which acted like the pneumatic door-spring, effectively doing its work, and without noise. He was a strong Bishop, filling the office roundly with symmetric completeness, not found wanting at any point. Familiar with the genius, intention, constitutional principles, precedential action and formulated laws of the Church, he was a competent and judicious administrator. His prudent lips uttered only sifted speech. His mind was so steadily balanced and deliberate, with no freaks or eccentricities, that it may be questioned whether any church officer in our century of organized ecclesiastical history has made fewer mistakes. There was no deficiency of originality and inventive power for devising solutions of difficulties, nor of determination and discretion to become, on needful occasions, a leader, exercising mild but dominant control. Confident of his conclusions, because careful in coming to them, his mind when made up was fixed, not in self-will but in reasons, yet always open to additional light.

As a presiding officer, he was conspicuous for ease, tact, expedition, and for guiding affairs smoothly and pleasantly. Extraordinary self-command helped him to keep control of the body he was presiding over, even in excited and turbulent sessions. Our recollections of Wiley in the chair remind us of what Grant says he saw in Lee, "a man of great dignity and impenetrable face." Conference secretaries say he was one of the most systematic of Bishops in the orderly forwarding of business. He kept work so well in hand that nothing was at loose ends where he presided.

Bishop Wiley was five feet and eight inches in height, slender, well-proportioned, weighing about one hundred and fifty pounds, with soft, light brown hair, mild blue eyes, regular features, forehead broad and high, full beard except mustache, pale face, grave and amiable expression; in manner simple and unassuming, composed and courteous. In physical

make he was much like Janes when elected, and Thomson and E. O. Haven; not at all with the massive form of Hedding, the burly figure of Ames, the square-built and sturdy frame of Kingsley, or the broad shoulders of Clark. Imperfect health kept him always slight, so that he never gained any of the roundness which filled out the person of Janes in the later years of his life.

Three things in him seemed unrelated to the uncertain and varying body—voice, will, and mental power. His mind was surprisingly independent of bodily conditions, and ill health did not perceptibly impair its action. His will-power and tenacity of purpose were often remarkable. Different in appearance, disposition, and bearing as the two men were, and likely as this statement is to be disputed, it is nevertheless true that Bishop Ames had no more strength of will than Bishop Wiley. It is noticeable that the voice which in his youth broke down completely did grand service ever after, equally in volume, tone, and moving power. His voice was a distinct part of his strongly accented individuality. There are few so smooth and firm, yet rich and resonant. At the ordination of Bishops Warren, Foss, Hurst, and E. O. Haven at Cincinnati in 1880, when the voices of all the board were put in contrast by taking part successively in the ceremony, it was remarked by several listeners that there was no more impressive tones than those of Bishop Wiley.

His greatness, however, was not of the tremendous or elephantine type. His mental organization showed smoothness, polish, lightness, and strength, like an engine of steel delicately molded yet of high power. In the movement of his faculties there was nothing ponderous or unwieldy. His life was a triumph of spirit. Always delicate, he yet did not permit himself to be distanced by the sound and healthy in the thorough and unflinching fulfillment of the arduous and onerous duties intrusted to him. A great book makes a good bishop say, "There is a bravery for the priest as well as for the colonel of dragoons." Our good Bishop's life was full of silent heroism; for large work which is meritorious when faithfully done by the strong, if done by the weak is brave and magnificent, and may have the lengthened splendor of a gradual martyrdom.

Thomas Ware objected to Coke that "his stature, complexion, and voice resembled those of a woman rather than of a man." Yet it was Coke who wrote, when friends protested with grave reasons against his going to India at the age of sixty-six to begin work as a missionary, "I had rather be set naked on the coast of Ceylon, without clothes and without a friend, than not go." No one can look at the cast of John Wesley's dead face at Drew Theological Seminary without being struck with the smallness and almost feminine delicacy of the features. Clearly bigness is not the measure, nor roughness the sign, of manhood. Brute force, bravado, pugnacity, and self-assertion obtain credit for strength not possessed. Leaving out Mr. Gladstone, if there has been in the present generation of Englishmen one absolute hero and natural-born king of men, his name was Charles George Gordon, and he was a man of delicate face, diffident manners, and gentle voice. The light-built Arabian courser has more action, fire, and endurance than the Percheron dray-horse. The slender Bishop who is the subject of this sketch had mettle, spirit, and "staying power," as well as a tamed and amiable temper and a gentleness almost feminine.

His oratory was a blending of elements of power, a spell woven of various charms. Without the least appearance of art, a deep wisdom and deft mastery deployed both thought and language. A New England college professor characterizes Bishop Wiley's preaching as "clever, adroit, with consummate skill in argument and a rare knack in putting his case." Greatest themes were presented in a plain and powerful way, and level to popular comprehension.

His sermons were usually a chain of reasoning, appealing little to the imagination. With a mind philosophic in temper, and incisive in action, he had also a gift for carrying home hard facts gathered from history, nature, and life, and sinking them in the understanding of his hearers. He wielded likewise a solemn and victorious power to overawe the conscience and move the moral nature.

One noticed in whatever Bishop Wiley said or wrote purity of taste and chaste elegance of style; no turgid, iridescent, and spangled rhetoric, but close thinking and hard finish, simplicity unadorned by play of fancy, scarce any picturing or

description, few anecdotes or illustrations, but logical coherence, and luminous and cumulative reasoning. Facility of thought and fluency of utterance made him valuable to the Church as a uniformly effective platform speaker. Dr. Buckley's editorial statement, that "As an extemporaneous speaker of the unexcited type, we have not heard his equal in the Church nor his superior in the legal profession," needs very little qualification or abatement. Familiar with all Church interests and appreciating living issues, he was always prepared to speak with impressive fitness and ability. Without time for special preparation he spoke sometimes on topics supposed to be new to him with apparent readiness, his information seeming ample, his mind as if a saturated solution of the subject, and his affluent resources immediately available. He had keen powers of observation, an assimilative and growing mind to which knowledge was nutriment and not incrustation, with a retentive and orderly memory. His thoughts were active on advanced lines of all questions concerning the Church.

Perhaps his most captivating and brilliant oratory was in the educational and editorial periods of his life, at Pennington and Cincinnati. The war-years found him in the prime of early manhood and set him on fire, till his whole being was like a full furnace with coals well stirred and drafts all on. Eloquent and mighty work he did in those years for Liberty and Union, and the life of the nation. In later life he was often worn, sometimes jaded, and his preaching, while always animated, strong, spiritual, and soul-nourishing, lacked the splendid fire and contagiousness of more vigorous and spirited years.

A gentler man has not been seen in Methodism. His courtesy was uniform—as marked to the dependent and lowly as to the highest in social or official position. The voice of the Cincinnati Book Concern is, that no man ever connected with it has held a warmer place in the esteem of its working force, the reason of which is not obscure. A friend going one day into his editorial office found him evidently ill and suffering. "Dr. Wiley," said he, "you should go home; you are not fit to be here." The quiet reply was, "Yes, I ought, but if I do [naming a type-setter] will lose a day's work, and I can afford to suffer better than he can afford to lose his time," and the sick

editor went on furnishing copy. No laborer, of whatever grade, was ever long associated with him without regarding him as a friend, so humane, considerate, and forbearing was he. One of his most devoted admirers was a hired man that lived with him for years, who habitually closed his frequent and fervent eulogies with, "Indade he's always the same foine gintleman to rich and poor."

His sensibility was more for others than for himself. Probably the most severe-sounding utterance ever known from him was at one of his early Conferences, when a member of the body arose on the floor and asked the Bishop what course he would take with reference to certain matters. The question did not admit a categorical reply, but Bishop Wiley answered as explicitly as he could. The inquiry was at once reiterated, and again the answer courteously given. To his surprise the query was immediately renewed the third time. Standing silent a moment, with a wondering, puzzled, half-amused air, the Bishop, looking first at his interlocutor and then at the Conference, said, "Well, I have given my statement, but I cannot give the brother brains." No unkindness was meant. The situation put him at a loss what else to say. Seeing his brother wounded by his words, he made generous haste in the manliest manner to remove the sting and heal the hurt.

Strangers were apt to think him reserved and distant, but nearer approach found a friendly and responsive nature. There was little of active self-ingratiation into the favor of his fellow-men. His friendships were not made, they grew; not by invention or policy, but by arrangement of natural affinity and providential ordering. He was not a man with whom one could extemporize an intimacy. The sedate and undemonstrative exterior did not seem to invite intercourse, nor did it excite expectations not to be fulfilled. He displayed self-knowledge when, in a brotherly letter, he described his friendships as "not ardent and impulsive, but pure, sincere, accumulative, and enduring." His heart had a good memory and took up intercourse where it left off the last time. With no profuseness in word or manner, there was a deep reservoir of unforgetting fidelity, and the silent implications of his friendship were certain to be sacredly honored. Perhaps few pressed with official correspondence and other exactions of the episco-

pacy have written a larger number of purely friendly letters. He loved to have men draw near to him, and lamented that so many hold aloof from whoever is a Bishop. He expressed gratitude for a kindly letter, saying: "I have found that the high places are the cold places."

It has been remarked that the profound sensibility which is of the spirit rather than of the nerves is sure to be named coldness by weaker natures whose susceptibilities are chiefly nervous. In Bishop Wiley a sensitive texture was made to look like impassiveness by an almost stoical self-control. The marble-like exterior was not stone but flesh, veined with warm life-blood, a net-work of nerves; and yet without any thing flinty or frigid in his nature his self-command was inflexible. Intense feeling was indicated by a deeper pallor of countenance and a slight quiver of voice.

On Saturday morning, September 16, 1882, he came with face unusually pale and lips compressed into the Des Moines Conference at Winterset, Iowa, where he was presiding. After the opening exercises he arose and announced the substance of the terrible telegram he held in his hand. Appointing a chairman, he retired with the presiding elders to his room, completed the appointments, and, leaving the Conference to finish by itself, took the train at 2 P. M. for his desolate home, to lay away the charred remains of his Willie—"Willie" always to him, though he cast a man's vote and took a man's coffin.

Met by two friends at the station in Cincinnati, he said, calmly, "Tell me all, just how it happened. I believe in God, and the storm has struck me so often that I have gotten down to bed-rock." Immediately after the funeral he was due at the Upper Iowa Conference at Cedar Rapids. Dr. Kynett presided until his arrival. Entering the Conference room he made a brief explanation of his detention, affirmed his unshaken confidence in the Lord, and then took up the work, saying: "Please, brethren, make no allusion to my bereavement, but let us attend strictly to business."

When that singularly ethereal man, Dr. T. H. Stockton, chosen chaplain for the third time in 1860 at the age of fifty-one, was delivering his opening discourse in the Hall of Representatives in Washington, under the stress of a fresh domestic

sorrow, he could not close his salutatory sermon without crying out: "Only four months ago by these same fingers the eyes of my dear little Jessie were closed in death. That was a more important event to me than the rise, progress, and fall of a thousand empires. Pity me, O pity me!" and the quivering man moved the whole Congress to tears. Bishop Wiley felt no less keenly when the iron went into his soul, but firm-laced lips would not let the anguish cry out. He bore it in silence, hero-fashion, or referred to it only in private and with repressive brevity. The strain of this firm self-control was so great and his sensibility so keen that every added affliction broke his strength and left him for the time prostrate. It was so in China in 1853; so in Cincinnati, when death broke up his home in 1866; so in Boston in 1874, when his "missionary boy," Charlie, was abruptly snatched away in convulsions; so in 1882, when his only remaining son, William Ellsworth, was flashed out of life in a blaze of sudden fire. In each case his health succumbed to the heart-tension, and every time there was less resilience from prostration. These and other sorrows, equally bitter, which eclipsed the gayety of the world and wore out life, did not affect the tranquil steadiness of his religion. He saw rough weather indeed, but under no stress did faith drag anchor or slip cable and go driving on rocks in starless, unbeaconed darkness.

Much of Bishop Wiley's journeying was on the Jericho road where plundered humanity lies bleeding. Starting as a physician and a missionary, setting broken bones, couching cataracts in blind eyes, and excising tumors with his hands while teaching Christ with his lips, his life was helpful in healing the open sores of the world. Called first to treat the proud-flesh of paganism, and, later, unhealed stripes upon the black man's back, and the ulcer eating out virtue and decency in Utah. President of the Freedmen's Aid Society for fourteen years, nothing transpired in the office or in the field without his notice; indeed, he was one of its founders, and scarce any thing from its organization until his death was done without his counsel. He knew the ground in the South almost inch by inch, and no Bishop spent more time studying its problems. In the planning of nearly all our twenty-five institutions of learning in Southern States he had some share, and the school

at Marshall, Texas, bears his name. While dying on the other side of the globe, he murmurs a desire to visit his "poor people" of the South once more. His people they were—he sat at their tables, prayed at their family altars, and lived in their houses when among them. Having our Montana and Utah missions under his supervision for years, his work is an integral part of the efforts of Methodism against the Moloch of Mormonism and on behalf of the people under its curse.

Presiding over more than a hundred Conference sessions, making an episcopal tour to Germany, Switzerland, and Scandinavia, and two official visits to Japan and China, ordaining eight hundred deacons and six hundred elders, writing fifteen thousand official letters—such summaries give some slight idea of the service rendered in his twelve years' episcopate; and the value of his benign, many-sided life is beyond the power of computation.

His course, so far as self-direction ruled, was a steered progress in heavenly trade-winds, keeping life close-hauled to righteous duty. So far as the Church ordered his career, it was a steady advancement from one unsought position of honor and trust to another, until placed beyond promotion. His official history is remarkable for smooth and serene regularity, without conflicts, storms, or agitation; passing many transitions, from stage to stage, without struggles or perturbations, he reached his high summit-level, which proved in his case a field for usefulness, rather than a goal for rest.

He graced the office of Bishop with simple but perfect dignity, impressive mental power, a mild and equable temper, unsparing assiduity, pure and unpretentious piety. His life was devoted to spreading scriptural holiness over the world, and he was himself an example of the particular type of holiness of which the Church is most in need; holiness louder in the life than on the lips, bringing its convincing evidence to the minds of all who are more impressed by character than by profession.

Bishop Wiley was the only man ever elected to the episcopal office who had been a foreign missionary. Although his stay in that field was, perforce, brief, he was ever a missionary at heart. It is part of the historic dignity and moral grandeur of his life that he was one of the pioneer laborers of the Method-

ist Episcopal Church among the heathen—in fact, the fifth man sent out by that body to any pagan people. In three years after the beginning of our earliest attempt to Christianize the heathen he was in the field, Foochow being the point of our first mission to a pagan nation.*

As for the importance of his part in that pioneer work it is credible that the medical labors of Dr. Wiley made earlier and deeper impression on the ignorant heathen among whom he practiced the healing art than any other phase of Christian activity. In the "Fortnightly Review" of September, 1879, Herbert Giles writes: "Of all missionaries to China the medical missionaries have achieved the greatest successes."

No fact of Bishop Wiley's record is more noticeable than the way he was identified with China. He traveled many circuits of duty, but from China he set out, and thither, by the gravitation of his own heart and the orderings of Providence, he at last returned. His first appointment and his last were to China, his first book and his last were about it; first and last he talked more about Foochow than any other place on earth. Even in boyhood, when the vision of a missionary's work visited him, the Central Flowery Kingdom took chief place in the geography of his heart. Life was uneasy and dissatisfied until he was settled in the mission field. Then, for the first, "contented and happy" were frequent words in his letters. He felt he had found his vocation and place. Surrounded with formidable difficulties, he writes, in his second year at Foochow, "Our buoyant faith, as though endowed with elasticity, develops more strongly as it is pressed more heavily from without."

Driven finally from the field, broken, stripped, and nearly slain, he writes from his native town within a week after landing, to Dr. D. W. Clark: "My affections and desires are still in Foochow, and if matters can be arranged, I think I might before long venture to return. I could only die at most, and I am willing to die in China." He is no sooner ashore than

* The work opened in Liberia in 1833 was among colonists rather than natives, while that at Buenos Ayres in 1836 was in a Roman Catholic country, and, moreover, not among natives, but foreign residents, and a Methodist class-meeting with eight or ten members was in regular operation there before we sent our first missionary.

he begins to prepare a volume memorial of "The Fallen Missionaries of Foochow." Having charge of a church on Staten Island, he arranges exhibitions of Chinese articles illustrative of home-life, religion, industry, and art, with explanatory talks. It was by going to borrow for such an exhibition a set of sixty pieces of china in the possession of Captain Travis that he made acquaintance with Miss Addie Travis, who afterward, although a member of the Reformed Dutch Church, became Mrs. Wiley. The three churches of which he was pastor were well instructed as to China and its missions. His powerful missionary discourses are remembered in all parts of New Jersey. When his first boy, Charles Travis, was born at Pennington, he called him, in joyous hope, "Our missionary boy," dedicated him to the Lord for that work if so it should please him, and as years went on so infused the love of missions that the growing boy gave promise of fulfilling the father's desire, and spent the last winter of his life in Boston making a study of Africa. His death in his sixteenth year caused the bereaved father to wonder deeply at the ways of God. The "Methodist Quarterly Review" of April, 1862, contains an article by I. W. Wiley, M. D., on "China as a Mission-Field." The "Ladies' Repository," from 1864 to 1872, shows, both in contributed articles and in editorial matter, the conviction of its editor as to the importance of missionary information to the Church. When made Bishop he was given episcopal supervision of all our work in China, and retained it until his death, except as it was occasionally interrupted by the visit of some other Bishop to that field. It is said in China, "No other Bishop knew us half so well, or loved us half so much." His pre-eminent knowledge makes it fair to say that in any circle where Chinese affairs were under discussion, "when he spoke, the wisest next to him was he who listened."

The year 1877 was a jubilee to Bishop Wiley. It was then his happy duty to make an official tour among our missions in China, which filled him with joy unspeakable at beholding what God had wrought. He saw with eyes dim with gratitude the substantial walls of Chinese Christianity rising course by course, a few of the foundation-stones of which he had sacrificed his dearest treasure, and well-nigh his own life, to lay. The land which then saw his grief now witnessed his gladness. The contrast between China as he left it in 1854 and as he

found it in 1877 was great and blessed. Then the prospects of the infant mission were dismal and discouraging. Seven years of toil, expense, and suffering seemed to have gone for nothing. The whole atmosphere was hostile, the temper of the natives sullen and menacing. Hatred and contempt would forbid the foreigner a foothold. Disaster followed on disaster, and nothing flourished in connection with our mission except the cemetery. Sickness interfered with work, and resulted in successive burials, so that natives noticed rather the number of missionary graves than any fruits of missionary labors; and a Christian funeral was a heathen festival—they believed the proper place for missionaries to be under the sod.*

On New Year's day, 1852, Dr. Wiley, laboring in the cheerless gloom of Foochow, wrote to Dr. D. W. Clark: "Doubtless the troubled night of toil here will be succeeded in due time by a day of light and rejoicing." That glad morning his own eyes saw, for on New Year's day, twenty-six years later, in that same city, he had completed the organization of an Annual Conference, with six presiding elders' districts, two hundred preaching places, thirty-four traveling and sixty local ministers, and over two thousand lay members, and laid his hand on the head of the fourth generation of Chinese Methodists. Closing that first session of the Foochow Conference on December 25, he writes:

> This being Christmas Day we could not but think of the celebrated Christmas Conference of 1784 for the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States, and felt that, though in a humbler measure, we were now organizing the same Church in the vast Empire of China. It is not impossible that in the next hundred years there may be an almost equally large and powerful Methodist Episcopal Church in this greatest nation of Asia.

Recording his departure from Foochow in January, 1878, he says:

> When my long-anticipated visit to the dear old field of labor was over I gazed tenderly on the receding shores, sad with the

* This malignant spirit still opposes mission progress into new territory. As late as 1879 the inhabitants of Chang-Sha, capital of Hoo-Nan, on the approach of missionaries toward their city, placarded on the walls, for the purpose of inciting the populace to violence, "The foreign devils are coming. Remember that when a foreigner is killed it is only a dog's life that is lost."

feeling that I was now probably done with China, and was looking for the last time on the scenery of Foochow. I do believe, if all things were arranged at home, I would be quite willing to spend the rest of my days in China.

In the spring of 1884, although it was not his turn to take the China trip, he made persistent request for the privilege of going, and his episcopal associates, knowing his sorrows, and thinking the change from routine duties, and the month each way upon the sea might be relief to his mind and revive his energies, felt constrained to indulge his wish. He had no premonition that he should die there, but knew his strength was diminishing, and wished to take that journey while still able. During the General Conference, though taking full share in its work, he was noticed at the house of Mr. George W. Hill, which was his loved Philadelphia home, to be unusually quiet, and disposed to withdraw from social intercourse, as if it wearied him. Walking from the Conference room, arm in arm with one of his former students, he spoke despondently of his health, and, being told that it was but a temporary depression, from which he would rally by rest, he answered, positively, "No, I am worn-out." Stopping, on his way across the continent, two days at Denver to see his eldest daughter, he said to her: "I am getting along in years, more and more feeble, and *I must see China before I die.*"

Of Benedict Goës, sent from India in 1603 to explore and bring report of China, his brethren to whom he, having met death at Suh-chow, returned not, said, "Benedict, seeking Cathay, found heaven." So say we, sorrowing, of our unreturning Bishop who went forth to far Cathay, but brings not back his report, having carried it instead to the General Assembly and Church of the First-born, and to God the Judge of all. The finish of his life, framed of many fitnesses and subtle harmonies, is a poem of God's providence. The closing incidents group themselves as if in studied tableau. Superlatively fit it was that he should die where he did, and some One had calculated so exactly that there was just enough fuel in the furnace and steam in the boiler to run the train to the home-station. The "Divinity that shapes our ends" so timed movements and measured energies that life's hour-glass should run empty at Foochow. Was it prophetic intimation, or a sense

of the appropriate, or prompting of desire, that made him say to the North China Mission at Peking six weeks before his death, "If I can reach Foochow, and it be God's will, I can lay down my life and sleep quietly."

Be that as it may, his uttered thought comes to fulfillment. The weary traveler sails up the Min. His dim eyes look once more on its dear banks, and an eventful life-voyage drops final anchor where his Portuguese lorcha was moored three and thirty years before. He totters feebly ashore into the great heathen city, climbs the rocky southern hill to the missionary compound on its crest, finds the residence of Rev. N. J. Plumb, greets it with recognition, "Home! my old home!" for he lived on that lot thirty-two years before, enters with a thankful smile on his patient face to go no more out, lies down amid holiest associations and the scenes of his first great trials and toils near the earliest graves of his many-sorrowed life, and dies at four o'clock of a November afternoon on the very spot where he had seen the bride of his youth fall asleep in death at the same hour of a November day in 1853.

Dying far from surviving friends, he was yet not among strangers. China, which is a foreign land to us, was home to him. Gentle ministries tended his last days. The Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, for which he had made many eloquent and urgent pleas, gave the suffering Bishop one of its best physicians, Dr. Trask, to afford all possible medical relief in the painful journey from Peking to Shanghai, thence to Foochow, and there until the end came. Providence carried him half-way round the world to lay him down at the door of the one Conference to which his relation was most paternal. Never watched children by bedside of parent more reverently than the Foochow Conference waited by the couch of him whom they called "Our Bishop," and who was worthy of veneration. When he grew worse they adjourned to count his pulse-beats, and listen for what might be his last words; when he was better they went back to their work; when their session was finished they did not disperse, but waited for the issue of his illness to close his eyes, be mourners at his funeral, and bear to burial the body of the man who, having borne the Chinese on his heart for a life-time, now makes friendly dust of his bones with theirs in their own soil. The Foochow Confer-

ence conducted his funeral. The service in Tieng Ang Tong, "Church of Heavenly Rest," was in Chinese and English. Rev. Dr. C. C. Baldwin and Rev. Charles Hartwell, of the American Board, colleagues of his early missionary labors, spoke. When they were looking their last upon his face the voice of the missionary office in New York was heard saying, by Dr. Reid's telegram, "Do all that is necessary." Hundreds of Chinese shed tears together, and put on white mourning robes to follow in procession. Native preachers, whom he had ordained seven years before, with their own hands lined his coffin and made a pillow, of which they said, "The lining will be very near him, and on our pillow his dear head will rest." The same hands bore the body to burial on bamboo poles in a rough coffin made by a Chinese carpenter.

If new beatitudes were to be pronounced, might it not be said, Blessed is that servant of the Lord Jesus who has given manhood's morning and life's last expiring energies to the redemption of China? Is there any mission field where results are more firm and permanent? The divine power of the Gospel is seen in its making headway in two nations so entirely different as China and India; but constitutional differences might be expected to be perceptible in the results of work in the two countries. Observe the Chinaman, with his short neck, shrewd, oblique eye, and practical look. Dr. Wentworth says you could almost as easily deceive Satan as a Chinaman. He is the common-sense man of affairs, thrifty, sober, unideal, matter-of-fact, astute, careful in his accounts. Americans and Englishmen sometimes call him, with fine superciliousness, "a trader."

Look at the Hindu, with his slender figure, high, narrow forehead, deep, pensive eyes. He is dreamy, imaginative, metaphysical, speculative, more apt to live in the clouds than to take account of practical matters. The difficulty in China would naturally be to make any impression, to divert attention from earthly affairs to the concerns of a spiritual realm. Once really secure attention, and truth might be expected to take effect. In India, on the contrary, it must be comparatively easy to catch listeners for eternal themes, but the trouble would be to carry persuasion home through all the intricacies in which they involve the argument; and while the missionary might obtain ready hearing, he would experience difficulty in holding

the subtle, philosophizing, visionary mind to firm convictions and clear-cut doctrines, converts having a tendency to slip through the meshes of reasoning, or drift away in misty dreams from all firm hold on any thing.

But as for the Chinaman, only arrest his attention, penetrate his thick imperviousness, carry the citadel of his convictions with Christianity's phalanx of facts, induce him to test its claims, and you will have a stable, determined Christian, a man for hard work, steady service, executive management, and early self-direction. The proportion of apostates and backsliders in China ought to be small. Converts made in the twenty-two Chinese missions of New York and Brooklyn are reported to "stick." The Chinese are of the stuff to make stubbornly heroic Christians—many successors in holy obstinacy to Ling Ching Ting—as many martyrs as may be necessary for the victory of the faith in the Celestial Empire. Gordon's admiration for the sturdy qualities of the Chinese comes out in his Khartoum journals. He longs for Chinese soldiers in the Soudan, and would like to see India garrisoned with them. The trial of faith in China was severe, but after the Gospel had proved its power by actual and stable results, is there any place where laborers more distinctly receive the assurance, "Your labor is not in vain?"

Happy Bishop Wiley! to have bestowed his earliest, longest, last, and most loving labor on a field where increasing results are so sure, solid, and abiding.

His pioneer work contributed to introduce the leaven of Bible truth into a compact nation of from three to four hundred millions, all using the same written language. He stands inseparably identified with the brightest hope of a venerable, rich, sagacious, and powerful empire having an area equal to the whole of Europe, the oldest nation in existence, and likely, despite Russian ambitions in Central Asia, to maintain its colossal integrity for an untold future; an empire not to be dismembered or subjugated by foreign powers, in which respect the lax, disbanded, unthrifty millions of India—a medley of twenty-eight diverse races and thirty-five nations, with half a hundred languages—bear no comparison with the organized, industrious, energetic, unified population of China.

If one would labor and die where he will never be forgotten,

could he find a better place than China? It is the land of records. Its archives hold the systematic history of three thousand years. Its chronology records the founding of the Chow dynasty a hundred years before David was king of Israel, and of the Hia dynasty a thousand years before the rise of the Assyrian Empire. China will keep her Christian annals as scrupulously as her pagan. No one doubts that a millennium hence Shee-Hoang-te, the national hero who built the Great Wall two centuries before Christ, will be as well remembered as to-day. In China it is possible that a thousand years hence a Christian city on the banks of the Min may point, with native reverence for forefathers still, to the secluded valley in which is our Bishop's grave, and speak of Hwaila Kangtok as one of the fathers of the Church, one of the chief ancestors of Christianity in China.

Most blessed servant of the Most High! that God should make his grave in the land of long memories.

Our Church has buried three of its Bishops in Asiatic soil or seas, and that continent is thus, with other equally honored graves, dedicated throughout all its coasts, in the name of Methodism, to the true God. When, under the equator, the body of our first Bishop, weighted with four cannon-balls, was shot to the bottom of the Indian Ocean from the starboard gangway of the *Cabalva* on the 3d of May, 1814, the sea that washes India was made sacred to the thought of the Church. When stout Kingsley lay down suddenly one April morning in 1870 at the foot of Lebanon, and his body was laid in Syrian soil in the suburbs of Beirut, among the figs and pomegranates of the cemetery on the Damascus road, the history-crowded Mediterranean was consecrated afresh as by Paul's journeyings in the ancient days. And now, when Wiley's weary frame is laid to rest among the olives, pines, longans, and purple guavas in the mission cemetery at Foochow, the Pacific coasts of Asia are hallowed until the heavens be no more and the dust be raised out of its sleep. The Church, standing by his grave, hears overhead a

> "Sentinel
> Who moves about from place to place,
> And whispers to the worlds of space,
> In the deep night, that all is well."

ART. II.—THE REVISED OLD TESTAMENT.

THE history of English Bible Revision is a very long one, and has been so often told that we need here glance only at the principal stages.* The version now in common use is not only in a very large degree a revision of the previously existing ones—the impress and much of the phraseology even of Wiclif's being still clearly traceable in it—but has itself undergone gradually and silently so many changes, especially in spelling and punctuation, that the original edition of 1611 reads, as well as looks, very different from a Bible of the present day. It is a fact not so generally known that American Bibles differ from those printed in Great Britain in thousands of places, chiefly in the modernization of orthography and grammar. The meaning expressed, however, has remained the same, except so far as a change of punctuation has in a few cases modified it.

The agitation for a real revision has been growing more and more earnest during the present century, as preachers and commentators have found themselves compelled to criticise and correct the translation of numerous texts. Many individuals have published revised Bibles, both in this country and in England, and the American Bible Union, formed under the auspices of one wing of the Baptist denomination, has been engaged since 1837 in the issue of a Revised English Bible in successive portions. In Great Britain these movements culminated, in 1870, in the appointment of a committee by the Convocation of Canterbury, which has at length produced the present completed work.

It is proper to say that the Convocation just referred to is simply an association of the higher clergy of that archdiocese, who assemble twice a year, nominally by order of the Crown, but in reality voluntarily, to discuss matters of internal economy and ecclesiastical discipline. It is a remnant of the old

* A general account is given in the Prefaces to the Old and New Testaments, in the Revised Version itself. Additional particulars may be found in the "Historical Account" prepared by a sub-committee of the American Committee, and published by the Messrs. Scribner. (N. Y., 1885, 8vo.) A "Documentary History," prepared by Dr. Schaff, was printed for the exclusive use of members of the Revision.

system of provincial councils, but is destitute of any legislative status or binding authority. All its action is merely recommendatory, and its discussions purely opinionative. The body has not committed itself to the New Version, but has simply passed resolutions accepting, but not adopting it, as a report from its own committee, and thanking them for their labor. It thus practically "lies upon the table," to be disposed of, if at all, after future deliberation and discussion.

The general character of the Revision was defined by the rules laid down for the committee who performed the work, which explicitly precluded it from being a new translation, and required the retention of the old style of language. Denominational and controversial points were excluded by the composition of the committee itself. A large degree of unanimity was secured by the requirement of a two-thirds majority for any change from the "Authorized Version," and the whole air of the appointment was evidently that of conservatism.

The working-committee at first named were naturally all members of the Established Church of England, but they were empowered to add to their number scholars from other denominations and other parts of the world. It was under this last clause that an American Committee was soon organized, whose functions were subordinate to rather than co-ordinate with those of the British Revisers. The latter retained the sole power of finally deciding what the text should be, and merely invited the suggestions of the Americans. The committee on this side of the Atlantic was composed, as is well known, of scholars from the principal denominations (including one Friend and one Unitarian), who were conveniently located for the purpose of meeting. Their names were gathered by consultation with the acknowledged leaders in the several Churches, and vacancies were filled by unanimous election on the part of the remaining members. That Methodism had only two representatives in the American Committee was the fault solely of others who declined to serve.

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, who already had control over the publication of the Authorized Version, conjointly became likewise the publishers of the Revised Version; and in consideration of holding the copyright they consented to pay all the necessary costs of the undertaking,

including the preliminary printing and the traveling expenses, etc., of the British members, but no personal remuneration for their time and services. The American Committee accorded to them the entire field of publication for fourteen years, and paid their own necessary expenses by contributions solicited from their friends and the public at large. The labors of both committees were thus rendered gratuitously, and there is no copyright upon the book in this country.

The process of the work was as follows, which we give at length, presuming that it will be generally interesting. Each Committee was divided into two sections, called Companies, one on the Old Testament, and the other on the New; having exclusive charge of changes relating to those portions of the Bible severally. In each of the Companies every thing was discussed and decided in open meeting as a "committee of the whole." Subcommittees were appointed to examine and report upon special points, but they had no power to determine any thing. In the American Committee there were general or joint meetings very frequently for settling business matters, and a few questions of common interest. Each of the British Companies held a monthly meeting for about four days in the famous Jerusalem Chamber of Westminster Abbey (the same room where the Authorized Version was originally prepared), and each of the American Companies a monthly meeting of two or three days in rooms in the Bible House at New York, which were rented and fitted up for that purpose. In each Company the chairman read aloud from the Authorized Version, one verse at a time of the portion assigned for consideration, and called for any changes to be proposed in the rendering. These were discussed at full length by all the members present, and when all had done, a vote was taken upon the change proposed to determine whether it should prevail. In the first reading this was simply a majority vote; but in all the later ones, a two-thirds vote of those present was necessary in order to carry any thing against the Authorized. In this way the British Committee went over the entire text, and transmitted to the corresponding Company of the American Committee the result in a printed form, called "The First British Revision," in portions from time to time as it was completed. These copies, as indeed all the mutual

transactions of the British and American revisers, were "strictly confidential," and it was agreed not to divulge the details to the public until the time of final publication. The American Committee then went over the same ground in precisely the same manner, and transmitted the result to the corresponding British Company; agreeing with or differing from the latter in the changes, or proposing new ones, sometimes giving the reasons when not obvious or easily discoverable. The British Revisers then went over the entire work in detail again, taking into the account the American suggestions, as well as any other fresh ones, then deciding by a two-thirds vote upon each. This new text, constituting "The Second British Revision," was then in like manner transmitted to the American Revisers, who again went over the whole in the same careful way, and sent back a second series of results, arrived at by a similar two-thirds vote. A third time the British Revisers went over the ground, comparing our suggestions, and adopting such as they saw fit, with any others of their own; and the printed result is the text of the present published "Revised Version." They sent meanwhile a list of these final variations to the American Revisers, who returned a series of exceptions as their ultimate opinion on what they deemed important points; and this is printed as the "Appendix" to the work. From a careful comparison of these successive revisions it appears that a very large proportion of the American suggestions, amounting probably to four fifths of them, were adopted, either in form or in substance, by the British Companies. In most of the important changes there was entire agreement, and in not a few the Americans were fully as conservative as the British, if not more so. On two occasions, when in consequence of the non-arrival of copies of the First British Revision in time the American Companies had proceeded independently (Job and Romans), their work was found to be singularly coincident with that of their brethren on the other side.

The final results thus arrived at are, of course, oftentimes a compromise. No one of the Revisers individually is perfectly satisfied with all of them. Each had to surrender many of his proclivities and personal conceits, because they were voted down. Nevertheless, he still thinks he was right, and probably he sometimes was; for wisdom does not always dwell

with present majorities. But the question always present and uppermost in the decision was not, What does this one or that one think? but, What is likely to commend itself to the mass of intelligent judges? Many a time the conclusion reached was not altogether satisfactory to any of the Revisers themselves, but it seemed the best that could be done under the circumstances. A great many things had to be considered, and no form of language that could be devised exactly met all the requirements. For example, "firmament" is not altogether a desirable rendering of the Hebrew *rakîa* in Gen. i, 6; for it suggests the idea of sŏmething solid and fixed, which the original does not contain. "Welkin," perhaps, would obviate that objection, but the word is now obsolete except in a few poetical phrases. The literal translation "expanse" cannot be used in good English for a concrete term, but requires some qualifying addition, as "of sea," "of land," etc., and moreover would be utterly unsuitable in such passages as Psa. xix, 1. Think of reading, "The heavens declare the glory of God, and *the expanse* showeth his handiwork!" The expanse of what? every one would ask, if he did not laugh outright at the incongruity. So "firmament" has to stand for the want of a better word. And so in innumerable other cases, after discussing and revolving every conceivable alternative for hours, the best wisdom was shown at last by doing nothing at all, and no record remains to show that any change whatever was proposed or considered. If any reader's favorite expedient was not adopted, he may be pretty sure it was not because it was not thought of, and probably presented in all its strength, but because the majority did not approve it as a suitable one. If there were no one to advocate it in the committee, there were abundant communications from without urging all manner of preposterous changes. Professed commentaries are full enough of such, even some written by learned and otherwise sensible men, to say nothing of public criticisms and private communications. The main object and the great advantage of concerted judgment by a number of persons looking at a subject from different points of view is, that it tends to eliminate narrow prepossessions and partial opinions. Many literary questions, unfortunately, have to be settled for the unskilled by authority, but this basis should be as broad as possible, and twenty scholars

are less likely to make mistakes than one. There have been, as we have already said, many improved versions by individuals, but they necessarily lack the prestige and weight of this co-operative one.

In developing more in detail the merits of this revision, the writer proposes to lay out of consideration, as far as possible, the fact that it was his fortune to have a hand in its production. He is not thereby entitled to assume the position of an advocate, nor debarred from the right of criticism. From an inside point of view he is better prepared to see the difficulties of the work, and to appreciate the endeavors to overcome them; but he is at the same time made aware of the degree to which it has sometimes been compelled to fall short, like all human efforts, of the desideratum. This much at least he has learned, that it needs no apologist, and that no rash hand can safely attack it. The result of fifteen years' earnest labor by some half-hundred of the best equipped experts of Great Britain and America cannot be in vain, and will neither decay by the neglect of the ignorant nor be demolished by the violence of the learned. It will survive the prejudices of both classes, and if found by the dispassionate reader to be an aid in reaching the sense of Scripture, it will gradually win its way to a place in his esteem and use. Thus much is already certain, that no well-informed student can afford to ignore it. The only rational mode of determining its value and availability is for each person to examine it for himself. Meanwhile our readers will probably be pleased with some general hints on the subject, followed by such details of comparison as our space may afford. We will confine our attention chiefly to the Old Testament, as the New has already been noticed in this journal.

The first point in any translation of an ancient writing is, to use as correct a copy of the original text as can be procured. The search for this, in the case of the Old Testament, is very short, for, practically, there is no trustworthy or current text known that is not substantially the Masoretic; that is, to all intents and purposes identical with that of the usually printed Hebrew Bibles. No manuscripts that vary in any great degree, so far at least as perceptibly to affect the meaning for a translation, have hitherto been discovered, and it is probable that none such exist. To employ the oldest versions, such as the Septuagint,

the Vulgate, the Samaritan, in place of this, would be critically preposterous; and to resort to conjectural emendation would be hazardous in the extreme.* The Revisers were in fact shut up to the Masoretic text, with occasional references in the margin to such variations as that text itself furnishes, or as are supplied by other ancient authorities. The *vowel-points and accents* of that text have not been regarded as strictly binding, and all commentators feel at liberty occasionally to depart from them, when good reasons seem to require it; but sound and judicious scholars will do this very cautiously and as rarely as possible. The day for arbitrarily altering the text after the fashion of Lowth has gone by; and the materials are not extant for an elaborate critical apparatus that will justify any considerable deviation from the *textus receptus* of the Old Testament. The labors of Kennicott and De Rossi have settled this so far as the manuscripts known in their time are concerned, and those of Strack, Baer, and Delitzsch have confirmed it for all discovered since.† It is scarcely possible that the recently rumored "finds" will overturn this conclusion. At all events, it certainly is premature for the present to abandon or mutilate this old and well-established foundation on any such precarious pretext.

Another point touched upon in the Preface to the Revised Version of the Old Testament, but of less importance, is the necessity of transliterating instead of translating some of the technical or peculiar words of the Hebrew which have the force of proper names. The American Committee think it would have been well to do this uniformly with respect to the divine name Jehovah, as the British have done in many cases; and inasmuch as this is already a familiar word in English, occurring several times in the Authorized Version, there can be no reasonable objection to this course, for it is admitted on all hands that the rendering "Lord" does not convey the distinctive force of that name. The case is not so clear with regard to

* In a very few cases the Revisers have felt compelled to do something of this kind, when the text was manifestly corrupt, for example, "Saul was [thirty] years old" (1 Sam. xiii, 1); but they have left "forty years" in 2 Sam. xv, 7.

† On the detailed readings of the manuscripts in question, see an article by Rev. B. Pick, Ph.D., in the forthcoming second volume of Supplement to M'Clintock and Strong's Cyclopedia, s. v. "Manuscripts."

some other words, such as *Nephilim* for "giants" in Gen. vi, 4; *Asherah* for "grove" in the early historical books; *Sheol* for "hell" in certain places; for these strike the reader as outlandish, and convey no distinct meaning. This last especially has awakened much profane merriment; although it was but following the example of the New Testament Revision, whose introduction of *Hades* into the text attracted no special attention. There are many other Hebrew words for which no exact equivalent can be found in English, such as *goël* ("redeemer," "kinsman," etc.), *yabam* ("to marry" the brother's widow, etc.); but the Revisers have refrained from transferring these. The same may be said of numerous technical terms and objects in natural history, the real meaning of which can only be conjectured, especially animals, plants, and gems; in all these they have done the best toward identification that the present state of science allows: among the most difficult, they have put "wild ox" for "unicorn," "the caper-berry" for "desire" (Eccles. xii, 5), "basilisk" for "cockatrice;" while "dragon" and "satyr" have been allowed to stand as translations, and "bdellium," "behemoth," and "leviathan" as transliterations. They have done wisely in introducing some well-known Oriental terms, as "caravan" (Job vi, 18, 19, etc.), "palanquin" (Cant. iii, 9); and we could wish that "mirage" were sufficiently English to allow its use for the Hebrew *sharab* (R. V., "glowing sand," in place of A. V., "parched ground," Isa. xxxv, 7; but left "heat" in xlix, 10). Readers of all classes will thank them for the attempt to reduce the Hebrew proper names to uniformity, for in many cases the persons or places referred to are undistinguishable in the common version; yet they have not pushed this to the verge of pedantry, nor disturbed the more familiar forms. A still larger degree of concurrence in this regard between the Old and the New Testament Companies would, perhaps, have been possible. In the titles to the Psalms an effort has been put forth to render the musical notations more intelligible by the renderings, "For the Chief Musician," "set to" this or that form of words; "on stringed instruments" (instead of "Neginoth"), etc.; but the unmeaning "Shiggaion," "Nehiloth," "Maschil," etc., have been retained, while "Selah" has been removed to the end of the line and bracketed.

In this connection we may conveniently notice the mode of treating archaisms that has been pursued in the Revision. While it was no part of the work to produce a modern translation, nor to eliminate those antique forms which are still intelligible and serve to give a venerable air to the version, yet it was clearly intended to displace those old words and phrases which have now changed or lost their meaning; and this, in substance, has been done, for example, in the case of "prevent" (in the sense of *precede*), "let" (that is, *hinder*), "ear" (*to plow*), "all to" (Judg. ix, 53, that is, *altogether*), etc.; but in some minor points the American Companies dissent from their British brethren (see "Classes of Passages" in the Appendix). These chiefly relate to matters of spelling or grammatical form, some of which have long since been adopted in most American reprints of the Bible; but others of considerable importance affect the clearness and ready apprehension of the sense, and a few relate to euphemisms, which it is a marvel that the British Companies did not accept. In some instances the latter have actually introduced fresh archaisms, and in one notable case, "judgement" for "judgment," it seems to be wholly arbitrary and gratuitous. The literary world, on this side of the Atlantic at least, will certainly regret the British obstinacy in most of these peculiarities. It is not wise to disfigure the sacred page unnecessarily, nor to lay causeless stumbling-blocks in the way of the common reader. It brings the Bible into discredit when its language is made dissonant with the rules of decency and orthography.

Of the obvious improvement in the typographical arrangement of the Revised Text, such as the paragraph form,* with the chapter and verse marks relegated to the margin, the parallelistic or hemistich lining of the poetical portions, and the omission of the unjustifiable and often misleading headings of chapters and pages, it is unnecessary to speak at length. We could wish that these editorial devices had been carried a little further, such as the indication of larger sections and subdivisions of the books, and in the case of Canticles, especially, the mention of the various interlocutors; but the latter would perhaps have savored too much of interpretation. The

* The subdivisions of the Masoretic lessons, however, have not been followed, as they seem to be largely fanciful.

extreme care taken in the accurate printing of the book deserves high commendation. Had there been as close oversight in getting out the edition of 1611, we probably would not have been perpetually reading, "strain *at* a gnat" for "strain out;" not to mention numerous more evident misprints which were speedily corrected.

Before entering upon the examination of particular changes, by which alone the real merit of the Revision can be fairly tested, we may make a preliminary remark. Many of the uninitiated probably wonder why there is such difficulty in translating a book written in a language so well known as the Hebrew, and how such very different renderings can be made from it. In order to elucidate this matter, as well as to afford a just apprehension of the comparative merits of the Authorized and the Revised Versions, let us take one of the shorter Psalms, the tenth, for example, which is well adapted to illustrate the whole subject. In plain historical passages, of course, there is comparatively little possibility of various renderings, but in the poetical books, to which most of the prophetical also properly belong, there is a highly figurative and elliptical style, which often renders the meaning doubtful, especially when words of rare occurrence are used; and even in prose the Oriental imagination frequently indulges in a similar vein of thought and expression. The first clause of verse 2 of the Psalm we have selected reads thus in the Authorized Version: "The wicked in his pride doth persecute the poor;" in the Revised, thus: "In the pride of the wicked the poor is hotly pursued." The Hebrew literally runs thus, if we supply [in brackets] the words grammatically necessary in English, but only implied in the original: "In [the] pride of [a] wicked [man] will kindle [a] poor [man];" and it is uncertain whether the word here translated "kindle" is transitive or intransitive, and therefore whether the meaning is, "He [the wicked man] will burn the poor," or, "The poor man will burn up." On the whole, the latter seems more conformable to the use of the word elsewhere, and therefore we prefer the Revised. It will be observed, however, that the general sense of the passage is about the same in either case. In the latter clause of verse 3, the Authorized has, "And blesseth the covetous, whom the Lord abhorreth;" the Revised, "And the covetous

renounceth, yea, contemneth the Lord;" literally it would be thus: "And plundering [or (*A*) *plunderer*] has blessed, has despised Jehovah." But here again it is uncertain which noun is the subject, and which the object, of the two verbs, so that we might render, "Has blessed (the) plunderer," and "Jehovah has despised." Moreover, by an idiom almost peculiar to the Hebrew, the word "bless" is euphemistically used for "curse" with reference to God, as in the advice of Job's wife to the afflicted saint, "Curse [literally, *bless*] God and die;" and in the indictment of Jezebel against Naboth (1 Kings xxi, 10, 13), "Blaspheme [literally, *bless*] God and the king." Here again the Revised is much better. In the former half of verse 4 the Authorized renders: "The wicked, through the pride of his countenance, will not seek after God;" and the Revised gives the latter clause thus: "Saith, He will not require it," where the original literally says only, "will not at all follow." But this last verb is so often used of "seeking God," that is, *worshiping*, that at least it seems to be here used elliptically in that sense, without the addition of the divine name. The Authorized Version is therefore in this case to be preferred, notwithstanding the apparent parallelism with verse 13. In the first part of verse 5 the Authorized has, "His ways are always grievous," and the Revised, "His ways are firm at all times;" the original is, "Will twist his way [various reading, *ways*] in all time." The verb sometimes means *to be firm*, as of a twisted rope, but may better be interpreted of the *tortuous* paths of sinners, which the Authorized Version implies, but does not clearly express. In verse 8 the Revised substitutes "helpless" for "poor" of the Authorized, as a different word is rendered by the latter in the context; but the "hapless" of the margin would have been still better. In verse 14, Authorized, "Thou hast seen it; for thou beholdest mischief and spite, to requite it with thy hand;" Revised, in the last clause, "to take it into thy hand;" literally, "to give with [or *in*] thy hand." This last phrase is often used in the sense of *putting into one's power* ("gave it into the hand of" so and so), but always of another, and never of one's self, as indeed the word "give" necessarily implies. The Authorized Version is therefore much preferable, and, indeed, the Revised is destitute of any obvious signifi-

cance. Still better would have been, "to requite [is] in thy hand," that is, retribution belongs to God. In verse 18, Authorized, "That the man of the earth may no more oppress;" Revised, "That man which is of the earth may be terrible no more;" literally, "Not at all will [or *may*] add again to terrify [a] man from the earth," probably meaning, "so that he [the oppressor] shall never again terrify man out of the land." Even in the prosaic books, however, poetical passages frequently occur which are equally difficult to render. A notable example is Deut. xxxiii, 6, where the Authorized Version has adopted the extraordinary expedient of inserting a negative: "Let Reuben live and not die, and let *not* his men be few." The Revised Version renders the last clause, "Yet let his men be few," thus giving a precisely opposite sense. The original is simply, "Let his folks be a number," that is, not an indefinite multitude, as most of the other tribes were, yet not a mere handful. The true thought is not exactly hit by either the old or the new rendering; for while on the one hand the Reubenites were not to be innumerable, yet their limitation is not expressed as a curse, but only as a complement (rather than contrast) to the foregoing blessing; as if it were said, "Let him survive, and his posterity even become a *considerable* number." A similar qualification is denoted by the other passages (Num. ix, 20; 1 Chron. xvi, 19; Job xvi, 22; Isa. x, 19; Ezek. xii, 16) where the same word (*mispar*, of very frequent use, and often denoting a large number) is translated "few;" and in all of them the character and extent of the limitation is to be gathered entirely from the context. In like manner we often say in English, "A number of persons," meaning less than "many persons," and yet more than "a few persons."

Of course we cannot, within our limits and with due regard to our readers' patience, go over the whole volume with this sort of minute review. All that we can hope to accomplish in the way of special criticism will be to examine some of the great texts of leading interest and familiar use, which nevertheless present serious difficulties, and see how the Revision has treated them.*

* It is but just to state that no passages have been selected in which the writer had a personal interest before the committee. Had we done this, our bill of exceptions might have been materially lengthened.

the book of Genesis, the most trying class of passages perhaps for the translator's skill are those frequent ones that contain a play upon words more or less patent. These cases of *paronomasia*, of course, like a pun, are often incapable of being transferred into another idiom, especially when they turn upon a single word; but when they consist of a phrase they generally may be approximately represented in English. Something of the sort occurs in the words of Eve at the birth of Cain (Gen. iv, 1), "I have gotten a man from the Lord," where the Revised Version renders, very judiciously in our opinion, "with *the help of* the Lord," using Italics as here. In verse 7 the figure of temptation, like a wild beast ready to seize the fratricide, is finely brought out by the rendering "coucheth" instead of "lieth;" but this is immediately obscured, if not wholly lost, by retaining "his desire" and "rule over him," instead of *its* and *it*, as in the margin. In verse 13 "My punishment is greater than I can bear" is retained in preference to the more literal, and, as it seems to us, the far more appropriate, rendering of the margin, "My iniquity is greater than can be forgiven." In verse 15 "appointed a sign for Cain" is clearly better than the old "set a mark upon Cain," which has caused such bootless surmises. In that difficult passage (vi, 3) the old rendering is retained with only a slight change, for which the reader is puzzled to see any special reason, "My Spirit shall not strive with man for ever," etc., and the well known alternatives are put in the margin. In x, 11, "went forth Asshur" is changed, in accordance with modern ethnography, to "he went forth into Assyria." In xv, 2, "the steward of my house is this Eliezer of Damascus" is changed to "he that shall be possessor of my house is Dammesek Eliezer;" whether a clear sense or not we leave others to judge. In xvi, 13, occurs a notable *paronomasia*, "Thou God seest me: for she said, Have I also here looked after him that seeth me?" This becomes, "Thou art a God that seeth: for she said, Have I even here looked," etc. The Hebrew says, literally, "Thou [art] a God of seeing [or, God my Seer]: for she said, Have I also [or, even] here seen after seeing [or, my Seer]." The thought uppermost in Hagar's mind evidently was, that, according to the popular superstition, she had expected to die after seeing God, and was therefore surprised at

surviving. We cannot see how this idea could be gathered from either the Authorized Version or the Revised Version. In xxii, 14, "provided" for "seen" is clearly required by the use of the same term in ver. 8. In xxiii, 15, Ephron's chaffering spirit is finely brought out by the rendering, which is also more literal, "A piece of land worth four hundred shekels of silver, what is that betwixt me and thee?" The allusion in the name *Gad* (xxx, 11) is obscure, but we prefer the old sense of "troop" to "fortune," as there is no trace of the latter (unless in the versions) at that early date, and the parallel passage (xlix, 19) clearly favors the former etymology. In xxxi, 21, a bit of interpretation is indulged in by the use of a capital letter, "the River," with a marginal note explaining it of the Euphrates. In the account of the famous wrestling of Jacob (xxxii, 28) we doubt whether the sense of "hast striven" instead of "hast power" (the omission of "as a prince" may be justified) is well established, and in the parallel passage (Hos. xii, 3, 4) the Revisers themselves have not made the change. In verse 32 "of the hip" for "that shrank" is in accordance with modern interpreters. A number of improvements are visible in Jacob's dying ode (xlix).

The remaining books of the Pentateuch do not afford an opportunity for so many striking changes; yet throughout even these the careful reader will note numerous small alterations which greatly tend to clear up the meaning. The same may be said in an increasing degree of the other historical books, Judges to Esther, in which the force of idiomatic expressions is often very much heightened. For example, in 2 Kings viii, 13, "And Hazael said, But what, is thy servant a dog, that he should do this great thing?" the middle clause now reads, "what is thy servant, which is but a dog" (literally, "what [is] thy servant, the dog"). In other cases, as in the splendid ode of Deborah (Judg. v), while considerable improvement is manifest, for example, "For that the leaders took the lead" (verse 2), "tell of it" (verse 10), "then came down a remnant of the nobles" (verse 13), "march on with strength" (verse 21), yet "against the mighty" (verses 18, 23) is retained, where better sense is yielded by the margin, "among the mighty."

It is in the vivid and sententious phraseology of the poetical

books, especially Job, the Psalms, Proverbs, and, to a considerable degree, the Prophets, that the amplest scope and the most imperative necessity exists for revising the old version. Its authors, although good Hebrew scholars, were not so well posted as are moderns in the niceties of philology and archæology, and they frequently missed or neglected the exact shade of meaning upon which a figure or allusion turns. Most or all the well-known mistakes of this kind have been corrected by the present Revisers, and we need not take time to enumerate them. Notable examples are Psa. xix, 3, where the Authorized Version has completely reversed the thought by inserting "where;" xxxii, 9, where the same thing has been done by rendering "lest they come near" instead of "else they will not come near." We can only stop to direct attention to a few of the most beautiful and forcible passages which have become almost household words. The magnificent spirit-picture of Eliphaz (Job iv) is improved by rendering "Is not thy fear of God thy confidence, and thy hope the integrity of thy ways?" (ver. 6) alluding to Job's self-righteousness; "is not their tent-cord plucked up within them?" (ver. 21) a figure of sudden and utter ruin; but we doubt the possibility of the rendering "betwixt morning and evening" (ver. 20); and we think the first tense requires us to render ver. 2, "Has one assayed, . . . that thou shouldst be grieved?" referring to the silence hitherto of the three friends, and reproving Job for unprovoked complaint. In xv, 11, the rendering, "Are the consolations of God too small for thee, and the word that dealeth gently with thee?" is certainly clearer than the old version, "small with thee? is there any secret thing with thee?" But all readers will naturally turn to the famous passage in xix, 25–27, to see how it has fared, and we may, therefore, be excused in considering it somewhat at length. The only changes of importance which the Revisers have made are in ver. 26, which they render, "And after my skin hath been thus destroyed, yet from my flesh shall I see God." Every sensible scholar must be glad that the "worms" have been eliminated, and the rendering "in my flesh" corrected. The Revisers have doubtless intended to give both clauses the construction which scholars are now pretty well agreed upon, and they seem to have purposely imitated the ambiguity of the original in the phrase "from my

flesh." We have ourselves, however, no idea that the passage is at all applicable to the doctrine of the resurrection of the body, but believe that it speaks only, though strongly, of survivorship of the spirit. The Revisers have evidently hesitated to take this ground, and therefore have left the passage in such a state as to admit of the conventional reference. Notwithstanding the ingenious arguments of our late friend Dr. Burr, in his comments on the passage, which we think are philologically and exegetically untenable, we would give a very different and more literal rendering to it. We especially see no authority for translating *dust* (*aphar*, verse 25) by "earth," *have seen* (*raû*, verse 27) by "shall behold,"* or *stranger* (*zar*) by "another." Of course we would render "without my flesh." In verse 28 the old phrase, so familiar as a cant expression, "the root of the matter" (whatever that might legitimately mean), is retained. We would prefer "a ground of accusation," as conveying some pertinent and distinct notion (the original has simply "root of word"). We think that readers generally will acquiesce with great satisfaction in the new rendering of xxxi, 35, "Oh that I had one to hear me! (Lo, here is my signature, let the Almighty answer me;) And that I had the indictment which mine adversary hath written!" which takes away the basis of the old saw about one's "adversary writing a book."

We call special attention to some of the happier renderings in the Psalms: ii, 12, "For his wrath will soon be kindled;" iv, 1, "Thou hast set me at large;" v, 3, "and will keep watch;" vii, 6, "thou hast commanded judgment;" 7, "And over them return thou on high;" 10, "My shield is with God;" 13, "He maketh his arrows fiery shafts;" viii, 5, "but little lower than God;" ix, 6, "The enemy are come to an end, they are desolate for ever; And the cities which thou hast overthrown, Their very memorial is perished;" x, 4, "All his thoughts are, There is no God;" xvi, 2, "I have no good beyond thee;" xvii, 13, 14, "Deliver my soul from the wicked by thy sword; From men, by thy hand, O Lord;" xviii, 37, 38, "I will pursue," etc.; xxiv, 6, "That seek thy face, O God of Jacob;" xxix, 9, "saith, Glory;" 10, "The Lord sat as king at the Flood;" xxxiii, 15, "He that

* The so-called *prophetic praeter* (which we do not even believe this to be) is never actually translated as a future, not even in Isa. liii.

fashioneth the hearts of them all, That considereth all their works;" xxxiv, 17, "The righteous cried," etc.; xxxv, 8, "With destruction let him fall therein;" xxxvii, 3, "Dwell in the land, and follow after faithfulness;" 35, "like a green tree in its native soil;" xl, 9, "Lo, I will not refrain my lips;" xli, 3, "Thou makest," etc.; xlv, 8, "stringed instruments have made thee glad;" 13, "The king's daughter within the palace is all glorious;'" xlix, 12, "But man abideth not in honor;" l, 8, "And thy burnt offerings are continually before me;" 16, "And that thou hast taken," etc.; lv, 15, "Let them go down alive into the pit;" 19, "and answer them, . . . The men who have no changes, And who fear not God;" lvi, 11, "What can man do unto me?" 13, "Hast thou not delivered," etc. These must suffice as specimens, and we leave each reader to continue the comparison for himself.

We could occupy the remainder of the paper in pointing out improvements made by the Revisers in the other poetical books, with here and there, perhaps, a defect. So in the prophetical books, which on the whole have certainly been rendered more transparent. They have done as well as they probably could with such superb and highly imaginative passages as Isa. xxi, xxii; but we think that after all but feeble justice has been rendered to its startling transitions. For example, we cannot see how xxi, 2, can be grammatically or consistently rendered "A grievous vision is declared unto me," against the gender of the verb and the subject, and the fact that a vision is *seen*, not *told* (the verb here always means to inform by word of mouth). To us it appears that both a spectacle and an oracle are here spoken of, and the following verse relates them, namely, the ravages of the enemy, and the divine permission for his attack. Nor do we see any good grammatical reason for the change of the tenses in verse 7 ("when he seeth . . . he shall hearken," where the Authorized Version, like the Hebrew, has the past), which appears to us to spoil the scene altogether. Still there are many minor improvements, for example, verse 8, "as a lion," for "A lion;" verse 9, "horsemen in pairs," for "with a couple of horsemen" (we think "horses in pairs" would have been still better). But in verse 12 we prefer the old "return" to "turn," as signifying that there might be intelligence shortly. In xxii, 2, "joyous" is left, although

"noisy" would seem to be the more appropriate rendering. In verse 3 we greatly prefer the marginal renderings, "without the bow," and "which had fled from far;" for the description seems to be that of the inhabitants of the suburbs huddled into the city during the invasion. But the whole passage is very difficult of interpretation, and but little of that work could be expected of the Revisers. We must not fail to note the fact, which many critics doubtless will find fault with, and many of the unlearned triumph over, that in the famous Messianic prediction, Isa. vii, 14, "*a* virgin shall conceive" remains, notwithstanding the presence of the definite article in the Hebrew ("*the* virgin"). To us it does not appear to make the least difference in the ultimate interpretation, although it may have some bearing upon the more immediate reference. The great exegetical knot in lxiv, 5, is cut after the fashion of many recent commentators, by the arbitrary rendering as a question, "Shall we be saved?"

In the Minor Prophets, many passages of which are highly idiomatic, numerous judicious alterations have been made, most of which, however, would not arrest the attention of the cursory reader. We notice a few of the most striking ones, putting the changes in Italics: Hos. viii, 3, "They shall cry unto me, My God, *we Israel* know thee;" verse 5, "*He hath* cast off thy calf, O Samaria;" verse 10, "and they *begin to be diminished* by reason of the burden," etc.; verse 12, "Though I write for him my law *in ten thousand precepts;*" Amos vi, 1, "Woe to them that are at ease in Zion, and to them that *are secure* in the mountain of Samaria, *the notable men* of the chief of the nations, to whom the house of Israel *come!*" verse 5, "*that sing idle* songs;" verse 10, "*in the innermost parts* of the house;" Hab. iii, 2, "In the midst of the years make *it* known;" verse 4, "He had *rays* coming forth from his hand;" verse 5, "And *fiery bolts* went forth at his feet;" verse 6, "His goings were *as* of old;" verse 9, "The oaths to the tribes *were a sure word;*" verse 11, "At the light of thine arrows *as* they went;" verse 13, "*Laying bare* the foundation;" verse 14, "Thou didst *pierce* with his *own* staves the head of his *warriors;*" verse 16, "When *it* cometh up *against* the people *which invadeth him in* troops." In these books, as in all the preceding, of course we can give only specimens, but they will

prove, we trust, sufficiently definite and characteristic to afford a just idea of the work in general.

It remains to sum up the results of the revision, and forecast in some measure its probable success. Many persons entertained extravagant expectations concerning it, and were correspondingly disappointed, especially on the appearance of the New Testament portion. They seem to have forgotten that no new translation, much less a commentary, was intended; and because every thing was not plain and obvious at sight, they abused or threw aside the New Version as useless. Some complain that too little has been done, and others find fault with it as being too much. Probably each party, while having some degree of truth on its side, is equally mistaken. While whole chapters, especially those most frequently read and therefore most cherished in memory, have often been left almost untouched, yet still in the aggregate many thousand alterations, more or less important, have been made. It is a most gratifying and instructive fact that all these put together have not in the slightest degree impaired or modified a single element of the Christian faith or affected one saving truth. With all this minute sifting every doctrine of the Bible remains intact, and no statement or principle contained in it has been to any considerable degree interfered with. No religious creed, no historical position, no scientific theory even, is either weakened or supported by the revised readings. This shows that the substantial meaning of the sacred text for all ordinary purposes is irrefragably fixed; and this verification alone, if the revision shall have no other effect, is of inestimable value. It will be in vain hereafter for any novice or crank to arise and dispute the established belief on any point by controverting the rendering and urging some novelty of his own in its stead. Scholars, and plain men too, will continue to examine the translation, and unfold or criticise its accuracy; but no wholesale or even large innovation can henceforth be proposed on the strength of individual opinion. We may safely predict that the New Version will be more and more appealed to in theological discussions as time goes on; and woe to the rash sciolist who ventures to contradict it. Its conclusions were not made in haste nor by solitary judgment; and they cannot be overthrown in that way. If they are finally to be set aside or

corrected, it must be by some corresponding degree of *consensus* and deliberation.

On the other hand, the question is often asked, Will the Revised supersede the Authorized Version? Personally we would be proud to hope that this might be the case, and that speedily; but, to speak candidly, we must say that, judging from present indications, especially the reception of the Revised New Testament, we do not think it likely. For the present generation at least it seems improbable; psychologically, we might say, it is almost impossible. How are the words of the old Bible, endeared by a thousand tender associations, to be erased from the memory? How obliterated from the language of more than two centuries of the most active period of the English literature? Any sudden change in the popular or public use of the Book is out of the question. It is said to have taken forty years for the version of King James, although on its title-page "appointed to be read in churches" (doubtless this was done by his express but verbal command, yet no formal decree has been found for its "authorization"), to displace the familiar Genevan version, which had been in circulation nothing like so long as this has now been. The Convocation of Canterbury itself has not even taken any action toward authorizing the public use of their own work, nor has the Convocation of York joined in its production. Nobody supposes that the Queen or Parliament would for one moment propose at this time to put it in the pulpits of the Established Church, and without some such authority no clergyman would dare to substitute it in the public lessons. Even if this were done, Dissenters would not be bound to adopt it. In this country there is no one authority competent to give it a general prestige. Nor, so far as now appears, does any ecclesiastical body, whether high or low, think of ordering its public use. In fact, we scarcely know of one individual church or prominent pastor that has permanently made the experiment. The thing evidently is not destined to come about in this way, if at all. Only when the well-considered and long-balanced voice of "public opinion" in ecclesiastical spheres has been fully and clearly pronounced, will either the British and Foreign Bible Society or the American Bible Society feel itself justified in legally changing its charter and altering its stereotype plates

so as to publish and circulate the Revised Version. At first, and for an indefinite time, it must go along-side of the old version, and win its way by the force of its own merits against the formidable rival.

The example of the movements made to revise the German and other Teutonic Bibles is admonitory on this point. They have been much longer in progress, and the committees in charge of them have as yet only published *tentative* versions, reserving the final decision still indefinitely. Yet they have introduced less numerous and important changes than the English Revisers. We cannot help thinking that if the latter had made only such alterations as were virtually adopted unanimously, and were of obvious interest, the work would have stood a much fairer chance of ultimate and even early acceptance. It must be confessed that many of the changes very slightly affect the meaning, and that the reason of still more of them is scarcely patent to the unlearned reader. As to the more important ones it is equally certain that in numerous cases the Revisers themselves differ from each other in opinion as to their correctness or advisability; and if they were not agreed, how could they expect outside scholars, to say nothing of other people, to accept them? Moreover they have put forth the work beyond their own control. The British Companies have entirely disbanded; and the American meet only once a year for a reunion. Neither expect to resume the work, or make any further changes. If this is to be done, it must be begun *de novo*. Surely there is no prospect of this during our day. Yet the very fact that such a proposition has been or can be already named is an admission that the present revision is not a finality. What hope is there that a new commission would be more competent, or that they would be willing to serve, or that their conclusions would be any better or more acceptable? That the work will some day be satisfactorily accomplished, whether by this or some modification of it, we confidently believe; but when, where, and by whom, it is impossible now to predict. When it shall be at last effected, we opine the intelligent Christian public will demand that the translation shall make the thought as plain to the common English reader as it is to the thorough Greek and Hebrew scholar. Men, women, and children want a Bible that they can read and at once

understand as they can a vernacular book without the help of commentaries, except for purposes of detailed elucidation and application. The task is confessedly a difficult one, much more difficult than the uninitiated have any conception of; but the necessity will create the invention, and this active age will not rest until the end is accomplished. Whether for *liturgical* use any thing more than a correction of the more palpable blemishes and errors of the present Authorized Version is called for, or would be useful, is quite another question. We really doubt if *for the pulpit* any degree of scholastic exactitude could make amends for a disturbance of its familiar rhythmical cadences. But for *private study*, clearness of meaning, definiteness of style, and unambiguity of language being essential, changes will be welcomed which would not be tolerated in public use. The only question asked will be, Does the proposed rendering convey the idea of the original more correctly, more fully, and more quickly than the old? An antique style is an impediment to ready apprehension, and a Hebraistic coloring a shadow over distinct comprehension; and no close version can adequately convey the meaning to minds so far away in time and region, language and customs, as are we from those who first penned or read the original. Students need something altogether more free, precise, and modern—something, in one word, more *Occidental* in its form of phraseology. Whether this sort of revision is compatible with the other, remains to be seen. Certain we are that no mere "doing into English" of the venerable volume, whether by slavish literalism or by pedantic paraphrase, will satisfy the demand. What the translator of any foreign and especially an ancient book needs to do is, first to grasp the thought clearly and accurately, and then express it plainly and simply in the idiom of his own day and people. That the original is ambiguous is no excuse for his being so, nor that it is very old any reason for his using archaisms. It was neither of these to those who wrote and read it vernacularly, and a translation ought to reproduce as nearly and fully as possible the same impression upon the mind of the reader as existed in theirs. He should ask, What did they mean by that sentence? and then say it directly and concisely in his own terms. Imitation of a foreign idiom is only allowable in cases of *paronomasia*, and even then it has very narrow limits.

One of the most shrewd and impressive observations that we have seen in relation to this whole subject is made by a member of the British Old Testament Company in reviewing the work of his colleagues of the New Testament Company:

> From the nature of the reception accorded to the Revised New Testament, two important facts may be considered as placed beyond all reasonable doubt: first, that public opinion has declared itself unmistakably in favor of revision—a question on which, before the inception of the work, learned men, including perhaps some of the revisers themselves, were not agreed; secondly, that the same public opinion which sanctions the undertaking, and does not question the competence of those who have been intrusted with it, reserves to itself the right of the freest discussion of the manner in which it has been executed.*

The criticisms which led to the undertaking, which have accompanied it, and also followed it, have forever broken the almost idolatry with which the Authorized Version was widely regarded, and shown that improvements are both desirable and possible; but the same earnest and honest spirit of inquiry will admit no Revised Version to its place unless it shall clearly establish its claim as having really effected those improvements, not only as a whole but in every essential particular. Whether the present work reaches this high standard is a decision to be rendered by no jury of professional experts, who may indeed furnish the evidence, but not speak the verdict; for the question is now submitted to the common sense of the great body of English-speaking Christians, for whom the book was prepared. Meanwhile, if the present revision shall have accomplished nothing more than to prepare the way for the successful competitor, by educating public opinion as to the necessity and proper method of executing the task, it will have done an immense service to religious literature. If it shall prove but a scaffolding to the final structure, those who have spent upon it so vast an amount of time and labor, which no money could have purchased, will not have occasion to regret their pains.

* *Otium Norvicense;* or, "Notes on Select Passages of the Greek Testament, chiefly with reference to Recent English Versions." By Rev. Frederick Field, LL.D., Honorary Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. Oxford, 1881. P. iv.

ART. III.—MORAL TRAITS OF THE "YAMATO-DAMASHII" ("SPIRIT OF JAPAN").

BY A JAPANESE.

"Shika-shima no, Yamato kokoro wo
Hito towaba
Asahi ni niwō-o Yamazakura ka na."

THUS runs a national ode of my far-eastern country—Japan; roughly rendered into English, the lines read:

"Would'st know the heart of Yamato?
Its type is the Sakura blossom,
That scatters its odorous sweetness
Beneath the sun of the morning."

The poem itself is so simple as to be almost meaningless, for the "odorous sweetness" which it attributes to the "spirit of Yamato" is a certain negative purity—"want of any thing within," as the Japanese people term it, and in some cases it becomes mere emptiness of heart. We turn to its primitive religion, and how simple it is! "Whiteness and purity" form the essence of its teachings; its temple is built of unvarnished wood; its objects of worship are a clear mirror and white paper curiously folded; its sacrifices and ceremonies are as simple as they are ridiculous. Hindu religions, with their elaborate systems, have greatly modified this cult of an earlier age, yet enough remains of its ancient simplicity to show that the Japanese are a sincere, straight-forward people, as regards their native characteristics.

While there is no question that the "Yamato-damashii" has been too much lauded in some quarters, it is nevertheless true that in its simplicity and natural freedom from disagreeable traits it produces many noble and lovable characters. The Chinese have been represented as a people famous for trickery, and the Japanese people, as their neighbors, have shared in the same suspicions on the part of foreigners. True, avarice in commercial dealings has sadly degraded many of them, especially along the sea-borders; yet enough remain among them who, for the sake of that ancient "spirit" of which they are proud, would, to borrow their expression, rather "feed upon

the roots of mountain herbs than to rob their neighbors of a grain of rice for hunger's sake."

I would endeavor to show the Western reader how far the "Yamato-heart" is essentially Christian *in spirit*, and what advantages a Christian missionary may derive from it, in leading my countrymen to the purest and holiest of Saviours, whose sacred flowering, once for all, on the stem of humanity, has shed an "odorous sweetness" through the world.

Among the nobler manifestations of the primitive nature of the Japanese, three distinct traits may be termed characteristic, since in them exists "the promise and potency" of what is best in the life of the nation: 1. Filial piety; 2. Loyalty to higher authorities; 3. Love for inferiors.

"Filial love is the source of all virtue," reads the first lesson in the Book of Confucius; but it was the genius of Japan which intuitively received this doctrine as fundamental, not the philosopher's conquest over a nation, that renders Christianity, in some respects, difficult of acceptance. The greatest stumbling-block to a Japanese in accepting the religion of Christ is, that Scripture which declares that a man shall "leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife;" but while this is so, fortunately for the pagan, St. Paul has left us a partial, if not a complete, explanation of the passage in his Epistle to the Ephesians, and pronouncing it a "mystery" has applied it to the intimate relation of Christ to his Church.

To the Japanese no relation can be greater than the sacred relation of child to parent. Infidelity in this regard is, in Japan, synonymous with *immorality*. It is true that the saying of Confucius, referred to above, is frequently perverted by selfish parents when they wish to coerce their innocent children into wrong-doing, and it has often had a deleterious effect upon the latter in checking the free and vigorous growth of their minds; but the nation's history for the past twelve centuries would have been that of the Roman Empire had it not been for this one element of morality—filial love.

Parricide is a crime seldom recorded in Japanese history; and in the very few cases where it has occurred, so atrocious and unnatural does it seem in the eyes of the people that, whatever services the criminals may have rendered their country, even the mention of their names is avoided.

A vivid illustration of the living power exerted by the doctrine of filial duty on the heart of old Japan is found in the story of the Soga brothers, which is so popular among the masses that, to this day, when a theater fails, a dramatic representation of the Soga history always insures the return of good fortune. The story is "ever new and refreshing," say the people. The events alluded to occurred in the latter part of the eleventh century, when the real power of the empire was in the hands of a military general, or shōgun, whose name was Yoritomo. His popularity among the people soon raised him to a degree of prosperity which no ruler had ever enjoyed before him, and, as is usually the case when the power of a country is vested in one man, the new ruler's government assumed a despotic form, and his court soon became a scene of base flattery and corruption.

Among his subjects was one Soga, famous for his muscular strength, especially as a wrestler, and without a rival in the land. One day, however, he was challenged by a favorite of the great general, Kudo by name, and a day was appointed for the trial of their strength. The exhibition was of great interest to the whole country, and in that age of feudalism, when physical prowess was the basis of immortal fame, it was the occasion of deep anxiety to both the parties involved; but when the contest came to pass, to the disgust of his new opponent, Soga proved, as on former occasions, pre-eminent in strength. Angered, and full of bitter resentment at his defeat, Kudo determined to remove the victor from the sphere of his triumphs by a secret assassination, and an archer was sent out on the cruel mission. As Soga was journeying homeward through tortuous mountain ravines, a well-aimed arrow put an end to his life; but when the crime, done in darkness, at length came to light, the murderer so aptly pleaded his cause through some flattering courtiers that he received an open pardon from the shōgun.

The unfortunate children of an unhappy sire were condemned to a life of the greatest secrecy and obscurity in the home of their grandfather, screened from the observation of the envious Kudo; but as they grew older and learned their father's fate, the shadow of a grave responsibility fell upon their tender souls in the seclusion of that quiet home. From

filial affection was born the stern purpose of revenge, and, through trials and vicissitudes of all kinds, they toiled steadfastly toward the goal of their hopes.

Subtle and powerful temptations appealed to the hearts of these "heathen" of a bygone day; but they were deaf to the voice of the charmer, for their Master had said: "Bear not above you the same heaven with the slayer of sire or lord."

After eighteen years of trial, to use the phrase of the chronicler, "Heaven pitied the filial love of the orphans," and their enemy lay prostrate under their swords, while the whole country applauded their triumph; but, heedless of the honors awaiting them, they snapped their young lives asunder, on the very night of their long-sought vengeance, by plunging into the midst of their foes. Thus passed from earth two of the purest souls born to fulfill but *one duty*—a duty to which youth and ambition were willingly sacrificed.

Another striking instance of filial devotion occurred in the middle of the thirteenth century, during the reign of an enterprising emperor who sought to restore to the imperial throne its rightful authority by coping with the usurpations of the shōgun. In his band of conspirators was a brave man named Hino, of royal descent, fine culture, and noble spirit, who undertook a daring enterprise with but a slender force, only to find that his whole plan had been disclosed to the enemy by a traitorous comrade.

This loyal adherent of the emperor was captured and condemned by his delighted foes to a lonely exile on an island in the northern seas, leaving behind him at the capital his wife and a youthful son of thirteen. A manly heart beat in the breast of the seeming child, and, on learning that his father had been unjustly exiled, he at once resolved to seek the distant island which held the object of his filial love, and arouse the sympathy of the governor; or, failing in this, he hoped at least to bring comfort to the despairing exile. Had not his great Teacher written: "A filial son shall not live away from his parents?"

At that period of difficult travel it was no light task for a mere child to journey alone, amid various hardships by land and sea; but after fifteen weary days the faithful son found himself, to his great joy, on the desolate island where his father

languished in prison. Joy, however, was of short duration, for not only was his eager prayer for an interview with his father harshly refused, but the blood-thirsty governor, with subtle cruelty, ordered the unhappy man to be beheaded without a single glance at his brave boy, and the order was at once executed.

The poor lad's wrath and sorrow knew no bounds, and natural affection united with the simple creed of his childhood to call him to revenge. He could not forget that to allow "the same heaven" to bend above himself and his father's foe was to prove traitor to sacred love and duty; and the night following the day of his father's cruel death he boldly made his way into the castle of his enemy, and at length found the object of his vengeance. Kicking scornfully at the pillow of his victim, and before the latter could rise to combat his childish foe, Hino's son, with a swift sword, pierced the breast that had shown no mercy, and with gallant courage broke through the difficulties surrounding him, to escape, finally, to the arms of his widowed mother.

Such stories are almost numberless in the records of Japan, and are unanimously commended by the people as embodying the highest ideals of right and honor. While it is not the writer's purpose to maintain that revenge of this sort is *not sin*, yet, as a Japanese, he prizes most highly fidelity to parents and earnestness in pursuing what is regarded as duty.

Perhaps some illustrations of the influence exerted by the incoming of Christianity upon the filial spirit of Japan will show more vividly than simple assertion what a potent factor it forms in Japanese life. A little Japanese boy, only eleven years of age, had in some way found his way into a Christian Sabbath-school, where he heard the new doctrine of the "one true God," and where a new ideal of duty was presented to him. His parents, who were ignorant idolaters, were enraged when they discovered that their son was eager to hear about "the religion of barbarians," and every Sabbath afternoon, on his return from school, inflicted severe punishment upon him, regardless of his unfailing patience. Under the heaviest blows the child never once murmured at the cruelty of his parents, but one Sabbath morning, with a serious look on his face, he came to them, bearing a stout whip in his hand, and bowing reverently before them,

after the fashion of his country, said, earnestly: "Father, mother, I am now going to Sabbath-school, as usual, and I know you will beat me when I return. I get restless and uneasy at school when I remember that I must be punished afterward, so please whip me this morning before I go." So saying, with tears in his eyes, he waited to receive on his already lacerated body the blows which his merciless parents were accustomed to inflict; but they would have been less than human had they resisted so much gentleness of spirit. "Son," sobbed the father, "we cannot beat you any more. *Is this Christianity?* I will go with you and hear the teaching which has made you such a noble boy." Father and mother accompanied the child they had so persecuted to services held in honor of Christ, and ultimately became earnest believers, because in exalting Jesus he did not cease to be a true son of Japan. All honor to this brave child of Yamato, who thus kept intact the spirit of his nation, and yet glorified his new-found faith in One greater than Confucius and purer than the "ancient gods!"

A Japanese Christian, and a well-beloved friend of the writer, in telling of the persecutions heaped upon him by his family when he first became a disciple of Christ, said that he once thought he would rather "go to hell with his mother than go to heaven alone." Poor, struggling soul! But the Father of Love desires such for his children, and he was called to important service, while in due time the revered mother entered "the household of faith."

Here, then, is one "key" by which the Christian missionary may unlock the hearts of my countrymen. Let him cherish and encourage this simple, unobtrusive sense of duty toward parents, which has been cultivated for the past twenty centuries, and, while holding sacred their child-like reverence toward earthly parents, lead these children of the Orient up to the larger love and higher duty due to that "unknown God" whom some among us have lately learned to name "our Father." May infidelity to father and mother ever remain synonymous with *immorality* in the Eastern mind!

The second leading ethical trait peculiar to the spirit of old Japan, namely, "Loyalty to higher authorities," will next be discussed; for, while in Japanese eyes filial love is the foundation-stone of all virtues, loyalty to masters is the crown of them all.

An ignorant Samurai,* after revolting against the present government because he thought it was adopting the manners and the religion of foreigners in defiance of the established customs of his nation, was found dying in an obscure village, and when his body was examined a gilded strip of paper was found on which he had written the following lines:

> "For country's sake, the national guard I scattered,
> And in the village of Ōye I pierced my body and died."

Thus perished a life held cheap by its possessor, who had no other aim than the blind motive that he must die because he supposed that his country would be defiled by so-called "robber hosts"—the sons of the civilized West! This is the extremity to which ignorance and prejudice have driven some of these men trained in simple faith and honesty of purpose from their youth—men whom one may characterize in Japanese fashion as those "whose lives are light as dust, whose duties are as weighty as a thousand rocks." Be it understood that they have no fair promise in their future of recompense for their deeds of valor or of loyalty; for the sake of duty itself they look thus lightly upon their lives. If their conception of duty were raised to the highest Christian stand-point, then they would be just what they should be, and this, in fact, has proved to be the case.

The best and most active among the native Christians are of this class of young men, and, curiously enough, most of them are from the same region which produced the deluded Samurai referred to, whom obedience to a false sense of duty led to death.

To no other Christians does the word "Master," applied to Christ, come with a deeper meaning than to the Japanese disciples of the "martyr of Nazareth." A man may leave his parents and follow his master, but he cannot do the opposite. "If masters be *as* masters, servants will be *as* servants," is one of their favorite mottoes, meaning that if masters love their servants as they ought, they may expect from them all devotion and loyalty; and again, they say, "A loyal servant shall not have two masters under heaven." "Go ye and serve our master; let this old and feeble soldier die alone," are the words

* The military class of Japan, retainers of the Daimios under the feudal system so recently abolished.

with which an aged father sent forth his sons when their services were required by their master. What Christian fathers and mothers do not recall, in reading such words, the sweet but melancholy hours when they were sending forth their sons and daughters to far-off lands, and the islands of distant seas, because their Master had called these loved ones to special service? May watch-words like these be preserved in the nation's heart, as Heaven's most precious heritage; so that, when one Universal Master shall have taken possession of its people, they may all serve him with that singleness of heart which they have been taught to show toward their earthly masters!

In writing of loyalty to superiors, and the relation of servants or retainers to their lords, one cannot well omit some account of the prescribed method of self-destruction known as "Hara-kiri," and its ethical significance.

When, in vision, "Sir Launfal," as the ideal Christian knight, rode forth to seek the Holy Grail, "counting not his life dear unto himself," he would yet have esteemed himself a pitiable coward had he voluntarily sought self-destruction on his sorrowful return from a fruitless quest; but a pagan knight of old Japan, under like circumstances of failure to attain a sacred purpose, would have deemed self-martyrdom a fitting atonement.

Hara-kiri,* once common among the Japanese people, and still practiced to some extent, can scarcely be termed suicide, since in the Western mind that word is inevitably associated with the idea of cowardice and want of self-respect, or, in other words, it is self-murder born of shame or despair, while the hara-kiri of the Japanese is a heroic act, the avoidance of which on certain occasions is considered abject cowardice.

With it is connected the idea of self-sacrifice and a high conception of duty, as well as a keen sense of honor. For instance, it is thought more honorable for a man to die by his own hand than to perish by the sword of his enemies, or to lead an ignoble existence after obtaining their clemency; hence the soldier committed hara-kiri when in danger of capture, surrender being a thing most contemptible in Japanese eyes.

* Literally, abdomen-cutting. It is commonly written "Hara-kari" in the West, through a misspelling of the original words. For a good description of the ceremonies and etiquette attending the rite, see Mitford's "Tales of Old Japan."

When a man desired to show genuine repentance for wrong-doing, the performance of hara-kiri was considered to be the best possible evidence of his penitence and his desire to atone. Another example of what a Japanese would once have thought the "proper use" of this mode of self-destruction may be found in the very ancient custom which led retainers to die by their own hands when their chief passed before them into the future world; for the way of the Hades was supposed to be lone and dreary, and it was a sign of loyal affection when men were brave enough to accompany the departed spirit of a beloved master through the dark passage leading to its final destination.

This cruel custom was, however, abolished many centuries ago, yet occasionally, at a later day, when some favorite general has passed away, the grief of his soldiers has caused them to end their earthly existence in order to follow their lamented chieftain into the unseen world. Thus it may be readily seen that loyalty and self-sacrifice were the real motives impelling men to this peculiar kind of self-murder; and mistaken though they were, a lofty sense of duty lends moral beauty to the fatal deed. There is therefore as much difference between what is called suicide and hara-kiri as there is between the conception of Western nations and the idea of the Japanese people in regard to this rather barbarous act.

As an illustration of popular feeling in the Occident, take the case of Victor Hugo's son-in-law, who suffered himself to drown with his beautiful bride in the Seine, because he could not save her, and who received admiration rather than blame for such a manifestation of intense affection, and the reader will perceive at once how different is the Oriental ideal of duty; for the Japanese would view such a death as mere indulgence in selfish love, involving disregard of higher responsibilities.

A genuine Japanese Samurai in studying Shakespeare would peruse the words which chronicle the heroic conduct of Brutus in his last hour with a heart throbbing with intense admiration, but when he reads concerning love-lorn "Romeo," he cannot prevent a yawn of disgusted weariness as he ejaculates involuntarily, "I will have none on't; we do but lose our time!"

The stories of the "Loyal Ronins," somewhat known to the American reader through various translations, cannot here be recounted at length, though they furnish, perhaps, the most striking example of the relation existing between master and servant that one can gather from Japanese records, and mingle romance and tragedy in a fashion which renders fiction tame. These tales of the olden time relate the exploits of forty-seven Samurai who, unmindful of suffering, obstacles, and dangers, and with the certain prospect of death before them, banded together to avenge their lord's blood, which seemed calling them to sacred duty. Their brave and powerful prince, through the evil conduct of another, had been driven to a desperate attempt for which the punishment decreed by royal command was death to himself and the disbanding of his clan, five thousand strong; and in that despotic age none dared dispute the word of a supreme ruler. The "forty-seven," however, to whom the approval of conscience was dearer than earthly treasure—to whom death was sweeter than dishonor—relentlessly pursued their chosen path, finally accomplished their purpose, and the foe whose malignity had brought ruin to their master fell beneath the same sword with which he had been forced to commit hara-kiri. When their lives were declared forfeit, with noble courage they themselves committed the same act; and to this day, the quiet grave-yard in the capital, where rests the dust of these long-dead heroes, is a sacred place to the admiring pilgrims who "keep their memory green."

The Japanese read with untiring admiration the story of a hero of the Taketa clan whose master, by his unstable mind, had allowed corruption to creep into the ranks of his followers, so that evil men held high carnival. This faithful servant of a recreant lord gave secret warning of the perils threatening a noble house, but his master heard with scorn; and after repeated efforts to avert impending ruin, the true-hearted retainer was driven out of the clan through the machinations of self-elected despots who were laboring for their own selfish purposes. The enemies of the house of Taketa rejoiced when they saw the loyal knight removed from his post of duty, and he was solicited on all sides by the charms of wealth and future prosperity; but he rejected all offers, firmly clinging to

the doctrine that a true Samurai "shall not have two masters under heaven."

At last the hour which he had foreseen came in all its darkness, and his lord was reduced to the direst extremity of need; then without a complaint for former ill-treatment, but with deep sorrow for the fate of his clan, he hastened eagerly to join in the final struggle with the foes of Taketa. Bravely he stood before his ungrateful master, in the front of the battle, and until their cruel lances had pierced him with countless wounds, yielded not an inch to his enemies. Toko, a great patriot of my country, has embalmed this hero's deed in song, in his famous poem on the "Yamato-spirit," but more deeply still in the heart of the nation is enshrined the memory of his heroism, and that of scores of loyal knights who lived and died for duty.

The unfaithful son and the disloyal servant could find no place in the society of "old Japan;" and to show that this spirit of loyalty was not confined to the Samurai class, I would point out the fact that after the forty-seven faithful knights whose story has been referred to had fulfilled their self-imposed task, those who did not join in the "loyal league" were unanimously held in contempt by the people, and were literally excommunicated from society; while some among them, reduced to beggary, finding none to pity, died of starvation.

The new order of government and society has changed the general idea of the people in regard to "loyalty;" and in the arrogant names of liberty and independence, of right and freedom, they are losing much of that royal spirit of fidelity and attachment to their fellow-men; yet something of it remains, and this remnant of "Yamato-damashii" never appears to greater advantage than when seen among the native Christians of Japan; for in many churches, the relation of the people to their pastor is marked by a feeling of love and reverence which might well awaken envy in some pastors of Christendom, although the followers of Spencer may regard these loyal tendencies as "retrograde forms of social organization."

Is it a Utopian dream to hope that before a people like the Japanese pass through manifold experiences in the attainment

of right government and wise administration they may enter, without further preparation, that free kingdom where their inborn faculties will be accepted just as they are, and consecrated to labor in higher, holier spheres? Have not the olden traditions of loyalty to a chief, and the chivalry of knighthood, prepared them in a certain degree for the simple fidelity which should exist among the sharers in that realm where he that will "be the chiefest shall be servant of all?"

In discussing and illustrating the third element of morality which seems a part of the primitive spirit of my country, mention of Buddhism, with its modifying influences, must not be neglected; for a religion inculcating kindness to "the meanest thing that feels" could not fail to increase tenderness in all human relations, and to permeate the hearts of the people with a deeper feeling of brotherhood.

One may say that the source of the Buddhist faith is humanity—a source found in the heart of an Indian prince whose unconquerable sympathy for human suffering impelled him to discard his royal state and seek, in lowly guise, some means for the alleviation of a world's miseries.

So far as *man* could succeed, he won success. His doctrines may be gainsaid, his religious system may be wrong, but none among us doubt that his humanity knew no bounds; and when we have made due allowance for the corruptions and superstitions which have crept into Buddhism, the inventions of his crafty followers, we may rightfully accord all honor to this noblest of the sons of India for the incalculable benefit he brought to the Eastern world in causing men *to feel for men*. We, as heathen, welcome with overwhelming joy the advent of the Greater Light to rule our day, but we are no less grateful to the Father of all mankind for the lesser light by which he hath ruled our night.

When the humanitarianism of Sakya-muni gathered the fair islands of Nippon under its benign influence, although it did not annihilate rank and class distinctions, it intensified the native kindliness of the people toward dependents and inferiors. Mr. Mori, after some experience in England as his country's representative, declared that he missed in the West "that sense of brotherhood which binds together all the members of one family, and which extends from them to all the dwellers in one district;" and in commenting on this opinion a foreign writer

remarks that it is this bond of interest "which keeps the number of paupers in Japan down to a very low figure." As servants in my country have usually proven "servants indeed," so masters have, as a rule, well fulfilled the duty of masters. The affection existing between the two parties was like that of parents and children; and so profound was this attachment that it has often been carried to extremes on the part of the masters as well as on that of their servants. Saigo, the illustrious head of the Kagoshima rebellion which occurred a few years ago, is said to have had no other motive in taking up arms against the government than a desire to comply with the request of his followers. When the impetuous youths came to him begging that he would lead in an armed revolt against the established order, he replied, in yielding his consent: "Well, my young friends, you are going to give my head to your enemies within seven months." The prophecy of the brave but unwise chieftain was literally fulfilled, for the rebellion, which broke out in February, was crushed in September of the same year, and love for his youthful adherents cost him his life.

When castles were to be evacuated in time of war, commanders of the garrisons usually presented themselves to the enemy as sacrifices, that their followers might be saved, and this without any thought that they were attaining the ideal of a "supreme love" in this self-abnegation, but as "simple soldiers of duty" and affection. This peculiar affection exists in all social spheres; and clerks entering the stores of merchants, apprentices coming into the shops of mechanics, children becoming the pupils of school-masters, all are brought into relations of kindly intimacy with their superiors, not because of self-interest, but for the sake of sacred duty inhering in the idea of these social ties. The stories of sacrifices made by inferiors for those above them in authority have a pathos of their own; but when superiors deny themselves ease and comfort, and in some instances lay down their lives for their dependents, the action holds a deeper meaning, especially to Christians who have so lately learned that "the Highest" has offered the supreme sacrifice of himself, not because we "loved him," but that he "loved us."

Among the heroes of this class stands pre-eminent a peas-

ant of Sakura named Sogoro, who, in the year 1712 of the Christian era, died a death the noblest of which the human mind can conceive. Japan had enjoyed continuous peace for about a century, and men had almost forgotten the use of arms. But a few years before Sogoro won the crown of martyrdom the country had been thrown into confusion by the conduct of the Jesuits, and a fierce contest arose. Every prince was required to furnish a contingent, and the lord of Sakura province, as a prince of power and resources, was ordered to supply the central government with a strong force.

Heavy taxes were laid upon the people, and thus came evil, for entire control of the matter was placed in the hands of a single officer, who thought it a good opportunity to make his own fortune by levying additional taxes in the name of the public revenue; and, gathering about him a band of covetous subordinates, they began a wholesale despoiling of the over-burdened people. The laws forbade any commoner to offer petitions directly to the central government, and all complaints and requests had to be presented through the mediation of the local authorities. If a common man should venture to approach the person of his prince the penalty was imprisonment; but should he dare to invade the sacred presence of the shōgun, the supreme ruler, he must be crucified! The existence of such a law gave the avaricious tax-collector excellent opportunity to wring "the uttermost farthing" from the oppressed masses, and, with unflagging zeal in his unrighteous task, he drove them to desperation by his cruel exactions.

For three years, with starvation staring them in the face, the unhappy people struggled on, their frequent petitions to the wicked prefect being treated with scorn, while some of their number, more courageous than the rest, had tried to approach the prince of Sakura himself, and had paid for their temerity by imprisonment. One hundred and thirty-six villages shared in the sufferings inflicted by the rapacity of one man, and as many as eight hundred families were reduced to the lowest state of penury. In this time of trial the soul of that hero, "from far-off years the people's king," aroused itself in behalf of the starving peasants. The head man of a village, long esteemed by his neighbors as a man of wisdom and philanthropy, Sogoro was also blessed with wealth, so that in times of distress the

needy turned to him as to a father. By his counsels and sympathy, as well as by his open-handed generosity, he alleviated the miseries of the villagers to the utmost of his ability: but a day came when dire need drew near his own threshold. and his supply of food was failing, while starvation reigned throughout the province. Then, since his life could no longer avail his fellow-sufferers, he resolved to die for them. To his comrades in council he said, with simple courage:

"I will approach the shōgun himself with a petition; my neighbors were true to me in time of peace and prosperity, and I will now serve them in their hour of need."

"By no means," protested one of them, "for the law declares that such as intrude upon the shōgun shall be crucified, and their wives and children shall be beheaded."

"I am aware of that," calmly replied Sogoro.

"Then, if your purpose cannot be shaken, we will die with you the death of the cross," rejoined they all.

"Nay," said the hero, "one is enough. When they see me on the cross you will be released from your burdens."

Their tears fell as they heard his words, but his determination was as strong as his sympathy for his starving fellow-men; and when they found him immovable, in spite of their protestations, all cried with one accord: "Father Sogoro, take no thought for your wife and children: you die for us, and we will die for your dear ones."

The affection between the chief and the simple-hearted villagers was without limit, and, with hot tears of mingled grief and gratitude, they saw him pass from their midst never to look upon his face again until it smiled upon them from the vicarious cross of sacrifice.

On returning to his now poverty-stricken home to bid his wife farewell, Sogoro tried to induce her to accept a written divorce from him, that she might not share his fate, but she would not heed his pleadings.

"What is this, my lord?" sobbed the brave woman. "When I was married to you, I was married for two worlds.* Why not let me share the cross and your agony?"

* "Two worlds" (that is, the present and the future). According to the Buddhist idea there are *three* worlds with which we have to do—that of the past, the present, and the future.

"Good!" exclaimed her husband. "Thou deservest to be called the wife of Sogoro. Let us, then, go to the cross hand in hand."

So saying, he left his home to return no more, and sought the capital to await an opportunity for presenting a petition to the shōgun. A day came when the great ruler went abroad with his retinue, and Sogoro hid under a bridge which the procession was to pass. When the litter bearing the shōgun reached this point, the daring farmer clambered up, and, in spite of much opposition, thrust a written petition into the conveyance—a simple act fruitful in consequences. He was arrested at once, and, according to the usage of the time, bound with hempen ropes, and cast into prison; but the paper he had presented was read by the shōgun, who, as was customary, transferred the matter in hand to the prince whom it concerned, with a rebuke for his careless administration. One good connected with the despotic government of that period was the feeling prevalent among the feudal lords; if one among them lost the favor of his people, all looked upon him with contempt, and his influence at court was considerably lessened.

Thus, indirectly, the prince of Sakura was destined to receive some recompense for his mismanagement of provincial affairs, but being a man of harsh temper and rash judgment, he immediately passed the established sentence upon Sogoro, and, although sympathy flowed toward the noble peasant, nothing could avert his doom. The sentence decreed that "this fellow," who had "approached the sacred person of the shōgun," should be crucified, together with his wife, and that their three children should be beheaded. The whole province put on mourning, and several of the people offered themselves as substitutes for the innocent wife and children, but all were rejected. The day of crucifixion came, and the multitude thronged to do homage to the brave farmer and his wife, as uplifted on crosses, side by side, they awaited death. The three children were beheaded before the eyes of the parents, and when they had thus seen the doom of innocence, glittering spears pierced their anguish-stricken breasts, and the sacrifice was complete.

The whole country mourned for the patriot, and additional shame was cast upon the tyrannical prince. Proper authorities were soon dispatched to investigate the matter, the avaricious

prefect was arrested, oppressed farmers were released, and thus by the offering of "innocent blood" righteousness was restored, while peace and joy abounded throughout the province.

Such is a cursory account of the martyrdom of the noblest of my countrymen, and is it sacrilege to discern in the self-abnegation of this peasant-hero a faint shadow of the matchless love and sorrow which led the "Holy One of Israel" to Calvary?

No better illustration can be offered of that spirit in Japan, which moves the greater to suffer for the less, the superior for the weaker inferior; and though time and change may have enfeebled it, none can question that it exists to-day. A people which in all simplicity accepts the truth that

> "The noblest place where man can die,
> Is where he dies for man,"

naturally expects from an apostle of the Supreme Saviour of humanity a loftier ideal than is perhaps required of him in Christendom; and a life spent in their behalf will win an appreciation deeper than is found among most of those to whom the Christian evangelist is sent. A drop of blood shed for them would be a testimony for the truth more impressive and more permanent than years of preaching from the pulpit; but while we of pagan lands are scarcely so exacting as to ask the teacher (presumably our superior) of a higher faith to exemplify it by shedding his blood for our sakes, we yet are, at times, constrained to mourn; for while the fair achievements of Christian missionaries in the far East are beyond praise, and Japan, like every mission-field, has its secret heroisms and unrecorded sacrifices, Japanese converts, "in the spirit of love," sometimes turn with saddened faces toward workers homeward bound after years of toil, and whisper to each other, "We want to see more missionaries' graves in Japan."

ART. IV.—CONSTITUTIONAL LAW IN THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

[SECOND PAPER.]

IN a previous number of this Review (January, 1885) an inquiry was made into certain questions in the constitutional law of the Methodist Episcopal Church. The special questions there discussed related to the constitution, to wit, what part of the Discipline has constitutional authority, to the powers of the General Conference, the prerogatives of the episcopacy, and especially the right of the General Conference to authorize an elective presiding eldership.

It is proposed in this article to consider the question of the rights and immunities of the ministry of the Church as guaranteed by the fifth Restrictive Rule of the constitution. And this is not a question of merely theoretical and speculative interest, for it is the opinion of many that the organic law of the Church, together with the great principle of the sanctity of personal rights as embodied in the fifth Restrictive Rule, has been violated by a statute enacted a few years ago by the General Conference.

The General Conference of 1880 passed a law, which is now a part of our Discipline, according to which a traveling preacher may be deprived of membership in his Conference by the process of compulsory location, while denying to him the right of trial and the privilege of appeal to a higher tribunal. This has created considerable dissatisfaction throughout the ministry and Church, as introducing a dangerous principle into the law of the Church, and as a violation of that rule of the constitution which secures to the ministry the rights of trial and appeal. The following is the constitutional Rule:

> § 5. The General Conference shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee, and of an appeal; neither shall they do away the privileges of our members of trial before the society or by a committee, and of an appeal.*

The law providing for compulsory location—that is, in plain and untechnical language, providing for expulsion from mem-

* Discipline, 1884, ¶ 71.

bership in the Annual Conference, and from all the duties and privileges that belong to the traveling ministry of the Church —is as follows:

When a traveling preacher is so unacceptable, inefficient, or secular, as to be no longer useful in his work, the Conference may request him to ask for a location; and if he shall refuse to comply with the request, the Conference shall bear with him till the session next ensuing, at which time, if he persist in his refusal, the Conference may, without formal trial, locate him without his consent, by a vote of two thirds of the members present and voting; provided, however, that in no case shall a preacher be located while there are charges against him for immoral conduct.*

That there is a *prima facie* conflict between the constitution and this statute will be readily conceded. The constitution guarantees to the ministry the right of trial and appeal. This statute sanctions expulsion from the traveling ministry, which is one of the severest forfeitures and penalties in the power of an Annual Conference, without trial or appeal. There is here not only a forfeiture of ecclesiastical dignity, but also a reflection on ministerial and Christian character. A *secular* minister is one false to his vocation. There is also a deprivation from the pastoral office and from the temporalities of the ministry of the Church. It is true that the statute uses the term "formal trial;" but, inasmuch as form is of the very essence of trial, and *informal trial* is an absurdity, the effect of the statute is to deny every thing that is known in law by the well understood term *trial*. And inasmuch as the court of appeal decides all cases by the trial records of the court below, it follows that where there has been no trial there can be no appeal. The statute, therefore, provides for forced deprivation of Conference membership, that is, for expulsion from Conference, without trial or appeal.

In order to get at the full significance of this fifth Restrictive Rule, which has been called the Magna Charta of our ministers and members, it will be well to recall the history of the formation of the constitution, and also the early penal legislation of the Church. The early part of the century was a constitution-making epoch. Men were jealous of personal rights; and the discussions of the times, in the formation of the Federal and State Constitutions, had familiarized the American mind with

* Discipline, 1884. ¶ 188.

the methods and principles of constitutional government. The fathers of Methodism were men of their time, and in laying the foundations for the Church that should spread holiness over the continent they "called to their help, for the protection of rights acquired through Church relations, the same genius which free States for hundreds of years had appealed to for the protection of civil rights." In the year 1808, in a General Conference held at Baltimore, and composed of all the preachers, they adopted a brief but comprehensive constitution in which were clearly defined the creed and polity of the Church, the peculiar style of her episcopacy, and the moral discipline of her members. They also provided that the income from the publishing house and from the Chartered Fund should go to the benefit of the ministry, to the "worn-out preachers, their wives, widows, and children." But this was not all. In harmony with the spirit of the time, they carefully guarded the rights and privileges of the individual members of the Church. As the Constitution of the Nation, and of every State in the Nation, secured to their respective citizens the right of defense in trial by jury in both criminal and civil actions, so the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church committed the rights and immunities of her ministers and members to the same great institution of jury trial, with the privilege of appeal.

But the analogy must be pressed closer still, for the "trial by committee," enjoined in the fifth Rule, corresponds to the grand jury trial in the system of the State. As the grand jury dismisses a prisoner or holds him for trial in the regular courts, so the committee in our Church system dismisses an accused minister or suspends him till the next session of his Conference. Dismissal with character vindicated, or suspension "till the ensuing Conference," is the only verdict in the power of the committee. Original jurisdiction and trial proper are invariably with the Annual Conference, while the appeal referred to in the fifth Rule, is appeal from the decision of the Annual Conference to the General Conference. The fact that original jurisdiction in the trial of ministers resides in the Annual Conference (a fact which has never been questioned in the courts of the Church) is demonstration that the appeal secured in the rule is from the finding of the Annual Conference to the

General Conference. *And if the rule guarantees the right of appeal from the Annual Conference, it guarantees the right of trial in the Annual Conference.*

The right to an appeal can only stand in the right to and the fact of a previous *trial.* An investigation, an inquiry, that is to say, an informal trial, may precede a *trial,* but the trial must be had and judgment given before an appeal can be taken.*

That this is the only possible interpretation of the fifth Restrictive Rule is further proved by the penal statutes in force at the beginning of the century. The usage of trial at the time when the constitution was adopted was, that the presiding elder, in the interval of Conference sessions, should appoint a committee of "at least three," and "if the person be clearly convicted he shall be *suspended* from all official services in the Church *till the ensuing yearly Conference,* at which his case shall be fully considered and determined."† Such was the law of the Church in 1808, and for many years prior to that date. And when the case of a suspended preacher came before his Conference it came *de novo,* not as an appeal, but with a new bill of charges and specifications, and with such witnesses as the parties chose to produce. This is the usage to this day, and it was the established usage when the constitution was adopted.

The law for "imprudent conduct, improper words or actions" was the same. In the interval of Conference a committee inquired into the offense, and "if he be not cured, *he shall be tried at the Conference of his district* (the Annual Conference), and if found guilty and impenitent he shall be expelled from the connection."‡ The law for trial of "local preachers, local deacons, and local elders" was analogous to that for the traveling preachers. In the interval of the Quarterly Conference investigation was made by "three or more local preachers," and if found guilty the accused was "suspended till the ensuing Quarterly Conference." "And in such case . . . the next Quarterly Conference shall proceed upon his trial." "And in case of condemnation the local preacher, deacon, or elder condemned shall be allowed an appeal to the next yearly Conference."§

* "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," April 20, 1882.

† Sherman's "Hist. of Discipline," p. 189. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 190. § *Ibid.*, p. 192.

The privilege of appeal did not originate with the constitution in 1808, but existed from the beginning. In harmony with canon law in ecclesiastical history, and with the jurisprudence of all free States, the principle of appeal to a higher tribunal was a part of our system long before the constitution was adopted. The law of 1792 was as follows:

> Provided, nevertheless, that in all the above-mentioned cases of trial and conviction an appeal to the ensuing General Conference shall be allowed.*

That the Annual Conference as a court never had the character of a court of appeals in our judicial system is shown in the fact that new specifications and new testimony are always admissible in a Conference trial. Trial on appeal is limited strictly to the documentary evidence supplied from the lower court. An appellate court is a court of record. Who ever heard of a traveling preacher carrying his case up to the Annual Conference *by appeal* from the committee that suspended him? The suspension is final and irreparable, and when the Conference meets the full penalty which the law permits to the committee has been borne by the accused. When, therefore, the constitution guaranteed "the privilege of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee and of an appeal," it perpetuated, and was intended by its authors to perpetuate, those methods of trial and appeal that were then the usage of the Church. The very wording of the Rule implies this, for it assumes the existence of a well-understood usage in trial procedure: "the General Conference *shall not do away the privileges* of our ministers," etc. No preacher can be suspended by official prerogative for a single hour, nor can he be the subject of any censure or any penalty whatsoever, without the action of a "committee," and no suspension is valid for a single hour beyond the assembling of his Conference at the next ensuing session. Bishop Baker, in his work on the Discipline, sums up the matter as follows:

> The Restrictive Rules provide that ministers or preachers shall have the privilege of trial and appeal by a committee. This implies that ministers shall not be suspended in the intervals of Conference, as they formerly were (prior to 1789), with-

* Sherman, p. 200.

out the investigation and action of a committee; but it was not intended to abridge the powers of an Annual Conference—it has original jurisdiction over its members.

The "fathers" were very proud of the care which our law took of individual rights, and made frequent use of it in their apologetic disputations. Bishop Asbury, in his "Notes on the Discipline," makes constant reference to it, and Dr. Nathan Bangs, in his "Vindication," written in 1820, writes:

> That no minister who may have been accused and condemned shall have any cause to complain, he is allowed an appeal from the judgment of the Annual Conference to the General Conference.*

There can, therefore, be no doubt as to the meaning of the fifth Restrictive Rule. When the assembly of the preachers in 1808 declared that the delegated General Conference created by their action "shall not do away the privileges of our ministers or preachers of trial by a committee and of an appeal," they secured said ministers and preachers against even suspension in the interval of Conference except after trial by a committee; they secured them against censure or penalty by the Annual Conference except after trial by the Conference; and they also secured to them the privilege of appeal to a higher tribunal.

The "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," in an editorial of March 9, 1882, construed the constitutional Rule as follows:

> The intention, then, of the framers of the constitution of the Church, in the adoption of the fifth Restrictive Rule, was to secure the rights and guard the liberties of the ministers and preachers of the Church by a fair and impartial trial; and to do these the more effectually, and work a remedy in case of failure, they planted in the constitution itself the right to appeal to the highest court, subject to no restrictions, except the observance of proper methods of procedure. The fifth Restrictive Rule is the minister's *Magna Charta*, and must not be violated. If it is not technically competent to do this, the spirit must supply the deficiency. To be condemned without trial, with no appellate rights, is a monstrous proposition, not to be thought of, and to prevent which the fifth Restrictive Rule was imbedded in the constitution of the Church. No statutory law that divests the subject of these rights can hold its place in the jurisprudence of

* Bangs's "Vindication," p. 146.

the Church. No technical constructions of law can or ought to keep it there. If the intention of the framers of the constitution were doubtful—if the practice of the Church under it had been ambiguous or contradictory—a liberal construction of the law, in the interests of personal rights, would be demanded by every consideration of policy and justice. But the intention of the framers is not in doubt, and the practice of the Church has not been equivocal.

Every question in constitutional law is a serious one, and may at any time become an intensely practical one, as was strikingly shown at the last session of the General Conference when the question was debated of the right of a Bishop to take part in the discussions of the Conference. Bishop M'Kendree, in resisting an elective presiding eldership in 1821, addressed the Annual Conferences as follows:

> This question does not turn so much on the utility or inutility of the change proposed as on the *constitutionality* thereof, because on *this point all our rights as preachers and members depend.*

The General Conference cannot be too careful that its acts do not transcend the restraints of the organic law. The Church has intrusted vast powers under the law to that body, and there should be no temptation to trespass beyond them. On this question of constitutional restraint, Judge Cooley, in his work on Constitutional Law, writes:

> Legislators have their authority measured by the constitution; they are chosen to do what it permits and nothing more, and they take solemn oath to obey and defend it. When they disregard its provisions, they usurp authority, abuse their trust, and violate the promise they have confirmed by an oath. To pass an act when *they are in doubt* whether it does not violate the constitution is to treat as of no force the most imperative obligations any person can assume.*

Having examined the fifth Restrictive Rule, and having reached a definite interpretation—and the only possible interpretation, when we take into account the phraseology of the Rule, the penal laws existent at the time of its adoption, and the history of trial procedure in the Church—we are now prepared to inquire whether our law for the compulsory location of preachers is or is not in violation of the constitution. Let

* "Principles of Constitutional Law," p. 153.

us ascertain what is involved in compulsory location. It involves the loss of membership in the Annual Conference, exclusion from the pastoral office, and from the pulpits of the Church; that is to say, in our peculiar system it practically involves deposition from the ministry of the Gospel. A preacher located under this law goes forth with a brand upon his brow —"unacceptable, inefficient, secular." To put him into the order of local preachers is an insult to that body of ministers, for he has been degraded from his ministerial functions under a law which practically is a reflection on his character as a Christian. It further involves the loss of what the civil courts call "substantial rights"—rights in reputation, in ministerial labor and usefulness, and in property and substance; vocation and income are both gone.

Membership in a body is a property, especially membership in an Annual Conference. A traveling preacher, by virtue of his place in his Conference, has a right to a part in all the proceedings of the body, and to an appointment in the pastoral office among the churches of the Conference, and to the support attaching thereto. He has also a right, in case of sickness or old age, to the care which the Church bestows upon its needy ministers. It is the pride and boast of Methodism, in all lands, that it provides for its worn-out ministers as perhaps no other Church in Christendom does. In the Methodist Episcopal Church this provision comes from the profits of the Book Concern and Chartered Fund (secured to the traveling ministry by the sixth Restrictive Rule), from endowment funds owned by the Conferences, and from collections taken yearly in the churches. Membership in an Annual Conference is, therefore, a guarantee of "a comfortable support" to its ministers during active service, and a pension when honorably discharged from service. These are indeed "substantial rights," and are the return which the Church makes to its ministers for exacting from them a pledge, as they stand at the door of the Conference, that they will give themselves wholly to the work of the ministry, be obedient to the laws of the Church, and, without voice or sign of protest, go to such fields of labor as the Conference, through its presiding Bishop, may choose to appoint for them. If it be true that no Church takes such excellent care of its ministers, it is equally true that no Church makes

so exacting demands on them. Surely it cannot seriously be said that all these rights and privileges of membership in a Conference have no relation whatever to the constitutional Rule which secures the privilege of trial and appeal, or that a minister may be deprived of these rights by vote in open Conference without any benefit from the constitution. But this is what we are now told. This new location law provides for forfeiture and deprivation of the most serious kind, and whether we apply the term *penalty* to this deprivation or not, it is nevertheless one of the severest inflictions in the power of an Annual Conference, and one of the severest penalties that can be put upon a preacher. There is only one step further in the power of the Conference, and that is, expulsion from the Church.

The construction of the fifth Rule put forward by the abettors of this law in their endeavor to defend its constitutionality is, that the term "committee" in the Rule refers to such committee as the presiding elder appoints in the interval of Conference sessions, and that the term "appeal" refers to appeal from the judgment of said committee to the Annual Conference. They say that "The fifth Restrictive Rule was never intended to have any reference to the doings of an Annual Conference." * According to this construction, our organic law provides for no appeal from an Annual Conference to the General Conference, neither does it secure the right of trial to an accused preacher in his Conference. An Annual Conference may therefore do what it please with its members in defiance of right and justice, may censure them, suspend them, or expel them from the Church, but those members have no constitutional right to say, "Hold! do not condemn me without a hearing." According to this interpretation, the fathers of the Church, in limiting the powers of the General Conference, provided that a preacher could not be suspended for an hour from his ministry in the interval of the Conference without trial by a committee of his peers, but when Conference convened he had no rights whatsoever, nor any protection against any injustice that the Conference might heap upon him. The ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, forsooth, have no constitutional guarantees to protect them against unjust legislation

* "The Christian Advocate," New York, Feb. 23, 1882.

by the General Conference, nor against unjust treatment by the Annual Conference, and our boasted constitution is a fog-bank to mislead—instead of being a fortress of defense—a cluster of apples of Sodom. It is simply amazing that intelligent men could have put forth such an interpretation of a fundamental law of Methodism.

We again quote from an editorial of the "Pittsburg Christian Advocate" of April 20, 1882:

> It is now contended, for the first time, so far as we are informed, that the fifth Restrictive Rule simply means that an accused minister or preacher, in the interval of an Annual Conference, shall have the right to be tried by a committee, and if condemned, shall have the further right to appeal to his Annual Conference. We have tried to show (with how much success our readers must judge) that if this be so, it confers nothing and protects nothing, save the trifling privilege of not being suspended from the ministry a few months, it may be a few weeks, or even days, before the session of his Conference, which is to finally determine the question of guilt without being brought before a committee first. This would seem like trifling with organic law, and a studied effort to delude the ministry with a shadow, under the pretense of conserving most sacred rights.
>
> We do not believe the members of the General Conference of 1808—the last General Conference that ever met, or was to meet, and which was divesting itself of all legislative authority, and putting it into the hands of a delegated body, and which designed, by the fifth Restrictive Rule, to guard itself and its successors forever against injustice and oppression, so far as human wisdom could construct a defense—ever intended to deceive their sons in the ministry with a constitutional figment, or to cast from themselves the full corn in the ear, and accept as their portion the bare husks. They were jealous of their rights as ministers, and supposed they were fortifying them by the Rule under consideration. To interpret the Rule as now contended for, is to charge them with the greatest legislative stupidity.

But in order to be perfectly fair to the question before us, and to put the defense of the law in its best light, we quote the argument of Judge George G. Reynolds, as found in "The Christian Advocate" of March 30, 1882. The editor of the "Advocate" having been requested to publish an opinion by "some high authority on the question," made an appeal to the distinguished Brooklyn judge, of whom he used the following

courteous and just language: "One of the most distinguished judges in this State, a man twice honored by his fellow-citizens by election to a high judicial position, noted for the fairness and accuracy of his decisions, and familiar with the history of the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church." The following are the letters in the case:

HON. GEORGE G. REYNOLDS:

DEAR SIR: You may have observed various articles, editorial and contributed, in "The Christian Advocate" for some months past on the provision made by the last General Conference for locating inefficient, unacceptable, or secular traveling preachers. If in the midst of your judicial engagements you can find the time to express an opinion as to its harmony with the constitution of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and its relation to the rights of ministers and Annual Conferences, you will confer a favor upon me personally and upon the readers of "The Christian Advocate" by so doing. Respectfully yours,

J. M. BUCKLEY.

MY DEAR DOCTOR: In view of my engagements, I must confine myself to a bare statement of my conclusions. I have not made a special study of the subject, but I see no reason to doubt either the constitutionality or justice of the present rule in regard to locating preachers. That it is not violative of the fifth Restrictive Rule is, it seems to me, conclusively shown by Dr. Kettell in his paper before the New York Preachers' Meeting.* The privilege of "trial by a committee, and of an appeal," secured by that Rule, of course, refers to such trial by committee as was then known; that is, trial by a committee in the interval between Conference sessions, and an appeal from the determination of such committee to the Conference. No other trial, no other appeal, was had in view. The Rule, therefore, does not cover the case in hand, nor was it designed to. And in the absence of constitutional provision, the right of appeal in any given case is matter of legislative discretion.

The historical argument, as lately presented by you, is equally conclusive in the line of precedent and authority. The General Conference of 1836, upon the report of an able Judiciary Committee, expressly decided "that the Discipline does *not* prohibit an Annual Conference from locating one of its ministers without his consent;" also, that there was no provision for an appeal from such decision. This was reaffirmed in 1840. As to the first proposition, no General Conference has, even by implication, decided otherwise. An express rule was then formulated for the compulsory location of preachers by Annual Conference.

* Dr. Kettell's paper was published in full in "The Christian Advocate" of February 23, 1882.

This seems to have been since construed as requiring a formal trial upon charges and specifications. This was evidently a misconception of the law. The investigation of the case, in the nature of things, could not properly take the form of a trial, as for a *criminal* offense, or a breach of Discipline. To correct an inapt and erroneous practice which had grown up, the law of 1880 was passed, providing in terms for location without *formal* trial. But opportunity for the fullest defense was never denied; least of all now. The party arraigned can be heard, not only in person, but by as many friends as he can muster on the Conference floor. Not only so, but now this must be done two years in succession, and then he can only be located by a two thirds vote. It is amazing that a law which adds to the substance of the former Rule two such exacting safeguards in favor of the accused should be assailed as an invasion of his rights.

The objection to the remedy is, that it is too weak. Its merit is, that it recognizes the right of an Annual Conference, which ought to know its own members, to keep some watch over their qualifications, and to hold them, in some feeble measure at least, to the standard of devotion and fitness required for admission to its ranks. The rights of the churches and the interests of religion are branches of the subject which I should be glad to enter upon more fully, but neither your space nor my time afford a present opportunity.

G. G. REYNOLDS.

BROOKLYN, *March* 25, 1882.

The editor of "The Christian Advocate," in his elaborate defense of the law, fights shy of the constitutional difficulty, taking refuge under the wing of the judge, and contents himself with saying:

> As to the constitutionality of the law, no doubts can be raised that are not removed by the history of the question, and by the very language of the Restrictive Rule.*

Let us note briefly the main points in the letter of Judge Reynolds, in which we may expect to find the best possible defense of the constitutionality of the law. It is due the judge to remember that he disclaims having made "a special study of the subject," and that, for argument, he is content to refer to the writings of others; but, despite this, we are greatly surprised at his construction of the constitutional Rule. He tells us that "the privilege of 'trial by a committee, and of an appeal,' secured by that Rule, of course, refers to such trial by committee as was then known; that is, trial by a committee in the interval between Conference sessions, and an appeal from

* "The Christian Advocate," March 16, 1882.

the determination of such committee to the Conference. No other trial, no other appeal, was had in view."

The judge does not seem to know that the phrase, "an appeal to the Annual Conference," is one unknown to the courts of our Church, in cases where traveling preachers are concerned, for both the phrase and the thing signified by it are rendered impossible by our trial laws and usages. The law of the Church, before and after 1808, defined the penalty which the committee might inflict, namely, "suspension till the ensuing Conference;" but the penalty, when once administered by the committee, is irreparable, and admits of no appeal. A suspended preacher is in the hands of his Conference, and comes before the body at its session for trial or otherwise as it shall decide, the Conference having original jurisdiction over its members; but from any action taken by the Conference the condemned preacher has the right of appeal to the General Conference. This has been the order of trial procedure of the Church for a hundred years. It was a well-established order at the time of the adoption of the constitution, and its continuance is secured in the peculiar phraseology of the Rule: "The General Conference *shall not do away* the privileges of our ministers," etc.

Judge Cooley, in his work quoted above, tells us that it is the weakness of written constitutions that they are liable to be construed "on technical principles of verbal criticism, rather than in the light of great principles." This is just the trap into which our friends have fallen in their interpretation of the fifth Rule. They have been misled by the verbiage of the Rule, and have failed to read it in the atmosphere of its history and intention.

Judge Reynolds proceeds to inform us that "the Discipline does not prohibit an Annual Conference from locating one of its members without his consent," (and without trial?) and that "no General Conference, even by implication, has decided otherwise." Let us test the accuracy of that statement by the resolution passed by the General Conference of 1820, by which a located preacher of the Baltimore Conference was restored to his Conference:

Resolved, By the delegates of the Annual Conferences in General Conference assembled, that they reverse the act of the

Baltimore Conference, by which William Houston, an infirm traveling preacher of said Conference, was located against his will, *no charge of immorality or other ground of censure* against William Houston having been preferred against him, or in any wise pretended.*

Surely there is a distinct "implication" in this action that location is illegal, except under grave and specific charges, and after trial. For the history of this subject in the General Conference, the reader is referred to an article by this writer in "The Christian Advocate" of Feb. 16, 1882.† A few facts in the history may be given. All the appeals taken to the General Conference, up to the year 1836, by men who had been located by their Conferences, were entertained and duly considered by the Conference, and in every case the located men were restored to their Conferences. But there was no statute on the subject in the Discipline prior to 1836, and, consequently, there was no uniform usage or opinion among the Annual Conferences, and some preachers were located in a high-handed way, contrary to justice and the guarantees of the constitution. The General Conference, in admitting the appeals of those located preachers, and in reversing the decrees of the Annual Conferences, in the absence of statute on the subject, must have done so under the authority of the fifth Restrictive Rule.

But that state of things was ended in 1836, when the law was enacted which remained in force up to 1880. That law was always construed by the Church, as Bishop Baker sets forth in his work on the Discipline, as debarring an Annual Conference from locating its members without trial and appeal.

When a traveling preacher is accused of being so unacceptable, inefficient, or secular as to be no longer useful in his work, there must be the same formality of trial—specifications, witnesses, record of testimony, etc.—as in case of immorality.

In case of location without consent, the aggrieved party is allowed appeal to the General Conference. The Secretary of an Annual Conference must carefully take all the testimony given in the Annual Conference.

* "General Conference Journal," vol. i, p. 189.

† On same subject, editorials in "The Christian Advocate" of March 9, 16, and 30, 1882; in "Pittsburg Christian Advocate," March 9, April 13 and 20, 1882, and in the "Northern Christian Advocate," March 23, 1882.

It is rather late for Judge Reynolds to tell us that "this was evidently a misconstruction of the law." Elijah Hedding and his coadjutors in the episcopacy were competent judges of Methodist law. The writer of this article was informed by the Rev. Moses Hill, a distinguished member of the Maine Conference, and a member of the General Conference of 1836, that Bishop Hedding was called upon by his Conference for an interpretation of the law then recently enacted, in a case of location, and the Bishop ruled that the preacher had the right of trial, and based his ruling on the fifth Restrictive Rule.

But even that law of 1836, excellent as it was, was looked upon with some apprehension by leading minds in the Church at the time of its enactment. Dr. Nathan Bangs, who was a member of the General Conferences of 1808 and 1836, and of all the intervening Conferences, and who, concerning the Methodism of those early days, might say without boasting, *magna pars fui*, in his "History of Methodism," vol. iv, p. 241, writes as follows:

> There was one alteration made in the Discipline at this Conference which went to affect the administration very materially, as it lodged in an Annual Conference a tremendous power over its members for good or evil, according to the manner in which it might be exercised.
>
> For several successive General Conferences the question had been mooted, whether an Annual Conference had legitimate authority to locate one of its members without his consent, and the predominant opinion seemed to be that no such power existed.
>
> The question came up for consideration at this time, and a rule was finally passed, giving to an Annual Conference the power to locate one of its members who has rendered himself "unacceptable as a traveling preacher," in their judgment, allowing him, however, the privilege of an appeal to the next General Conference.
>
> This rule is founded on the presumption, that whenever a member of an Annual Conference fails to fulfill the obligations of his trust, and which were the conditions on which he entered the fraternity, he forfeits his privileges and all the immunities of his official rank, and hence the Conference has the right of dismissing him from their employment as an unfaithful servant. It is allowed, however, that this power ought to be exercised with great caution and moderation, lest it degenerate into tyranny and oppression.

These are the reflections of Nathan Bangs on a law which secured to a preacher about to be located the privileges of trial

and appeal. What would the old hero say had he lived to 1880 and seen the new law? He tells us that the law of 1836 was an "alteration in the Discipline" that "lodged in an Annual Conference a tremendous power over its members for good or evil." It was, therefore, a power which those Conferences did not formerly possess. He tells us, that the "predominant opinion" of the times was, that an Annual Conference did not possess "legitimate authority to locate one of its members without his consent;" and when the law was passed permitting location by trial and appeal, he warned the Church that "this power ought to be exercised with great caution and moderation, lest it degenerate into tyranny and oppression." It would seem that Methodist preachers have degenerated since those times in their regard for personal rights. It is no credit to us that the present bad law should have lived into a second quadrennium. On this point Dr. Alfred Wheeler, in criticising the law, has written as follows:

> Vigorous life is jealous of individual rights, and will allow their sacrifice only when avoidance is impossible. And this same jealousy is one of the best securities for the preservation of all rights, general or special, and for the administration of all law, constitutional or statutory.

But it is due to the official periodicals of the Church to say, that many of them expressed a vigorous protest against the law as introducing a dangerous principle into the economy of the Church, and as a violation of the organic law. "The Northwestern Christian Advocate," in an editorial of March 22, 1882, declared as follows:

> Now that our friends in the New York "Advocate" have about concluded their argument, we feel free to say that we doubt the justice of, and the solidity of, the ground beneath the law passed by the last General Conference to authorize the location of a traveling preacher without his consent, even under the provided conditions. We grant squarely and sadly that the Church has indeed (a very small per cent. of) ministers from whom she deserves deliverance. They ought to be out—speedily, effectually, irremediably out. All expedient things are not legal things. Trial on general principles—charges, without specifications, will not do. . . . When a man is thrust out from our itinerant ministry he must go "for cause." If there is cause, that cause must be judicially shown, as it certainly can be shown if the defendant is guilty. Location without consent is *punitive*, notwithstanding

all denial and labored argument. It is so held by public opinion, the Church, and defendants. . . . The itinerancy is a contract, and neither of the two parties to the contract can assume that it is broken without the judicial tests that protect all contracts. . . . Bangs said that power to locate a man without his consent is very dangerous indeed. It is *too* dangerous, and will remain so until Annual Conferences are composed of angels.

The "Northern Christian Advocate," in an editorial of March 23, 1882, has the following:

But just here lies the chief objection to the law; it is practically—not intentionally, of course—an evasion, and, therefore, in effect a violation, of the Restrictive Rules. By lack of discrimination it avoids the necessity of strict punitive dealing with censurable grounds for a compulsory location, and is therefore liable to work great injustice to innocent men—just that injustice against which it is the purpose of the fifth Restrictive Rule to protect them. Unacceptability is not always a crime, yet in this law it is associated indiscriminately with innocent and censurable causes. It may be due to inefficiency, and inefficiency may be due to changed circumstances and conditions for which the preacher is not to blame, but the effect of which he may not realize; or it may be due to secularity, as the law assumes, and secularity in a Methodist minister, to the extent of destroying his usefulness, is hardly less than criminal. . . . It is said in behalf of the law that it would never be arbitrarily and indiscriminately enforced. Well, we do not believe that it was intended to be oppressive, but good intentions should have a better instrument for their execution. It is said that investigation of some sort will be made in every case. But, if investigation is important, why not secure it against those possible influences of passion and personal power which sometimes do control the votes of Conferences? The fact is, the law was *intended* to relieve the Conferences of the necessity of investigation, as the history of its enactment clearly shows; but how this intention is to be realized without the liability to grievous wrongs we are unable to see. We believe that the end sought by this law will yet be accomplished by some wiser provision.

"The National Repository," for August, 1880, then in editorial charge of Dr. Curry, contained the following protest by the editor:

This law indicates a wild disregard of certain principles which underlie all written laws, and over which legislatures have no right of action—for no assumption of such a body could be more dangerous than that its power is limited only by its own will. . . . This action practically ignores and denies the continuous right of a member of an Annual Conference to his position, and makes

him a simple "tenant at will," holding his place by sufferance, and liable at any time to be excluded without any judicial process, simply by the vote of the body.

Dr. James Porter was the author of a very able and convincing argument against the location law, which was published in "Zion's Herald" of Oct. 21, 1880. In it he raises the question of the standing a located preacher would have in the civil courts should he sue the Conference for damages. He writes:

> The moment a Conference shall inflict any penalties in an unconstitutional way they become liable for damages to be obtained by civil process. . . . Now, supposing that a Conference should apply the new rule to some superannuated preacher in just these circumstances, too feeble to preach, and too poor to pay for a paper, and living on his Conference dividend, and locate him without a trial, and thus bereave him of these benefits, would he not be justified in appealing to the courts for redress, and would they not sustain his appeal? We have no doubt of it.
>
> But it may be said, "No Conference will do so wicked a thing." So it would seem; and yet we knew of one just such case under the rule of 1836, and the poor old man lost his perquisites for one year, when the Conference restored him. So we might presume the Conference will do right in cases of immorality and imprudence, but no one would therefore think of abolishing our rules on these points. It is not best to give unlimited authority even to ministers. They are liable to become prejudiced and act unjustly. Had this rule been in force during the antislavery contest in 1836, some of our best men would have been hustled into the local ranks by a two thirds vote without ceremony.

There is one point strongly urged by those who favor this law, namely, that an Annual Conference is a body of associated *pastors;* that its members are not merely Christian ministers, but also pastors in pastoral charge of the churches of the Conference, and that they have the right and duty to exclude all who are unfitted to the pastoral office. The pastorate is an *office*, we are told, and a located preacher has no ground for complaint, for he still retains his *orders*, though deposed from the pastoral office. But let us not be deceived by words; we are contending about things, not words. There is no question of the duty of a Conference to exclude improper persons from the pastoral office, only let it be done fairly and according to law; but when the distinction is raised between *orders* and the *pastorate*, in the system of Methodism, in order to justify an

act which otherwise would be inexcusable, it has the appearance of insincerity and trifling. To depose from the ministry without trial and appeal, it is conceded, would be unfair and illegal, but it is both fair and legal summarily to exclude a Christian minister from pulpit and altar and pastorate provided he is allowed to retain two worthless bits of parchment. However it might be in other Church systems, it needs no argument that in the Methodist itinerancy a preacher deposed from the traveling ministry on a charge of inefficiency and secularity is practically deposed from the Christian ministry. Christ calls his ministers not only to preach the Gospel, but also to shepherd the flock, and their commission is to "take heed to all the flock over which the Holy Ghost hath made them overseers, and to feed the Church of God." Their call is a call to a life-work, and the pledges that an Annual Conference exacts of candidates at its doors are pledges to a life-office. At that door mutual promises are made, and a compact is established between the two parties; the candidate promises obedience and service in the itinerant ministry, and the Conference promises fellowship and title to all the rights and privileges of membership in the body. Having obtained his place, the minister holds it by his conduct, and not by the sufferance or charity of his fellow-members. On the other hand, having accepted his place, he cannot resign it of his own option; the Conference has a hold on him, and he can only withdraw by the permission of the body.

The principle that membership in a body is a property right is a well-established principle in civil affairs. A lawyer cannot be excluded from the bar except "for cause," and after trial. An officer in the army or navy cannot be dismissed from the service except by court-martial. A member of Congress or of the State legislatures can only be expelled by trial. The courts do not hesitate to reinstate members in the Stock Exchange, and in all similar associations, where it is proved that any injustice has been done in their expulsion. But this location law sanctions expulsion from an Annual Conference without a hearing, without investigation of any kind, save what may be permitted by the *grace* of the body, or by the mood of the moment; and there is no appeal.

The question raised by Dr. Porter of the standing of a

preacher located under this law in the civil courts suggests the larger question of the relation of those courts to the jurisprudence and discipline of ecclesiastical societies. This is a subject not generally understood by the clergy, but the churches have been so often before the courts on all styles of complaints that certain well-defined principles and conclusions have been established. Among these we may mention the following:

1. The standing of a religious society in the courts of the State is precisely the standing of any other benevolent association or voluntary organization. It is not known in its religious character, but appears simply as an incorporated association of individuals. The Supreme Court of the United States, through Justice Miller, delivered as follows:

> Religious organizations come before us in the same attitude as other voluntary associations for benevolent or charitable purposes, and their rights of property or of contract are equally under the protection of the law, and the actions of their members subject to its restraints.*

2. The courts, as a rule, refuse to interfere with questions of creeds or liturgy or discipline. "A free Church in a free State" is a fact in our land, and there is no interference from the civil authorities, provided that freedom does not jeopard public morals or the civil rights of its members. Mormonism is an assault upon good morals, and no plea of religious liberty is allowed to defend it. The civil courts assume the competency of the churches to interpret their own laws and discipline, and in cases of ecclesiastical trial the opinion of the Church courts as to their own jurisdiction has great weight. The Supreme Court of the United States, as follows:

> The decisions of ecclesiastical courts, like every other judicial tribunal, are final, as they are the best judges of what constitutes an offense against the word of God and the discipline of the Church. Any other than those courts must be incompetent judges of matters of faith, discipline, and doctrine; and civil courts, if they should be so unwise as to attempt to supervise their judgments on matters which come within their jurisdiction, would only involve themselves in a sea of uncertainty and doubt, which would do any thing but improve either religion or good morals.†

3. But it is fundamental in our land that the state is supreme in all matters that concern the civil rights of its citizens,

* 13 Wallace, 679. † *Ibid.*, 732.

and in harmony therewith the civil courts never hesitate to investigate any case where it is alleged that rights in property or in reputation have been unjustly assailed, whether the complaint be against a social club, a business corporation, or a religious society. When an ecclesiastical dispute comes before a civil tribunal, two questions are asked: First, Has an injury been done to civil rights? Second, Has that injury resulted from the Church court "transcending those limits fixed by the mutual assent of the parties interested?"* The phrase "civil rights" is somewhat vague, but the decisions have included under this term property, the emoluments of the ministerial office, a minister's exemption from jury duty and militia service, and his professional reputation and good name. Said Judges Lawrence and Sheldon, in the celebrated Cheney case in Illinois:

> We are clearly of the opinion that when a clergyman is in danger of being degraded from his office and losing his salary and means of livelihood by the action of a court unlawfully constituted—we are clearly of the opinion that he may come to the secular courts for protection. It would be the duty of such courts to examine the question of jurisdiction, and if they find that such tribunal . . . is exercising a merely usurped or arbitrary power, they should furnish such protection as the laws of the land will give.†

Judge Redfield, in editing this case for the "American Law Register," declared that no other decision than that quoted above could stand long in Illinois, "and will most certainly not be accepted as law anywhere else." "The organic law of the Church," says Judge Robertson, "is a fundamental contract, necessarily inviolable, for the protection of every member."‡ "The action of a Synod is final," says Chief-Justice Lowrie, "provided it is in accordance with its own laws."§

It is certain, then, that a civil court in examining the case of a minister located without trial or appeal would consider most thoroughly the question of the constitutionality of the location law, and the authority of the General Conference to pass such a law, or of the Annual Conference to execute it. It is a fact within easy proof that, in nearly every State in the Union,

* See these principles laid down in Austin and Searing, 16 N. Y., 112.

† 10 Am. Law Register, N. S., 295.

‡ 9 Am. Law Register, N. S., 211. § 41 Penna., 9.

the decrees of ecclesiastical assemblies have been reversed by the civil courts on evidence that such decrees were in conflict with the organic laws of the respective Churches. The question of the "Relation of American Civil Law to Ecclesiastical Jurisprudence" is elaborately discussed in the "Presbyterian Review" for July, 1880. The article, to which for further information on this subject the reader is referred, closes with these words:

> The Church constitution is a compact, a contract, a written and definite agreement between the general body and each individual member. To the enforcement of that contract, and its inviolability, the State stands pledged, as to the enforcement of all other contracts and agreements involving civil rights. Were it otherwise, constitutional churches would cease to exist, there being no power to enforce their original compact.*

It is not within the purview of this article to examine the location law on the ground of expediency or public policy, and consequently the discussion has been confined strictly to the legal aspects of the case; but it would not be difficult to show that in these respects there are practical objections to the law not less fatal than the legal ones.

ART. V.—PROFESSOR DRUMMOND'S "NATURAL LAW IN THE SPIRITUAL WORLD."

THE explanation of the extraordinary success of this book is not far to seek. Its literary style charms the reader with its aphoristic terseness and its perfect lucidity. The expositions of scientific facts and principles are such as we can only expect from men who are masters of the English language as well as of science. Every page of the book has stamped upon it the strongly marked individuality of the writer. The working out of the subject is strikingly original. The book is no mere echo; it has grown up in the writer's own mind, and is the genuine outcome of his own independent thinking. One of its outstanding features is its suggestiveness; no one can read its pages without being forced to think for himself.

* "Presbyterian Review," July, 1880, p. 560.

But in addition to its literary merits, it displays a profound and delicate insight into the practical problems of the spiritual life which has given it a strong hold upon religious minds. The writer is possessed of higher gifts than theological learning or theological reasoning. He has the prophetic gift of intuition; he *sees* spiritual truths, and makes his readers feel that he sees them, and can be trusted as a guide. He exercises the strange power of magnetic fascination which is only possible to a man of genius. His readers are made aware that in his company they are in a moral atmosphere it is good for them to breathe.

There is also an adventitious reason which may be adduced to account partly for the rapid popularity which the book has won. Religious people who know what is being said by modern scientific and literary men, are somewhat alarmed at the assaults which have been made against their faith from the side of science. They are on the outlook for a defense of their faith which no advancement in science can ever successfully assail. Mr. Drummond has seemed to them to speak the word for which they have been waiting. He is a scientist himself, ready to accept whatever discoveries science may make, and he comes forward to turn this dreaded enemy of religion into an ally. Those who have been trembling for the foundations of their faith, have hailed with acclamation the new *eirenicon* between science and religion, in which science frankly accepted is believed to throw new light upon, and to add new strength to, the old truths of theology.

I propose in this paper to examine the teaching of this book in as far as it professes to establish an *eirenicon* between science and religion. The interests of religion demand that we should see whether the expectations which Mr. Drummond has raised are well founded; for if those who have taken refuge in this new theory afterward find that they have been leaning on a broken reed, they may be thrown into despair of finding any solution of the problems raised for religion by modern science.

My purpose is a limited one. It does not lie within its scope to dwell upon the great and many merits of the book. These I recognize fully, and I rejoice in the help which Mr. Drummond's teaching has ministered to many an inquiring spirit. Knowing the rare combination of gifts with which

Mr. Drummond has been endowed, I put no limit to my expectations of the brilliant work he may do in illustrating spiritual truth by science, or of the service he may render the Church of Christ in other directions; but I cannot help feeling that in "Natural Law in the Spiritual World" he has done himself injustice. He has entered on the discussion of speculative problems for which he is not fully equipped, and has thus hampered himself in the putting forth of his real strength. He is capable of doing better work than any in this book.

His proposed reconciliation between science and religion seems to me to end in failure, and I venture to set forth the reasons which have forced me to come to this conclusion.

Mr. Drummond's speculations have their origin in a conviction that the spiritual world, as much as the physical, is under the reign of law. He believes that this truth has been little insisted upon, even where it has received recognition at all. "Is it not plain," he asks (page ix), "that the one thing thinking men are waiting for is the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world?" Speaking for himself, he says (page x): "My spiritual world before was a chaos of facts; my theology, a Pythagorean system trying to make the best of phenomena apart from the idea of law. I make no charge against theology in general,—I speak of my own: and I say that I saw it to be in many essential respects centuries behind every department of science I knew. It was the one region still unpossessed by law. I saw then why men of science distrust theology; why those who have learned to look upon law as authority grow cold to it—it was the great exception." His view of theology is still further revealed in the following quotations: Page 21: "It has depended on authority rather than on law; and a new basis must be sought and found if it is to be presented to those with whom law alone is authority." Page 26: "The old ground of faith, authority, is given up; the new science has not yet taken its place." Page 30: "What then has science done to make theology tremble? It is its method. It is its system. It is its reign of law. It is its harmony and continuity."

I have no interest in upholding a theology which rests on external authority, be it the authority of a Church, or a creed, or a book; but I question whether theologians have been content with

a chaos of phenomena without seeking for the laws by which they are governed. Their whole aim as theologians is to discover such laws. Believing that there is a spiritual world with its own peculiar phenomena, and holding as much to the reign of law as men of science, they endeavor to find out the "constant order" which obtains among the phenomena of the higher sphere. A theologian like Schleiermacher would have been surprised to be told that he was "trying to make the best of [spiritual] phenomena apart from the idea of law." Though he did not set himself to unlock the secrets of the spiritual world by the principles of biology, he was not therefore reduced to base his theology on mere authority, or to leave it a chaos of phenomena without orderly relations or laws.* He turned to the phenomena of the religious consciousness, and, by the help of observation, reasoning, history, and revelation, discovered what he believed to be the "working sequence or constant order" in the spiritual world, just as the botanist turns to the phenomena of flowers, and by observation and reasoning discovers the laws that obtain in the vegetable world. The doctrines of any theological system are just the laws which are supposed to govern the spiritual world. The doctrine of regeneration Mr. Drummond singles out in the sequel as a great spiritual law. With that example of the reign of law in theology so prominently before him, he ought to have been put on his guard against accusing theology of *lawlessness*. He may plead that such a doctrine, however vouched for by internal observation and historical experience, only deserves the name of law when it is seen to be an extension of a purely biological principle, but that affords no ground for his implied assumption that theologians have kept "thinking men waiting" for "the introduction of law among the phenomena of the spiritual world." Their laws may have been wrong interpretations of the facts, but it is laws they have been in search of. This has been the quest of metaphysicians, moralists, and theologians in every age.

*On page 23 Mr. Drummond says: [The] "demand is, that all that concerns life and conduct shall be placed on a scientific basis. The only great attempt to meet that at present is Positivism." Kant, Hegel, Coleridge, Maurice, Newman, and F. W. Robertson have surely not been less scientific than the Positivists in their treatment of "life and conduct."

But I leave this preliminary misconception, and go on to a consideration of what our author believes to be his discovery, or new contribution to the vexed problem of the relation of science to religion. He has found the reign of lawlessness in the existing theology; he proposes to introduce the reign of law by extending the laws of biology into the spiritual sphere. Page 11: "The natural laws, as the law of continuity might well warn us, do not stop with the visible and then give place to a new set of laws bearing a strong similitude to them. The laws of the invisible are the same laws and projections of the natural, not supernatural." Page 35: "It is altogether unlikely that man spiritual should be violently separated in all the conditions of growth, development, and life from man physical. It is, indeed, difficult to conceive that one set of principles should guide the natural life, and these at a certain point—the very point where they are needed—suddenly give place to another set of principles altogether new and unrelated." Page 37: "There are very convincing reasons why the natural laws should be continuous through the spiritual sphere—not changed in any way to meet the new circumstances, but continuous as they stand." Pages 46, 47: "The conclusion finally is, that from the nature of law in general, and from the scope of the principle of continuity in particular, the laws of the natural life must be those of the spiritual life. . . . If the law of continuity is true, the only way to escape the conclusion that the laws of the natural life are the laws, or at least are laws, of the spiritual life, is to say that there is no spiritual life." Page 49: "If the spiritual nature in inception, growth, and development does not follow natural principles, let the true principles be stated and explained."

I do not intend to offer any criticism on Mr. Drummond's interpretation of the law of continuity. My objection to the doctrine laid down in these quotations lies in another direction. As far as I can gather from his book, Mr. Drummond does not seem to have realized the immense gulf that separates merely living beings from *self-conscious* beings. Until this point is cleared up, it is hopeless to estimate aright his position. He seems unaware that the gulf which separates self-conscious beings from merely living beings is even greater than that which separates the inorganic kingdom from the organic. I

belong to the old-fashioned people who believe that self-consciousness exists for the first time in man; but, wherever it may appear in the chain of being, an altogether new level is reached when it is possible for this affirmation to be made, "I am I." Mr. Drummond speaks somewhat depreciatingly of philosophy, but a deeper acquaintance with the methods and results of the science of the phenomena of self-consciousness would probably have saved him from propounding the theory that the spiritual*—and there must also be included here the intellectual and moral—phenomena of self-conscious beings are governed by the laws which regulate the merely physical life of beings destitute of self-consciousness. Of course the laws of biology apply to man's physical life, just as the laws of chemistry and mathematics have an application in a descendingly lower degree. But when self-consciousness is reached, new laws come in, for an absolutely new kind of life has been reached. Mr. Drummond says (page 43): "The biological laws are continuous for life." Yes, they are applicable to the physical life of man, but the life of self-consciousness is a totally different thing. It is strange that a quotation Mr. Drummond makes from Mr. Hutton did not lead him to recognize the distinction between the life of merely living beings—physical life—with which biology deals, and the life of self-consciousness, with which philosophy deals. Page 21: "Any attempt to merge the distinctive characteristics of a higher science in a lower—of chemical changes in mechanical—of physiological in chemical—*above all, of mental changes in physiological*†—is a neglect of the radical assumption of all science."

I do not overlook the fact that it is the religious (or, in the narrow sense of the word, the spiritual) life Mr. Drummond has in view when he speaks of the extension of the biological laws to the spiritual world. But he cannot well avoid (nor would he, I imagine, seek to avoid) the conclusion, that the biological laws govern the phenomena of the life of self-consciousness generally. Let us, then, test his theory. It is a law

* The word "spiritual" is often applied to the intellectual, moral, and religious life of man as opposed to his physical. Mr. Drummond applies it only to his religious life.

† The italics are mine.

of this inner world that in all knowledge or experience there is a reference to a self, or ego. Of what biological law is this the extension? There are certain well-known laws of association, for example: "Present actions, sensations, thoughts, or emotions tend to revive their like among previously recurring states."* Of what biological law is this an extension? Take the laws of memory, imagination, and reasoning—of what biological laws are these the extension?†

In man there is introduced, in addition to self-consciousness, (if we do not include it in self-consciousness), another element which makes it hopeless to explain his higher nature on biological principles—I mean free-will. Unconscious living beings have their development determined for them; man, to a large extent, determines his own development. The introduction of this element marks a greater advance upon creatures ruled solely according to biological laws than the advance from the inorganic to the organic kingdom; and as the chemical and other lower laws are insufficient to explain vegetables and animals, so the biological laws are insufficient to explain beings endowed with free-will. Biological laws are not transgressed; higher laws control them. This is the meaning of the misunderstood quotation from Bushnell (page 13): "God has, in fact, erected another and higher system, that of spiritual being and government, for which nature exists; a system not under the law of cause and effect, but ruled and marshaled under other kinds of laws." Bushnell does not deny the reign of law, as Mr. Drummond supposes. His teaching in these words simply amounts to this, that beings who are themselves causes,

* Bain's "Mental and Moral Science," p. 127.

† Mr. Drummond himself appears to be aware that there is something in man outside the scope of the biological laws. "The application of natural law to the spiritual world has decided and necessary limits."—Page 16. "This does not exclude, observe, the possibility of there being new laws in addition within the natural sphere."—Page 46. "That there are higher energies, so to speak, in the spiritual world, is, of course, to be affirmed."—Page 48. "We have not denied that there may be new laws."—Page 49. But these admissions lead to nothing. After making them the writer makes this remark (page) 51: "It is clear that we can only express the spiritual laws in language borrowed from the visible universe. Being dependent for our vocabulary on images, if an altogether new and foreign set of laws existed in the spiritual world, they could never take shape as definite ideas from mere want of words." From what image in the visible universe does the idea of self-consciousness come?

who determine to a large extent their own development, must be ruled by higher laws than beings which have their development determined for them by the operation of the ordinary law of cause and effect.

Let me ask, Can the laws of biology explain to me the facts of my moral nature? The consciousness of being under the authority of the categorical imperative, the power of choosing the right and shunning the wrong, the sense of responsibility to a lawgiver, the feeling of remorse—are these phenomena better explained by Herbert Spencer's "Principles of Biology" than by an Augustine, a Schleiermacher, or a Newman, whose theology is assumed to be vitiated by the non-recognition of law in the spiritual world? Theologians have wisely refrained from attempting to explain man's moral nature without taking into account free-will and the new laws to which it gives rise. Such an explanation would be another example of the play of Hamlet with Hamlet left out.

This ignoring by Mr. Drummond of the fundamental distinction between beings destitute of free-will and beings possessed of free-will, has affected his treatment of several questions he discusses. Once, indeed, the distinction rises clearly before him, only, however, to be practically set aside. Page 304: "It must occur to one on reaching this point, that a new element here comes in which compels us, for the moment, to part company with zoology. That element is the conscious power of choice. The animal in following the type is blind." Mr. Drummond sees that a Christian with an ideal before him, and a power to conform to it, is in a different position from a bird that is being unconsciously conformed to its type by a power outside of itself. Yet he is led astray by his determination to apply biological laws where they are inapplicable, and we find him leaving his truer point of sight and asking (page 307): "Can the protoplasm *conform itself* to its type? Can the embryo *fashion itself?* Is conformity to type produced by the matter *or by the life*, by the protoplasm or by the type? . . . Conformity to type, therefore, is secured by the type."

In his chapter on Environment, Mr. Drummond says (page 254): "These two factors [heredity and environment] are responsible for making all living organisms what they are. When a naturalist attempts to unfold the life-history of any animal, he

proceeds precisely on these same lines. Biography is really a branch of natural history; and the biographer who discusses his hero as the resultant of these two tendencies, follows the scientific method as rigidly as Mr. Darwin in studying 'Animals and Plants under Domestication.'" There is much truth in all that is said about heredity and environment. Only in representing the life of a hero as the resultant of these two tendencies Mr. Drummond omits an element more important than either—the power the hero possesses to "regulate" or "make" his environment. He recognizes the existence of this element in a passing phrase. Had he pondered more fully the significance of this element, it might have occurred to him that beings who have the power of making their own environment are not altogether under the sway of those biological laws which regulate the development of beings whose environment is made for them.

In his chapter on Growth—in my estimation the most beautiful chapter in the book—he says (page 127): "The soul grows as the lily grows, without trying, without fretting, without ever thinking." A statement like that does no harm as part of a popular exposition: its very exaggeration may the better teach the lesson of the necessity of resting from over-anxiety in the spiritual life. But then the statement must be considered in the light of Mr. Drummond's theory, that the biological laws of development are not merely analogous to, but absolutely identical with, the laws according to which spiritual development is regulated. Such a theory simply passes over the very gist of the problem of spiritual growth. The plant cannot choose its conditions, cannot choose to let the conditions influence it, but the man has, to some extent, to choose his conditions, or at least has to choose how he will let them influence him. Once you have allowed for this power of choice—this self-determining power of the conscious person who stands under the authority of moral law—you may trace analogies between biological growth and spiritual, but then this self-determining power is the prime element in the problem. It is *I* who have to put myself into relation with the conditions of growth. If that consideration is neglected, we have, as I have said, the play of Hamlet with the part of Hamlet left out.

In what I have said about self-consciousness and free-will I

have been trying to put a barrier to Mr. Drummond's theory *in limine*. I will complete my consideration of his theory by examining whether he has succeeded in throwing any light upon the problems of the spiritual world by the application of the laws of biology, for speculative objections would go to the wall if it were proved that these laws were actually the laws of spiritual life.

Mr. Drummond evidently looks upon his theory as specially valuable in giving a proof from the side of science for the doctrine of regeneration, and possibly many of his readers have been attracted by his speculations for a similar reason. If his theory really gives an irrefragable (a scientifically irrefragable) proof of this doctrine, it will be necessary to reconsider the *a priori* objections I have stated; but if it leaves this doctrine where it found it, then I shall have the more confidence that these objections are valid.

Let us then examine what Mr. Drummond has to say about biogenesis. After referring to the failure of modern science to overturn the old dictum—*omne vivum ex vivo*—he says (page 64): "Two great schools here also (in religion) have defended exactly opposite views—one, that the spiritual life in man can only come from pre-existing life; the other, that it can spontaneously generate itself. . . . One small school has persistently maintained the doctrine of biogenesis. Another, larger and with greater pretension to philosophic form, has defended spontaneous generation." Page 65: "[The spiritual man] is a new creation born from above. As well expect a hay infusion to become gradually more and more living until in course of the process it reached vitality, as expect a man by becoming better and better to attain the eternal life." Page 74: "Life, that is to say, depends upon contact with life. It cannot spring up of itself. There is no spontaneous generation in religion any more than in nature. Christ is the source of life in the spiritual world." Page 93: "A new theology has laughed at the doctrine of conversion. Sudden conversion, especially, has been ridiculed as untrue to philosophy and impossible to human nature. . . . But we find that this old theology is scientific." Page 71: "The passage from the natural world to the spiritual world is hermetically sealed on the natural side. The door from the inorganic to the organic is shut,

no mineral can open it; so the door from the natural to the spiritual is shut, and no man can open it."

Lest my criticism of these extracts should be misunderstood, I wish to say at the outset that I am at one with Mr. Drummond in believing that life can only come from above—from the Lord of life. Not only do I believe that God "reserved a point at the genesis of life for his direct appearing," but that he works immanently in every living creature throughout its whole life. Not only do I believe that the life of Christ in the soul comes from, and is continually sustained by, the Spirit of God, but also that every action of the intellectual life, every inspiration of genius, every upward effort, every aspiration after righteousness—all that Mr. Drummond designates as mere morality—has its origin in that eternal Word by whom all things were made.

So much by way of preliminary explanation. What support then does the doctrine of regeneration derive from modern biological science? Tyndall and Huxley confess that as far as the evidence yet goes, the old dictum holds, *omne vivum ex vivo.* What do they mean? Do they mean that life when it first appeared had its origin in God, the Lord of life? No, they simply mean that every living creature has been produced by an antecedent living creature of the same kind. If they are pushed back to the absolutely first appearance of life, they will say that its appearance is a mystery about which they can give no explanation. They will refuse to say that it comes from God, or from a great principle of life distinct from the universe.

Mr. Drummond gives an unwarrantable meaning to the old phrase, *omne vivum ex vivo.* He makes it mean that life at its first genesis in the universe had its origin in God—a meaning which would be utterly disclaimed by Tyndall and Huxley. Any conclusion built on such an interpretation of the phrase is resting in the air; but it is on this interpretation that Mr. Drummond's speculations on spiritual biogenesis are built. It is true that life at its genesis comes from the Lord of life, but this conclusion is guaranteed not by the modern biology of Huxley and Spencer, but by philosophy.

Omne vivum ex vivo, as I have already said, means for the modern biologists whom Mr. Drummond quotes; that every

living creature has been produced by an antecedent living creature. If Mr. Drummond wishes to give the phrase another meaning, he must leave modern biology, and in leaving biology he has to give up his theory that the laws of the natural life are the laws of the spiritual life.

Is Mr. Drummond prepared to apply the biological law *omne vivum ex vivo*, as modern geologists interpret it, to the spiritual world? I imagine not. Such conclusions as these would follow from its application—that every spiritual man has been produced by an antecedent spiritual man, that the children of spiritual parents are necessarily, by the fact of their birth, spiritual,* that the point where the direct action of God set the process of spiritual life agoing cannot now be discovered, and that for any thing we know there may be no supernatural cause of spiritual life at all.†

Mr. Drummond appeals to biological science in favor of the doctrine of conversion. Biological science declares (according to Mr. Drummond himself) that dead matter has never been known to issue in life. If, then, that law is absolute, dead souls can never rise into spiritual life. "As well expect a hay infusion to become gradually more and more living, until, in course of the process, it reached vitality, as expect a man dead in trespasses and sins to become spiritually alive." Biology, if it had any right (as it has not) to pronounce an opinion on the subject, would force us to the conclusion that no man has a chance of gaining spiritual life unless he has received it from his parents, any more than an infusion of hay has a chance of developing physical life. As far as the doctrine of conversion

* In his chapter on Environment, Mr. Drummond attempts to show that the biological law of environment is a law of the spiritual life. If the law of continuity is not to be violated (to turn his own argument against himself), how can he escape from the conclusion that the law of heredity, which he mentions along with that of environment as accounting for development, is also a law of the spiritual life?

† If, in his chapter on Biogenesis, Mr. Drummond only means to show, by way of illustration, that as dead matter cannot of itself give rise to life, an unregenerate man cannot make himself spiritually alive, my criticism may appear to interpret him unwarrantably *au pied de la lettre*. But then, if this is all that he means to maintain, what becomes of his contention that the biological laws are the laws of the spiritual life? This is the assumption that underlies his teaching in the chapter on Biogenesis, and it is in view of this assumption that I have shaped my criticism.

is concerned, there would really have been more support for it in biology if the theory of spontaneous generation could have been proved.

Modern biology has, after all, little light to throw upon the doctrines of regeneration and conversion. The supposed enemy of religion has not turned out to be its friend, at least as far as this new theory is concerned.

I am tempted to linger a little longer over Mr. Drummond's teaching upon biogenesis, though my main criticism upon its relation to his general theory of the identity of the biological and spiritual laws has been given.

He departs somewhat from ordinarily accepted teaching in his views upon spiritual biogenesis, but this departure is, in my opinion, a departure from true doctrine. His account of the "natural man" seems to me to be overdrawn, and the Scripture expressions—figurative expressions—which are quoted to substantiate this account are pressed upon the reader with an unwarrantable adherence to the mere letter. If he had been drawing a contrast between man in his physical life and man in the life of self-consciousness, intelligence, and spiritual freedom, I should have little objection to make to his statements, but this is not the contrast he has in view. He is contrasting a natural man, who has attained moral beauty, and a man who is definitely laid hold of by the life of Christ. Between two such men he teaches us that there is a greater gulf than between the inorganic world and the organic. But I must quote some sentences. Page 380: "What is the essential difference between the Christian and the not-a-Christian, between the spiritual beauty and the moral beauty? It is the distinction between the organic and the inorganic." Page 375: "In scarcely a single instance is the gravity of the distinction more than dimly apprehended." Page 382: "Man is a moral animal, and can and ought to arrive at great natural beauty of character. But this is simply to obey the law of his nature—the law of his flesh." Page 383: "His morality is mere crystallization." Page 397: "Two kingdoms at the present time are known to science—the inorganic and the organic. It (spiritual life) does not belong to the inorganic kingdom, because it lives. It does not belong to the organic kingdom, because it is endowed with a kind of life infinitely removed from either

the vegetal or animal. There being no kingdom known to science which can contain it, we must construct one—that kingdom is the *kingdom of God.*" Page 299: "However active the intellectual or moral life may be, from the point of view of this other life it is dead." Page 82: "Compared with the difference between the natural and the spiritual, the gulf which divides the organic from the inorganic is a hair's-breadth." *

The doctrine contained in these extracts seems to me to be true to the teaching neither of experience nor of Scripture. I, of course, admit the gulf that separates man in his physical nature from man in his spiritual, and I admit the gulf that separates a man whose morality is founded on mere habit or self-interest from the man whose morality springs from spiritual life, but I would hesitate to say that spiritual life had nothing to do with "moral beauty," "moral uprightness," and "honorableness." Moreover, if the natural man were as completely dead to the spiritual world as a stone is to the organic world, if he were as "hermetically sealed" from the spiritual world as a stone is from the organic, to use Mr. Drummond's own phrase, I can no longer see any ground upon which I can appeal to him on behalf of the spiritual world. He is dead to it, cannot understand what passes there, can have no conceivable interest in it. I must let him alone till this spiritual life has somehow got hold of him.†

But the natural man is not dead in that sense. He has capacities for living in the spiritual world. He has aspirations toward it. He knows something about it. He is dead only figuratively, as Mr. Drummond in other parts of his book has to admit. His whole chapter on Degeneration is one continued

* Mr. Drummond evidently reckons an agnostic like Herbert Spencer, or a positivist like Frederick Harrison, among the natural men. Then there is less difference between a jelly fish and Frederick Harrison than between Frederick Harrison and the lowest type of the spiritual man. Mr. Drummond would probably not shrink from saying so.

† In comparing the new birth to the passage from the inorganic to the organic kingdom, Mr. Drummond overlooks the fact that the "natural man," whatever influence the Spirit of God may exercise, has himself to make the passage. His free-will is a necessary element in regeneration.

To have a proper analogy for the passage of a soul from spiritual death to life, Mr. Drummond should have been able to point to a stone suddenly turning into a vegetable or an animal.

refutation of his theory that the natural man is as dead to the spiritual world as a stone is to the organic. If the natural man has no spiritual life, how can it be taken from him? Page 110: "Degeneration in the spiritual sphere involves primarily the impairing of the faculties of salvation, and ultimately the loss of them. It really means that the very soul itself becomes piecemeal destroyed, until the very capacity for God and righteousness is gone." Page 108: "God has discovered to us another principle which will stop this drifting process in the soul, steer it round, and make it drift the other way. This is the active saving principle, or salvation." Now what corresponds to all this in the stone? Is there an active principle drawing it into the organic kingdom which it can lay hold of and so enter, or which it can neglect and so sink back into the inorganic kingdom? Again, in the chapter on Semi-parasitism, Mr. Drummond says (page 336): "One by one the spiritual faculties droop and die; one by one, from lack of exercise, the muscles of the soul grow weak and flaccid; one by one the moral activities cease. So from him that hath not is taken away that which he hath, and after a few years of parasitism there is nothing left to save." If all this can go on in the natural man, surely he is not as hermetically sealed from the spiritual world as the stone is from the organic.

But leaving this question of the origin of spiritual life, let us see whether Mr. Drummond is more successful elsewhere in buttressing the Christian faith by the help of biology. He believes that from the side of biology he can strengthen the proof for the doctrine of immortality, or I should rather say, that believing the ordinary philosophical proofs to be nearly valueless, he substitutes in their place a new biological proof. Page 239: "The question of a future life is a biological question. . . . The whole confusion around the doctrine of eternal life has arisen from making it a question of philosophy. . . . For any question as to the soul's life we must appeal to life-science." Page 226: "The theory of Christianity has only to be fairly stated to make manifest its thorough independence of all the usual speculations on immortality. The theory is not that thought, volition, or emotion as such are to survive the grave. The difficulty of holding a doctrine in this form, in spite of what has been advanced to the contrary—in spite of

the hopes and wishes of mankind—in spite of all the scientific and philosophical attempts to make it tenable, is still profound." In his criticism of philosophical speculations on immortality, Mr. Drummond sails dangerously near materialism,* and it will be found on examination that his own speculations are weighted with a profounder "difficulty" than those of the philosophers. His speculations are based on a quotation from Herbert Spencer about the nature of a biologically perfect life. Page 215: "Uninterrupted correspondence with environment is eternal life according to science. 'This is life eternal,' said Christ, 'that they may know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent.' . . . To correspond with God is to correspond with a perfect environment." Pages 228–229: "Now that which determines the correspondence of the spiritual organism [with the perfect environment God] is a principle of spiritual life. . . . With the new Spirit, the filial correspondence, he (the spiritual man) knows the Father, and this is life eternal." Pages 230: "Here at last is a correspondence which will never cease. Its powers in bridging the grave have been tried. . . . In short, this is a correspondence which at once satisfies the demands of science and religion. . . . Here is a relation established with eternity. The passing years lay no limiting hand on it. Corruption injures it not. It survives death. It, and it only, will stretch beyond the grave and be found inviolate,

> "'When the moon is old,
> And the stars are cold,
> And the books of the judgment day unfold.'"

The reader naturally imagines when he comes to this passage that he is being presented with a new proof for the existence of a future life, and the writer himself seems for the moment to be of the same opinion. Yet what does this whole chapter amount to? It is simply an answer to the question (page 205): "Is the Christian conception of eternal life scien-

* "Emotion, volition, thought itself, are functions of the brain." Mr. Drummond does not absolutely adopt that opinion, but he shows little appreciation of what its truth would involve. If volition and thought are functions of the brain, then there is no possibility of escaping the conclusion that the religious experience of communion with God is a "function of the brain," and that it "ceases with the dissolution of the material fabric."

tific?" or (for this is the real meaning of Mr. Drummond's question), is the idea of eternal life conceivable? Mr. Drummond must be admitted to have established that it is conceivable—but then no one will seriously dispute the question with him.

There was no need of Herbert Spencer's definitions of life and perfect life to make out that the idea of one in whom the life of Christ exists, being in perfect correspondence with a perfect environment, God, can be entertained as an idea. This is not the burning question about the future life. It is rather this, Is such an eternal life possible not only in conception, but in fact? Mr. Drummond has once at least this distinction before his mind (page 221): "And yet we are still a great way off; to establish a communication with the Eternal is not to secure eternal life. It must be assumed that the communication could be sustained.* And to assume this would be to try the question. So that we have still to prove eternal life. But let it be again repeated, we are not here seeking proofs. We are seeking light. We are merely reconnoitering from the farthest promontory of science, if so be that through the haze we may discern the outline of a distant coast and come to some conclusion as to the possibility of landing."

In spite of all the hopes Mr. Drummond excites in this chapter, he proves only what needed no proof—that eternal life is thinkable; for what needs proof—that eternal life will be a fact—he has no argument whatever to offer.† He gives us absolutely no ground from the side of science or speculation for warding off the belief that even the spiritual life will "cease with the dissolution of the material fabric"—that the "changes in the physical state of the environment" will bring death to the spiritual man as well as to the natural. He has stripped from us the arguments, metaphysical and ethical, on

* Here again there may be ambiguity. Before eternal life is proved, it must be proved that the sustaining of this communication is possible, not only in conception but in fact. I am not quite sure whether Mr. Drummond refers here to possibility in fact or possibility in conception.

† On p. 284 he refers to the historical fact of Christ's resurrection as the true argument for Christian immortality. But, of course, that is not an argument from biological science which he undertook to supply. That short paragraph of six lines, where he refers to the resurrection, contains more proof than all the rest of the chapter.

which we have been wont to rely, and sent us forth naked to shiver in the wintry atmosphere of materialism.*

I might go further with my criticism of Mr. Drummond's attempts to find new proofs for the doctrines of theology in biological science, but this would unduly extend my paper.

The real value of this book lies not in his attempted proof of the theory that the laws of natural life are the laws of spiritual life, but in its "freshening of the theological air with natural facts and illustrations." The author thinks otherwise. He considers that his work has been of an altogether different kind than that of drawing analogies. But what really does he give us in most of his chapters but original and beautiful analogies? He attempts to make out a distinction between his own work in this book and what has previously been done by those who have drawn upon the outward world for analogies with the spiritual, by distinguishing analogies of phenomena and analogies of law. Page viii: "It was not, I repeat, that new and detailed analogies of *phenomena* † rose into view." Page ix: "That the phenomena of the spiritual world are in analogy with the phenomena of the natural world requires no restatement." His advances consist, he believes, in pointing out analogies between the *laws*, not merely the phenomena, of the natural world and the spiritual; or rather in pointing out the identity of these laws. I say nothing on the many questions that might be raised in connection with Mr. Drummond's use of the words "law," "analogy," "phenomenon." I content myself with pointing out that whatever he may have thought he was doing, and whatever meaning he may have had in his mind in drawing the distinction between analogies of phenomena and analogies of laws, he has certainly got no farther in his book than drawing analogies. In his chapter on Growth, he does not prove that the law of biological is the law

* Of course I do not mean for a moment to imply that Mr. Drummond has any sympathy with materialism. I only mean that his reasoning, when pressed to its logical outcome, lands him in dangerous company.

† There can be no phenomenon into the constitution of which there do not enter orderly relations or laws. It is impossible to make a sharp distinction between analogies of phenomena and analogies of laws. A distinction can be drawn between laws which have a limited application and laws which have a wide application.

of spiritual development, he only proves that there are analogies between the two kinds of development. There can be no identity while the spiritual man has the power of choosing what conditions of growth he will allow to influence him. Nor in his chapters (for example) on Environment and Conformity to Type does he accomplish any thing essentially different from what is done by any man who takes a parable from nature. He may develop the illustration more fully than is usually done by writers who "freshen the theological air with natural facts and illustrations:" but that is really the only difference. In his admirable chapter on Semi-parasitism, he thus enunciates the spiritual principle for the illustration of which he appeals to the biological world: "Any principle which secures the safety of the individual without personal effort or the vital exercise of faculty is disastrous to moral character." I am not sure that even Mr. Drummond would contend that there is more than "analogy" between this spiritual principle and what he finds in the hermit crab, or that he is doing any thing essentially different from what Dr. Bushnell has done in his chapter in "The New Life," entitled "The Capacity of Religion Extirpated by Disuse." If he should contend for identity, then at once he is confronted with questions he will find it difficult to answer satisfactorily. How could there be identity when account must be taken of such words as these: "safety," "personal effort," "moral character?"

Though Mr. Drummond has failed in effecting a new reconciliation of science and religion by means of "Natural Law in the Spiritual World," his book gives splendid promise of future work. The discussion of the philosophical questions involved in any attempt at such a reconciliation is not in the line of his real strength. These speculative problems are certain to bring out the weak side of his thinking. Outside of that region he may be looked to for work that will prove him to be one of the most fascinating and suggestive religious teachers of the latter half of the nineteenth century.

ART. VI.—RELIGIOUS THOUGHT IN BRITAIN.

Movements of Religious Thought in Britain During the Nineteenth Century. St. Giles's Lectures. By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., LL.D., Senior Principal in the University of St. Andrews. 12mo, pp. 338. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

THE fact assumed in the title-page, of which the above is a transcript, and also in the book to which it is attached, none will deny. There have certainly been "movements of religious thought" during the current century, not only in Britain, but also every-where else in all the domains of Protestantism. That fact, too, is a cause for rejoicing rather than for regret and alarm, since almost any kind of religious activity is better than dead slumber, and unchanging because unthinking unanimity. It may also be said that our age has been and continues to be a period of almost unprecedented mental activity in respect to religious questions, with the inevitable attendant changes and upheavals of prescriptive opinions. Nor will that be deprecated except by such as prefer authority to reason, and who would rather be in error than to come to the truth by a new and a formerly unused way. But whether welcomed or deprecated the "movements" are upon us, and the conflicts that they occasion must be accepted and fought out by the advocates of the truth, or else the interests of religion must be sacrificed to the pusillanimity of its appointed guardians. There are no doubt changes in the prevalent thinking of our times, as to both the methods and the conclusions reached, as compared with those of former times. Not a few notions that were once generally accepted without question are now given up as not proved and untenable, and even the form of the evidences of Christianity has been widely changed. Many intelligent Christians, while retaining the fullest confidence in the divinity of their religion, are also quite ready to give up many things once supposed to constitute integral parts of Christian truth, but which have ceased to command respect for lack of any sure basis in either Scripture or reason. The forms of biblical and theological thinking are not now the same that they were a hundred years ago; and the most steadfast believers, as well as the best instructed Christian scholars, have been led to accept largely modified views of Christian truth and doctrine. And these

changes, which have quietly forced themselves upon the convictions of the learned, must inevitably in time possess the minds of the uneducated also. The transition is inevitable, and it is for our leaders of the Christian thought of the age to say whether it shall be made under the direction of the friends of religion or of that of its enemies.

It is also desirable that the course of these changes should be closely observed, their causes noted, and their tendencies understood. It is needful to distinguish the great flood of opinions that is sweeping down into broader seas from the side current and eddies, that often seem to be moving in the contrary direction. The volume before us is designed to be a contribution to that purpose, not, however, as presenting a survey of the whole field, but as noting and describing certain partial but important and distinctive points. It is made up of eight lectures, the St. Giles course for 1885, in which, on account of their limited extent, only parts of the great theme taken in hand could be adequately discussed. And since, in selecting parts from a mass, each one's own affinities will direct him—for it usually happens that in all explorations and investigations each one finds what he looks for—so here, no doubt, we have the results of the lecturer's own mental and spiritual appetencies. Principal Tulloch's relations to current religious discussions are well understood, and it is known that he differs at not a few points from the traditional views of the Kirk of Scotland, and that his methods of theologizing are not the same with those of the great lights among his predecessors. A proper recognition of his mental and spiritual stand-point is necessary in order to a just estimate of his views, as indicated in these lectures; and in determining the value of his findings due allowance must be made for his intellectual aberrations, and the resultant parallaxes of his observations. This is due to himself as well as to the cause of truth, for certainly he will not pretend to exemption from the influences which every-where go to fashion men's opinions. In undertaking as he does to present a survey of the course of religious thought in the United Kingdom during the first sixty years of the current century, his mind quite naturally turns to those writers whose utterances have entered the most largely and effectively into his own thinkings and feelings, just as some other man of other thoughts and affinities would

have chosen other lines of discussion, and would have found another class of objects in his mental excursion. It should also be noticed that it is not pretended that these lectures are supposed to cover the whole field that they traverse; they treat only of "movements," some of many, and by no means all that were going forward at the same time and place. The lecturer is not therefore to be called to account for the omission of certain great names, or the non-recognition of this and that religious movement of the times which he discusses, with the underlying and inspiring "thought" in each case; he has selected and presented only those that for obvious reasons appeared to him the best to deserve his consideration, and at the close he confesses that his work was only "desultory and imperfect." In what is here given there is, no doubt, much valuable truth, but mixed through and through with manifest misconceptions and faulty deductions; and although it is not on the whole a truthful exhibit of the subject taken in hand, it nevertheless abounds with good and fruitful suggestions, and its perusal will prove, to any who may be capable of using it to advantage, provocative of thought, and the occasion of broader and more adequate conceptions of the subjects discussed.

The lecturer's own views and opinions are indicated chiefly by his dissents, though positive statements are not altogether wanting. Though a high functionary of, and charged with weighty responsibilities in, the Kirk of Scotland, whose all-comprehending charter and constitution are the Westminster Confession, it is plain that he is not in harmony with the distinctive teachings of those venerable authorities—that in no proper sense of the term is he a Calvinist. His just estimate of Coleridge's spiritual philosophy speaks well for his appreciation of certain great fundamental truths in religion, and his approval of the suggestions of that philosopher respecting certain venerable but inadequate and misleading methods of biblical interpretation and theological conceptions entitle his further suggestion to a not unfavorable consideration. What he says about the Babel utterances of what he terms the "early Oriel school" (because the chief characters named were of Oriel College, Oxford), with Whately and Arnold and Blanco White, and a little later Bishops Hampden and Thirlwall and Dean

Milman, indicates his sympathy toward any form of thought outside of the traditional lines, rather than any definite trend of his own thinking. The Oxford Tractarian movement, though in its whole doctrinal bearing directly opposed to his own mental drift, is greeted with a good word, especially for its "churchly" tendency; for while our author is very "broad" in his ecclesiasticism, he is also very "high," and quite intolerant of whatever opposes his special notions of churchhood. He accordingly says, most significantly, respecting the "Oxford or Anglo-Catholic" movement: "It is much to have brought home to the hearts of Christian people the reality of the *great spiritual society*, extending through all Christian ages, living by its own truth and life, and having its own laws and rites and usages." That sentence is evidently of the nature of a confession of the faith of the author respecting the nature of the Church, in which he seems to be substantially in agreement with Anglican and Anglo-American High-Churchmen; and certain recent givings-out from high Presbyterian sources seem to indicate the revival of a similar sentiment—we will not call it an opinion—among the Presbyterians of this country. In this conception of "the Church," its spirituality consists neither in the divine presence, nor yet in the inward religious life of its members, but simply that it is a corporation within the body politic, to which pertain certain ghostly functions, co-ordinated with the temporal affairs of the State. This is altogether another thing than the "congregation of faithful men" indicated in one of the Thirty-nine Articles (Article XIII of the Methodist Episcopal Church), nor yet is it the great aggregate of believers of "every nation, kindred, and tongue under heaven" —souls conjoined in Christ by spiritual regeneration—so constituting "the Holy Catholic Church." It is a state institution, "an estate of the realm," existing apart from the doctrines that it teaches, or the spiritual life and character of both its ministrants and members. This is the only true churchmanship—so we are to believe—while all beyond is "narrow" and "fanatical sectarianism." This view of the subject—in which the lecturer may feel an interest not unlike that of Demetrius in the worship of Diana, and for the same cause—evidently adds sharpness to his occasional references to the "Evangelicals" of the Church of England, of whom he never speaks without evident manifes-

tations of dislike mingled with contempt. Because with them personal religious experience is the great and distinguishing fact in the Christian life, and the Church is primarily a body of spiritually regenerated persons, they must be written down as simply a company of pestilent fanatics. And in all lands all who elevate the spiritual above the formal in Church life, and all dissenters of every name, belong to this fanatical class.

The local "movements" with the Church of Scotland, to which Lecture IV is devoted, were probably more interesting to the lecturer than they will prove to be to his readers generally. They are curious enough, and instructive as illustrations of the mental actions of individual solitary thinkers, but they do not appear to have exerted any marked influence on the general course of the religious thinking of the times. The doctrine of Calvinian predestination has been the distinctive feature of Scotch divinity, and yet it has held its place in spite of the earnest protests of not a few of the best people of the North kingdom. Among those who have so protested in later times Thomas Erskine and John M'Leod Campbell are no doubt conspicuous examples; but, as has often been the case in similar instances, the rebound from high Calvinism carried them into other and equally dangerous fallacies, which, indeed, led to certain local agitations, and very limited ecclesiastical disruptions; but they soon subsided without making any real additions to the religious and theological thinking of the age. And what was the case with the agitations originated by Erskine and Campbell was still more so in that with which the name of Edward Irving is identified. Irving burst like a meteor on the theological sky, and blazed luridly for a brief season, and then, like a meteor, disappeared in darkness—all the more dense because of the momentary glare; though the trail of its brightness continued to flicker for a time in the ministry of Dr. John Cummings. About the only permanent result of that special school of thought, with its accompanying methods of biblical interpretation, is its demonstration of both its incorrectness and its disastrous influences and results in those who become its subjects. As a kind of sunset glow of the final decay of Millenarianism, the Irving-Cummings "movement" may be set down as one of the way-marks in the progress of religious thought.

Only the lecturer's peculiar notions of what constitutes a religious movement can have permitted him to enroll such names as those of Thomas Carlyle and John Stuart Mill among those of the leaders of the religious thought of their times, for it would be no less improper to assign the same position to Thomas Paine and Robert Ingersoll for their respective generations. For, in respect to his creed, Paine was less a disbeliever than Carlyle; and as to intensity of hatred, not only of Christianity but of God, even as revealed in nature, Mill, as compared with Ingersoll, is a very Beelzebub along-side of a peeping demon. The two lectures (V and VI) devoted severally to these two characters are quite outside of the proper subject under consideration, for, while neither of them held any connection with any branch of the Church, so neither Carlyle nor Mill has impressed his own ideas or thinkings upon the current thought of Christendom. Whatever tendencies there were in the Church life of their day with which their social philosophy more or less nearly coincided received both their impulses and their direction from other and much safer sources. And the same is equally true in respect to the influence of George H. Lewes, and the still greater power of George Eliot—his wife, who was not his wife—both of whom were sufficiently hostile to religion, but neither of them seems to have made any considerable impression on the religious thought of the age. They who measure the "movements of religious thought" by what is said on the subject by skeptical scientists and godless novelists and others may well conclude that the old orthodoxy has become hopelessly effete, and that the Bible has been effectually dethroned, and is no longer even a respectable authority. But such persons, while busying themselves with these eccentricities of quasi-religious thinkings, and failing to duly estimate the force of the steady current of the great flood of Christian thought, both biblical and theological, are not unlike those who, standing on the banks of a broad river, mistake the eddies along the shore for the real course of the flood. If Principal Tulloch is of that number, "the more's the pity."

The last two lectures of the volume deal with Maurice, Kingsley, and F. W. Robertson, to which trio the lecturer adds the comparatively unknown name and account of Bishop Ewing, of the Scotch Episcopal Church. Maurice was, indeed, a

thinker, but scarcely a leader of religious thought; for which, indeed, his conservatism—not to say his timidity—his want of self-assertion, and the narrowness of his ecclesiasticism effectually disqualified him. While as a man he may be esteemed, perhaps almost admired, he was still wholly deficient as to nearly every quality that characterizes the natural born leader, whether of thought or of action. Kingsley, on the contrary, was a power, by virtue of the breezy and wholesome vitality of his spirit; and no doubt his writings have had some influence upon the social philosophy of the times, toward which, much more than to the properly religious life, his "muscular Christianity" extended its influence. Robertson was distinctively and intensely—perhaps also morbidly—religious; and because he has had a following he must be accepted, according to his measure, as the head of a school of religious thought, or, more properly, of pietistic sentiment. But, because of the indefiniteness of his conceptions, and the lack of dogmatic corporeity in his statements, his utterances can scarcely continue to be effective without the power of the personal presence of their author. His sermons have been printed and very widely read and admired by thousands, but just why? Who can give a satisfactory answer to himself? They have, no doubt, unsettled the religious conviction of not a few, and also stirred up temporary gusts of feeling; but only to a very limited extent have they taught people what to believe or what to do. His theology is hopelessly chaotic; his writings have about them a kind of mystical sweetness—are sometimes brilliant, and occasionally grand—but his creed is like the nucleus of a comet, bright but undefined, and fading out into darkness. His Christ is a jellyfish of kindly intentions, and his gospel, "peace on earth and good pleasure among men," with the least possible reference to sin, or repentance, or forgiveness to the penitent.

Principal Tulloch's views respecting the present condition of Christianity in the learned world appear to be not at all assuring. He speaks of it somewhat in the tone used by Bishop Butler in the introduction to his famous "Analogy," but without the good Bishop's faith and hope. It is in a bad way, he seems to think, and must contend for its right to be, and accept such conditions as its enemies will concede to it. In the face of the scientists and agnostics of the present day, Spencer

and Tyndall and Huxley and Matthew Arnold, we are told that it has been pretty effectually driven to the wall; but that there is still hope in the case, for one of their own kind, but less truculently destructive than the rest—Dr. James Martineau—has come to the rescue of the remains of the defunct faith in the supernatural by developing a new species of theistic philosophy. Such an attitude of Christianity before its assailants—a mere begging for the privilege of being—is little less than a surrender. We much prefer the method recommended by Robert Hall, that instead of wasting too much time and strength in the defense of the truth, we should assert its reality and enter upon its privileges. The formidableness of unbelief is largely the result of a lack of confidence in the Christian verities among those who assume to be their interpreters and defenders. Some suspicion of this seems to be suggested in the closing paragraphs of the last of these lectures, even while confessing that *Materialism* "overshadows every other controversy in minds who understand it, or who have any perception of the forces at work." A direct presentation of the supernaturalism of Christianity, with all that it implies, in opposition to this philosophical Materialism, would greatly simplify the problem by effectually eliminating many of its chief factors on the side of unbelief; but with that method of warfare Principal Tulloch appears not to be in sympathy. Apparently his own mental estate has been so much nearer to that of the dreaded Materialists than to the despised "Evangelicals," that while he realizes the dangerousness of the former, he trusts but very faintly in the spiritual power of Christianity for its own defense.

The survey presented in these lectures of the "Movements of Religious Thought in Britain during the Nineteenth Century," to the end of the sixth decade, is highly readable and instructive; but it is entirely one-sided, and, as a presentation of the subject named, wholly untruthful. Instead of taking account of the whole subject indicated, only one side of it is given—the heterodox element in popular religious thinking—and this is so set forth as to seem to be the distinguishing and dominant characteristic of the religious thought of the age. That the lecturer was fully aware that there was another and a better side which he preferred to ignore, is shown by a side glance toward it given near the end of his work, where,

after telling of the might of the Materialists' forces, he concedes:

> But other forces have also been in active operation. . . . Religion, so far from losing its hold of the higher consciousness of our time, has not only survived, but, it may be said, has gathered strength under all the assaults, scientific and literary, which have menaced it.

It is quite certain that the faith of the Church has, in our times, been severely beset by the assaults of infidelity; and advantage has been taken by its enemies of the necessity for readjustments of the conceptions and statements of some of the externalities of Christian beliefs called for by the advancements of physical science and the adoption of improved methods of biblical interpretation, to cast doubts upon the whole system. And in this, as in many other instances, the assaults of its adversaries has proved the occasion for a more complete and intelligent vindication of the Gospel.

The most cursory glance over the field of religious literature, out of which Principal Tulloch selected his specimens and has given an inventory of one of its kinds, will discover the marvelous amount and richness of another and better kind. The impulse given to religious thinking by Coleridge, in respect to both the philosophy of Christian experience and the true method of biblical interpretation, was as readily accepted and utilized by the "Evangelicals" as by the "Liberals;" and, no doubt, in both these departments, all for which he contended is now freely recognized by the best Christian thinkers of the age. What he says in his "Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit" respecting the use of the Bible is worthy of himself and of the cause for which he wrote:

> When I take up this work [the Bible] with the purpose to read it for the first time as I should read any other work—as far, at least, as I can or dare, for I neither can nor dare throw off a strong and awful prepossession in its favor—certain as I am that a large part of the light and life in and by which I see, love, and embrace the truths and the strengths co-organized into a living body of faith and knowledge has been directly or indirectly derived to me from this sacred volume.

To the real Christian the Bible cannot be approached and considered apart from its essential and unique spiritual character, and for that very cause it should not be degraded to the

condition of a fetich, like the Koran in the hands of a Turk. The casting away of the fetichism with which superstition had invested the Bible brought on the transition of thought in and through which the enemies of religion have vainly sought to discredit the whole system of revelation. Archbishop Whately, pursuing a similar line of thought, applied it to a wider range, seeking to correct many popular misconceptions, which seemed to him to be not only the outgrowths of superstition, but to be also of pernicious tendency. Says our author:

> He was a subverter of prejudice and commonplace—of what he believed to be religious as well as irreligious mistake, more than any thing else. The majority of people seemed to him, as probably is always more or less the case, to live in an atmosphere of theological delusion, mistaking their own conceits for essential religious principles—making the New Testament writers responsible for notions that, to a just and intelligent criticism, had no existence there, and were indeed contrary to its spirit and teaching rightly interpreted. A whole cluster of beliefs came, in this way, under his destroying hand.

To conduct the popular mind and heart away from such superstitious fancies, and to destroy the prevalent fetich worship, is a delicate duty, beset with very great difficulties, for in many cases the false and the true are so interlaced with each other that there is great danger that in removing the tares the wheat shall also be destroyed. But evidently they can no longer be allowed to grow together, and Christian teachers are not at liberty to shun the duty that is devolved upon them; nor have they. And yet it must be conceded that in not a few cases there has not been the needed carefulness against occasions for "offenses," by which the unlearned might be caused to stumble, or be turned out of the way; and while some have erred through overmuch boldness, another class have been culpably derelict, in that they have refused to recognize and provide for the necessities of the case.

Any just and comprehensive estimate of the subject contemplated in these Lectures, instead of ignoring every thing except side issues and disturbing causes, must embrace the whole field and take account of all its phenomena. While these departures from the traditional courses of thought have been in progress the great current of religious teaching, as it came down from former times, has been broadening and deepening

throughout English-speaking Christendom. Contemporaneous with Dr. Thomas Arnold—who, though himself faithful till death, became, by the perversion of his teachings, the father of a class of theosophists, learned or fanciful, but wide of the truth—were Robert Hall the Baptist, and Richard Watson the Wesleyan, and Henry Rogers the Independent, and Chalmers of the Scotch Kirk, and Wiseman the Roman Catholic, and more than we can name of the English Established Church, all of whom brought their contributions of sound thinkings and able expositions to the common stock of wholesome Christian literature, which has through them attained to a degree of intellectual and literary excellence before unknown; and these were all theologians of the old school. Responding to the requirements of the better conceptions of the character of the Scripture, and using the improved methods of exegesis, a class of critics and exegetes, at once learned and fearless, and yet thoroughly orthodox, have given us not indeed a new Bible, but that brought down through all the ages of the Church, yet so clearly and broadly elucidated, and freed from the impediments of misconceptions and of false exegeses, that it commends itself equally to the heart and the intellect, and is equally available for the learned and the unlearned. There have, indeed, been, and there continue to be, unusual and unmistakable "movements" in the "religious thought" of the times, at which some are crying out, in their enmity against God's truth, that the faith has gone into a final eclipse, and that the end has come; and another class, seeing the truth emerging from its traditional husks, conclude that their teachers are, indeed, betraying their cause and giving it over to the enemies of the faith. But both the fears of the simple and the rejoicing of the malignants will be only for a little while; and, by virtue of the transitions now in process, the great spiritual truths of religion are coming forth with a clearness and force of demonstration heretofore unknown.

We are, however, quite ready to concede that the work that we have been using as the basis of these reflections is able and learned and decidedly readable. But while the author makes the mistake of speaking of a side current of the thinking of the age—which may be a back-flowing eddy—as if it were the entire flood, he also, in all his temper and manifestations of

preferences, gives the advantage to that which is furthest removed from the faith of the Church. While, therefore, we doubt not that the book may be used to profit, and certainly its style and substance will be likely to attract attention and win favor, yet unless it shall be read with watchful discrimination it will be sure to mislead. The "movements" of which the writer tells are, as to the great whole, very partial, and most certainly will prove to be only temporary. Indeed, their subsidence is already manifest; and still the course of divine truth is steadily onward.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

THE TEMPERANCE CONFLICT.

When large armies meet in conflict the opposing lines extend face to face for miles along advantageous positions, and when the battle opens a skirmish line will be thrown out along the whole extent of front, or a *reconnaissance* will be made—in force or otherwise, as occasion demands—the object being to discover the weakest point of the enemy's line. This point being ascertained, the musketry may rattle along the whole line, cannon may bellow, and thundering charges may be made at various places; but these are largely feints to deceive the enemy, while the main fight is to be made at the point supposed to be weakest and most favorable for a decisive victory. Most great battles have been decided at one point of the line—the center at Waterloo, the left, and later the center, of the Federal line on the final and decisive day at Gettysburg.

This may serve as an analogy in the great temperance war that is upon us. For a century the battle has been raging, but it has so far been largely of the character of skirmish or *reconnaissance;* and perhaps this necessary preliminary work has not even yet been thoroughly done. At any rate there is no unanimous agreement as to which is the weakest point in the enemy's line. The fact has certainly been developed, that the opposing line is very strong at all points, that we are engaged in a terrible battle—much more extensive and malignant than most people imagine; but there is much difference of opinion as to where we should concentrate the attack and join issue for final victory. Undoubtedly some one point in the enemy's line is weakest, and it would be well for the temperance cause if its location could be determined with accuracy, and a general agreement secured to force the fighting at that point.

The battle front of intemperance consists of four divisions, namely, the rum-makers, the rum-sellers, the rum-drinkers, and the great indifferent public. If any one of these could be thoroughly crushed the battle would be won—it would not be necessary to crush the others. If the rum-makers could all be converted to better lives the manufacture of alcohol as a beverage would cease, the supply on hand would soon be exhausted, and the evil come to an end. If the rum-sellers could all be converted the battle would terminate; for, no matter how much rum might be manufactured, so long as none was on sale none could be bought. If all rum-drinkers could be persuaded to drink no more, it would avail nothing that rum was manufactured and offered for sale; there would be no purchasers, and the war with intemperance would be brought to a close. And could the great indifferent public be so thoroughly aroused as to rise up in its majesty and demand that this evil be abolished, nobody doubts that it would be abolished in spite of rum-makers, rum-sellers, and rum-drinkers.

After a hundred years of skirmishing it is legitimate to ask, Which is the weakest division of the enemy's line? Where should we concentrate our troops and force the fighting? Perhaps the times are not yet ripe for an answer to this question, but it may be doubted whether a decisive victory will be gained until the answer is given. Can we end this contest by converting the rum-makers? Probably no one has ever supposed so. Little effort has been made to induce distillers and brewers to give up their business, and this little has yielded but a meager harvest. These are hard-hearted men, and the love of gain overpowers all other considerations. An insuperable practical obstacle will always exist in the fact, that if all the rum-makers should go out of this business at once as many others would enter upon it without delay. This division of the enemy's line seems impregnable.

Can we end the contest by converting the rum-sellers? This has been a favorite theory with some, though it has not found general acceptance. Spasmodic efforts have been made during all temperance revivals with a limited measure of success. The only really vigorous movement of the kind was the "Woman's Crusade" of the West; but three discouraging features mark its history, namely, it was of only partial thoroughness, of limited geographical extent, and of short duration, [and it had an element of Lynch law.] It is doubtful whether another such attempt will ever be made. Rum-sellers are bad men, who care little for the woes of human society so long as the love of gain spurs them on. The same practical difficulty attends their reformation as that of rum-makers. If all the rum-sellers in the land should go out of business to-day as many more would embark in the enterprise to-morrow.

Can we end the war by converting the rum-drinkers? Around this standard multitudes of temperance people have rallied, and against this division charge after charge has been made. It has seemed at times as though the line of intemperance would surely be broken at this point and the contest ended; but anon the temperance forces have been driven back,

and years of discouragement have followed before another attack was made. The Father Mathew societies, the Washingtonian movement, the secret lodges, the blue-ribbon gospel temperance meetings have all had in view the reformation of the drinker, and hundreds, even thousands, have been saved from the drunkard's grave. Good Francis Murphy and many more still continue this noble work, although it has been attended with great discouragement. It is estimated that the Washingtonian movement reformed six hundred thousand drunkards, and that four hundred and fifty thousand of them returned to their cups. It is also known that the blue-ribbon army has largely deserted to the enemy. Fallen human nature is very weak, and there is wide-spread skepticism among temperance workers with respect to permanent victory in this direction.

Perhaps a majority of the advocates of temperance have turned their batteries on the great indifferent public, which, by its indifference, puts itself on the side of rum. Their theory is, that if the public can be sufficiently aroused to take a decided stand intemperance will soon be suppressed. But the attack on the public is made by two parties, which differ widely in sentiment and methods. The purpose of one party is simply to convert the public to total abstinence practices. This theory was stated in few words by one of the earliest temperance workers of the country: "We have at present fast hold of a project for making all people in this country and in all other countries temperate, or, rather, a plan to induce those who are temperate to continue so. Then, as all who are intemperate will soon be dead, the earth will be eased of an amazing evil." In working the theory, however, efforts to save the drunkard have also been made, and the pledge has been handed to drinkers and non-drinkers indiscriminately. The weakness of the method has already been indicated —the pledged drunkard returns to his cups, while multitudes who are not drinkers either refuse to sign the pledge or turn to intemperance after the pledge is taken. To remedy this defect the Gospel has been invoked, and a "gospel temperance" war has been waged. This virtually reduces temperance effort to the dimensions of Christian effort. The logical drift of the movement is seen by many of its advocates, though not by all. This method simply affirms that men can be saved from possible or actual intemperance only so far and so fast as they are saved from other sins; and its advocates raise the question whether this has not already been accomplished. Their theory is the gospel theory, that God does not save the world from one sin at a time, and that we shall gain nothing by trying to drive men into temperance while we leave them in the practice of all other sins. They assert that we cannot by legislation impose a particular virtue on a godless community; that temperance is already abreast of the other virtues; and that it will be impossible to proceed farther except as we advance the whole line in the conversion of the world. Their theory would convict other workers of using methods against intemperance which cannot be employed against sins in general, and of trying to push back the line of evil at this point farther than at other points. And they can refer to the remark of the father of the temperance movement,

Dr. Rush himself, who said: "From the influence of the Quakers and Methodists in checking this evil, I am disposed to believe that the business must be effected finally by religion alone."

Others, again, appeal to the general public not only to accept the principle of total abstinence, but prohibition also. Multitudes will never be saved from intemperance unless the temptation is removed from them; and so moral suasion and prohibition are both necessary. To the appeals of the Gospel they would add the restrictions of civil law to save weak men from a great evil.

After many years of experiment with prohibition, in the form of local option or State law, the thought of the country has been turned toward constitutional prohibition as the goal of its hopes. And if we are to have prohibition we cannot stop short of this; for by such means alone can we be saved from the constant fluctuations of changing Legislatures which have marked the history of prohibition in the past.

Constitutional prohibition can be secured as soon as the people demand it—not before. And prohibitory laws against intemperance are as likely to be enforced as prohibitory laws against any other form of evil, provided always that public sentiment condemns intemperance as emphatically as it does theft and murder. Until such a sentiment exists even constitutional prohibition could avail nothing, for we should have the anomaly of a constitutional clause prohibiting intemperance, while an adverse Legislature might sweep from the statute books all laws enforcing the Constitution. If, then, the main attack is to be made on the great indifferent public, the task set before temperance men is to win a majority of the voters of the country to total abstinence and prohibition. It will be necessary to win them to total abstinence first, since they will never prohibit others until they are willing to prohibit themselves. And a bare majority will not answer the purpose, for no prohibitory law can be enforced on such a basis. There must be a very considerable majority, whose moral power will easily overbear all opposition. Our work is to win this overwhelming majority to the side of prohibition; and let no one suppose this is a light task. It is a momentous undertaking, and implies the conversion of the bulk of our citizens to high morality, if not religion itself. Let us not expect too much or we shall be disappointed, and let us not be discouraged if the millennium of temperance is long in coming. Any who are looking to the abolition of slavery as an analogy are doomed to disappointment, for intemperance is not an evil that can be wiped out by a proclamation or a civil war. Only the most long-continued and persistent effort can ever suppress it; and when it has been suppressed and prohibition enacted, it may at any time revive again by a lapse of the people into immorality or indifference.

A somewhat general acceptance of the principle of prohibition by temperance people at once raises the vexed question of method. How shall we best win a controlling majority of the voters of the land to prohibition? In the diversity of opinion that prevails is, perhaps, to be found the weakness of the movement. Some favor a political party, devoted to

prohibition, and hope to win sufficient voters from the other parties to make it successful. But a majority of even temperance voters refuse to leave the old parties; and they declare that if this method cannot gain the favor of temperance voters it will not be likely to make inroads among voters who are indifferent to the cause of temperance. While many are ready to admit that temperance is the greatest issue before the people to-day, they are not ready to admit that it is more important than all other issues combined, and so they cling to the old parties. Others claim that we cannot touch the question of prohibition by our votes at present (except in the case of local option), and so they choose between the old parties on other grounds than temperance.

Some advocates of prohibition, while not accepting a Prohibition party, yet hope for a new reform party on a broader basis than prohibition, and in the present unsettled condition of parties, it is impossible to predict whereunto this may grow.

Most advocates of temperance are of opinion that we can best win voters to the principle of prohibition by not antagonizing their political relations, and so they look to the pulpit, the platform, and temperance literature to do the work. They assert that a Prohibition party must necessarily antagonize one or the other of the old parties, and will alienate all who are not ready to break their party affiliation. Especially they point to the fact that it turns away thousands of voters who are not Christian men, and are not fully under the control of Christian principle, who nevertheless are favorable to temperance, and if carefully and wisely handled, could be depended on to approve total abstinence and prohibition. These sentiments have crystallized in the non-partisan and non-sectarian National Temperance League, with head-quarters in Boston. The opponents of these methods pronounce them indefinite and contradictory, and not likely to accomplish the purpose. They declare that it is necessary to erect a standard on this issue, and invite the friends of temperance to rally around it; that the old parties will not touch prohibition, but are both wedded to the rum power. They further assert that mere agitation has proved a failure in the past, and that nothing but a political party will give us the long-coveted prohibition.

These differences have not always been kept within friendly bounds; and the special weakness of the temperance cause at present is, the ill-feeling that has been developed between various sections of workers growing out of political action and affiliations. It happens that running a Prohibition party helps the Democratic party in the North, and opposing the Prohibition party helps the Republican party in the South, and so we have the melancholy spectacle of each side accusing the other of acting in the interest of one of the old parties. Those who favor the Prohibition party charge all prohibitionists who oppose it with doing so in order to help the Republican party; and the National Non-partisan League is pronounced nothing better than a feeder to that party. On the other hand, those who oppose a Prohibition party charge its adherents with running it as an "annex" to the Democratic party, asserting also that Democratic

money prints and circulates Prohibition party documents. It is declared that the Prohibition party is run to secure revenge on the Republican party; and in opposition it is asserted that temperance Republicans are opposing prohibition in order to avenge themselves on the Prohibition party for the defeat of Mr. Blaine. Documents printed in favor of a Prohibition party are called Democratic documents, while those issued against it are called Republican documents. Democrats are cheering on the Prohibition party, but are not voting its ticket; while Republicans clap their hands for the Non-partisan League, but do not generally practice its principles. And, finally, each faction accuses the other of being on the side of rum. The advocates of a Prohibition party cannot imagine that their brethren oppose such a party solely in the interest of temperance, and *vice versa*. These good friends of temperance on both sides seem utterly incapable of supposing that their opponents are doing what they think will be for the advantage of the temperance cause without any reference to the old parties. This is a sad spectacle, and an ill omen for the future of temperance. So bitter is the feeling in some sections that pastoral relations have been unsettled, and the subject practically driven from the pulpit.

The great weakness at present seems to be this want of harmony among temperance men themselves—a lack of unity of purpose and plan of attack. This has not been uncommon in all the history of the temperance movement, but the weakness of ill-feeling and disharmony has of late been greatly aggravated. The warfare has been, and is, too much of the nature of bushwhacking—each company fighting on its own plan, without submitting to the commands of some controlling mind. We sadly need a great general in whom all can trust, and a broad plan of attack that will utilize all the temperance forces of the land.

Sometimes a general is beaten in battle, and pleads as an excuse that he was not able to bring all his forces into action. Whenever this is the case there is a fault in the plan of attack. Every well-conducted contest should be able to make available all the resources of the cause. And surely the temperance cause, with such a gigantic and united foe in its front, has no resources to waste, and no shots to fire at its own friends. If we are to direct our attack, as seems the latest purpose, against the great indifferent public, we should use those methods that will best tend to win indifferent men to our side, and we should hesitate to alienate any of the friends of temperance. The plan of attack should be such that it will not be necessary to fight the friends of temperance as well as its enemies.

H. GRAHAM.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

FRANCE IN MADAGASCAR.—In spite of their reverses in the Orient the French seem determined to remain in Madagascar. It was believed by some that the very heavy outlay in that field would cause the Chambers to hesitate to make any more grants; but not so. When credit of twelve additional millions was demanded there was a veritable rivalry as to who should say the strongest things in favor of granting it. A few of the leading Radicals spoke against the measure, but in vain. The Catholic leaders favored the grant because it was a struggle in the island between Catholics and Protestants, and these latter must be defeated, said Bishop Freppel and Count Mun.

The representative from the neighboring island of Reunion demanded the conquest of Madagascar because of its importance for future colonization, whose prospects he painted in the brightest colors. And even the representative from Cochin China presented the beauties and advantages of Madagascar in the rosiest light. Ex-Minister Ferry declared the speech of his Catholic rival, Bishop Freppel, an extremely patriotic one, but did not believe in the application to a half-civilized people of the international laws created for civilized States. Freycinet favored a continuation of the campaign against the Hovas. Circumstances had forced France to undertake the subjugation of certain sections of the island; and his assertion that the claims of France on Madagascar are a national inheritance was received with great applause. Ferry, who had declared just after his fall that he would never utter another word in the Chamber, forgot this rash promise, and secured the floor to assert that his colonial policy was necessary in order to open new avenues for the extension of a civilization which the more cultivated nations have a right and a duty to force on those in a lower plane of culture; and as all other nations were entering on the colonial movement, therefore must France follow suit in self-defense and self-respect.

Finally the credit called for was granted by a large majority in the Chambers, and by an almost unanimous vote in the Senate. Nearly all the French journals supported the measure for the reason, in the first place, that seven millions of the twelve had already been used, and because France stood before a people that had treated her with disrespect in using contemptuous and offensive language toward the French Republic. But we submit, that after the above *exposé* which we make of the position of many French statesmen, it is little wonder that the Hovas treat them with disrespect. So far as we know, the actions of France in Madagascar have commanded the respect of no civilized nation on the globe—to say nothing of the "uncultured nations." We are, however, very glad to notice that the French Protestants uncover this corruption in no honeyed words in their respective organs. Leon Pilatte battles bravely in this line, and says some very weighty words to the French people in his

"Eglise Libre." The Royalists and Catholics were most energetic in defending the "ancient claims of France."

THE MORMONS ARE IN BERLIN presenting their disgusting doctrines so openly and shamelessly that the Christian world is rising energetically against them. It shocks the descendants of Luther to hear these "apostles" call themselves "Latter-day Saints," and in public meetings attack the truths of Christianity before a noisy and exulting mob rejoiced to hear them caricatured and trodden in the mire. Two men and eighteen women made up the "apostolic band," of which it was doubtful whether the latter were "sealed," according to the well-known artistic expression, or whether they were free candidates for favor. The men were unknown and coarse individuals, and the women perhaps even more so, and the Berliners think it impossible that they can make many converts to their peculiar views. But aside from special results, is the humiliating and alarming fact that such occurrences can take place where all sacred things are thrown to the dogs, and subjects that have hitherto been treated with the gentlest hands are now exposed to coarse contempt.

A well-known and much respected editor of a Christian journal takes his people to task in regard to the matter in some very practical words of local application. He considers such exhibitions as much more dangerous than the worst meetings of the Socialists, though very few seem to agree with him. The Mormons rob the people of their spiritual treasures, which is a far greater crime than an attack on material possessions. What a shouting there is among the crowd of cultured and uncultured free-thinkers to hear maligned the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead, the divinity of Christ, or his ascent to heaven; and this in a way so much more blasphemously than ever before!

No one who knows the doctrine of Mormonism can doubt that it is founded on the basest falsehood, and is most disgraceful in theory and practice—a diabolical caricature of divine mysteries. It is therefore an inexplicable contradiction and a dangerous self-deception to treat such teachings as a coarse joke, even while a meeting of Socialists is dissolved by the police as soon as they commence to speak of an increase of wages or an amelioration of the condition of the working classes.

"This unreasoning contradiction is still more glaring when one reflects that what is punished as a crime in civil life is openly defended in the doctrine of Mormon polygamy," say the more thoughtful and moral Germans; to whom comes the vile reply, that practical Mormonism exists in Berlin as in all great cities of Europe, only that thereby there is no process of sealing gone through with as a farce. These bitter discussions in the press have at least the value of calling the attention of all classes to the Mormon apostles, and of exposing their detestable doctrines, so that not much more progress will be made by them throughout Germany. The Mormons have made most of their European converts among the grossly ignorant. Very few come to them knowing of the most offensive feature of their doctrines until they are in the noose and surrounded by the snares.

The authorities all over Europe are having their eyes opened to the movements of these miscreants, and there is reason to believe that before long their operations will be very much restricted.

NORWAY is fast becoming the stamping-ground of Catholicism. The time was when the Scandinavian lands were so absolutely Protestant that a Catholic could scarcely be found within them. The name of Gustavus Adolphus of Sweden is dear to the Protestant world, because at the head of his brave band he hastened to the assistance of North Germany and drove back the Catholic cohorts of the South.

But now Norway is a special mission field of the Romish Church, and the workers are all controlled by a leader bearing the title of "Apostolic Prefect." In Christiania there is a mission church of beautiful style and proportions, whose gilded dome and cross overlook the waters of the fiord. Connected with this is a boys' school and a parsonage, in which are a vicar and a rector. Opposite is the educational institute of the Sisters of St. Joseph, containing a girls' school for the city and a dormitory for poor children, where at present over thirty boys and girls are supported. With these there is also a hospital for the sick of the families of the city; and the sisters are about to establish an international hospital in this important sea-port, with nurses speaking several languages, so as to care for all the sick sailors who come from all Catholic lands. The regular members of their congregation are increasing at the rate of forty per year, and of these the majority are converts.

At the extreme southern point of Norway, in Frederikshald, a city of ten thousand inhabitants, a new church is in the course of erection, and in Bergen, a city of 40,000, a new edifice in Romish style is nearly finished. The rector here is a born Norwegian, though most of the priests employed are German or French. In Trondhjem, with 20,000, a new station has just been dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Jesus, with a rector from France. A month or two ago bishops from Germany and other points met and consecrated young priests for the work—an act which, in these northern lands, has taken place only once since the Reformation.

In Tromsō there has been a mission since 1859, which has grown now into a church, a parsonage, and a large school. The principal priest here is a Hollander. Even as high north as Hammerfest a mission has been stationed and provided with the usual adjuncts. The school here is controlled by secular teachers, and the congregation consists mostly of converts. In southern Norway, at Frederikstadt, where the climate is much milder than at the north, a young Norwegian priest, lately ordained in Belgium, but of feeble health, has been sent to work. The Catholic narrator declares that in a little time he was surrounded by many who desired to learn the doctrines of the Catholic faith, and in a couple of years he has gained a small congregation of converts, who now call for a church, a parsonage, and a school. The general report says, that the people are anxious to learn about the mother-Church, and that they come out in numbers to the services. But the Protestant pastors declare that these

conversions are owing to the dissatisfaction of the people with the State Church, and the present liberty for all confessions in Norway.

A Swiss Pastoral Conference was lately held in that famous Protestant Rome, the ancient city of Geneva, at which were present two hundred ministers, the majority from French Switzerland. The opening sermon by Doret claimed the unity of the professors of the Protestant faith, and derived this from the genuine piety which is a special mark of its believers, notwithstanding their apparent conflicts. It was gladly conceded by all that an era of peace, or at least of mutual respect, had been gained, which is very favorable for the work of missions and the growth of Christian life.

The first day was spent in treating of the evangelization of the masses apart from the official means of instruction; and the question brought out many speakers, and became the key-note of the occasion. Prof. Chapuis, from Lausanne, declared this to be a question of life or death to the Protestant Church in Switzerland; and this because the personal Christianity inherited or gained from the parents is entirely insufficient, and that numbers who are without God and hope visit the sanctuary as a formal duty or a personal enjoyment. He depicted in glowing colors the present crisis of the true faith in Switzerland in the hostility of the masses to any religion, and the consequent necessity of bringing to them the belief in God by other than the old traditional forms in which so many Christians are enchained.

These Swiss pastors seem fairly touched with the spirit of the age, and demand that Christianity must be borne from the churches to the street; and this by means of home mission work, even to the public meetings to forward the cause of sobriety. They think that the more this is done by the various Churches the better they will know and the more they will respect one another.

A lively discussion arose as to the best kind of popular evangelization for the Swiss people, they being generally intelligent and capable of listening critically to Gospel teaching. In answer to this proposition there appeared a general demand for better trained preachers, and especially for men who would think less of gaining positions than of curing souls, and who were ready to enter every-where on philanthropic work.

This discussion brought out a new feature, namely, the growing conviction among Swiss clergymen of the necessity of lay workers who should conquer the world by the love of men and the desire to awaken their spiritual instincts. Many seemed to regard the lay sermon as a material element in the organism of the Church; one speaker even favored street-preaching. But a disturbing force here, quite evidently, was the unpopularity in Switzerland of the modes of the Salvation Army, which have brought public demonstrations into contempt. Another very important discussion arose on the manner of presenting the doctrine of sin so as to meet the experience and the needs of the hour; and this investigation showed conclusively that the Protestants of French Switzerland

are making great advance in practical divine life. Never before could they have so deeply discussed the true nature of religious conviction and the true methods of propagating religious truth. In this they have made a long step toward practical Methodism.

THE RELIGIOUS LIFE OF HOLLAND is comparatively little known to the outer world of late, though in former years its theologians exerted a great influence on the religious world at large, and there are still many cherished names in the Protestant Church among the ranks of its present workers. But it is now by no means a unity in its Christian life. There are very many shades of ecclesiastical belief within its borders, and a goodly sprinkling of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Dutch Church, properly so called, is in a period of conflict, for there are within its lines many and various theological shades. The decidedly negative and "modern" tendency, which has held the upper hand for some twenty years, is losing its hold, though it still retains the power in the synod. This decline of the "modern" tendency in Holland has been induced by the power of the religious spirit abroad among the people The Church is now also in conflict with the State, because this, in its efforts at "neutrality," has deprived the universities of the theological faculties and the public schools of religious instruction. But the Christian people of Holland conduct this strife not by striking their adversaries, but by making great sacrifices in the establishment and support of Christian schools and institutions for Christian culture.

The movement for the support of popular Christian effort in the line of schools and home missions is quite extensive. At the present time there are 420 Protestant elementary schools with the Bible in them taught to 70,000 children; and every year about twenty new schools are established. The whole story of this new-born energy in Holland is very interesting, as some of its leading workers bear the best names in the land. The whole development of the last few years in this direction is giving to Dutch Christians a consciousness of their own strength, and preparing the way for the disestablishment of a State religion that uses much of its power in preventing, rather than advancing, Christian ideas. The real Christianity of Holland has thus organized itself into a Church militant.

MILITARY DUTY is required of theologians in Prussia and other German states on the ground that the nation has a right to demand of all its citizens a certain fitness to be defenders of the country in time of attack from foreign foes. But this reason seems often, as in France, to be used as a cloak for the real reason, which is rather a hostility to the Church and all who enter its ranks.

It is but telling the actual truth to say, that the system works badly, and is really not acceptable to the army, as it is of course not to the Church. The subject is therefore the theme of discussion in the synods, in which an effort is now being made in Prussia to induce the government to allow all the theological students serving in the army the priv-

ilege of at least half of their time either in the hospitals or as assistant chaplains, so that they may at least learn something that is more in accordance with their vocations than that of the art of waging war.

All theologians ought, by virtue of their university acquirements, to be able to gain the right of serving but one year, and this is, we may say, universally the case. Therefore their time of service, if devoted to any thing else, is entirely too short to allow them to learn any thing of military tactics and science of any value; and this is especially the case if they are placed in the reserve corps, where they will soon forget what little practical skill in the handling of arms they may have acquired.

It is therefore gratifying to see the military officers joining with the theological bodies in deprecating the whole system. The officers say that they find no pleasure in the theological students among their troops. They drill and instruct them in strategical science, aware that, with all their trouble on both sides, they will harvest no fruits from their labors. They cannot make reserve officers of them for want of time, and as soon as they enter the ministry their availability for actual war is lost, for they would then enter the army again as chaplains, and not as fighting soldiers. The result is, that most of the military officers favor them during the service, and that the whole affair is a practical failure. We are thus pleased to chronicle a growing disfavor of the entire system.

THE GAMBLING HELL OF MONACO must go, we are glad to say. For the last few months petitions have been sent in large numbers to the French Senate to have this vile *tripot* stamped out. They were referred to a commission that was unanimously of this opinion, and it can hardly be possible that the better portion of the French people will not succeed in their worthy efforts. The Minister of the Interior has promised his co-operation in the matter, and the Italian Minister of Foreign Affairs says all that can be desired in answer to an appeal to come to the rescue with his influence. All those interested in the maintenance of the plague, including the Catholic clergy of the principality, are to lose their shameless profits. It is no credit to France that she has so long stood as guardian to this infamous business, which last year reaped fifty-six suicides and engulfed numberless fortunes in its abyss. And we are gratified to know that among the foremost of the workers in this cause are the French Protestants, led on by Rev. Leon Pilatte, the eloquent and fearless editor of the "Eglise Libre."

THE OFFICIAL OATH is causing a great deal of discussion in certain European lands, so that several treatises on the matter have lately appeared, written in a certain Christian spirit, but demanding the abolition of the biblical oath, at least, because of the levity and indifference with which it is too frequently taken. In some countries the oath is abolished entirely. In France the witness now swears on honor and conscience; in Italy without this proviso, but also without any reference to God; and in other lands, as in Spain and Switzerland, efforts are being continually

made to put aside the religious oath. In Germany, Denmark, and England the matter has caused a great deal of agitation in the Parliaments. These States are clearly in a great crisis of modern civil life, where many are desirous of emancipating the State from all religion, but cannot well dispense with the religious oath. The formula in many instances is reduced to the mere acknowledgment of a God, but as the world is now full of atheists, this fact is of little avail.

In these discussions all serious persons agree as to certain things, namely, that too many oaths are demanded, and that the ceremony is fast becoming a cold and meaningless formality that seems to give open doors to perjury, which is greatly on the increase, as is proved by the statistics of various nations: In Prussia, for instance, from 1854–1878, perjury increased 128 per cent.; in Bavaria, from 1871–1877, from 166 to 431; in Saxony, from 258 to 512 per cent. These fearful facts show that Christians and statesmen may well combine to effect a reform of some kind.

FATHER CURCI, the famous Jesuit priest, expelled from the order and punished in various ways for his heresies in regard to the temporal power of the Pope, finds it very hard to submit to the enforced idleness imposed on him by his subjection to the highest authority, and now therefore appears with a new book on "Christian Socialism." In this it is evident that he has carefully studied the best authorities extant, and the conviction to which he has come is, that there is no panacea for the social trouble and unrest but practical Christianity. And in this conviction he calls on his "dear Italy" to devote itself to this noble task in the spirit of its great statesman, Cavour, called to a too early grave. For the confused national system of Europe he would have established an International Court of Arbitration, which might lead to an era of universal peace. He would have all the States of Europe agree greatly to reduce their military budgets, which are causing so much of the trouble to the working classes. With these hints as to its contents we need scarcely add that the work is one of peculiar idealism permeated with a love of humanity.

"THE CONVERSION OF PASTORS" is the startling title of a book just published in Berlin by the General Superintendent Braun of the State Church. It seems, indeed, to be the ally of the conscience, and presents in its true light the needs of effective pastoral activity. Dr. Braun argues, that to insure conversion of the members of the congregation there first must be a thorough conversion in the man who holds the pastoral office; for if this fails, then is every service in the vineyard of the Lord without fruit. The author emphatically exclaims: "What a thundering accusation it is against a servant of Christ when a member of his Church can say of him, 'In the pulpit every other word is Christ, but in actual life every thing is World! world!'" But we say, what a striking comment it is that such words as these can be truly thought and used in regard to a great body of spiritual teachers! Can they be deserved? or are they a crying insult and injustice

to those to whom they are directed? We fear, alas! that they are indeed well placed where they are put.

OLD CATHOLIC LITERATURE seems greatly on the increase among the Germans. There is an excellent organ, bearing the title "Old Catholic Messenger," and published at Heidelberg (Baden) by the city pastor, Dr. Rieks. A recent number contains an article of four columns on the "Errors of the Romish Church," treating mainly of the dogma of infallibility, of baptism, the sacrament, and confession. In this, such a mass of facts appears of actually cited cases where popes of different periods have been in hostility to each other, that the mere thought of infallibility in any of them becomes absurd. Indeed, the simple work on Heresy presented by Bishop Hefele to the pope is a stronger argument against infallibility than any that can be given by Protestant authorities. Such Old Catholic scholars as Von Schulte, Reinkens, Knoodt, and Döllinger have served up with details the labors of about two hundred and fifty popes, containing such numberless interesting facts of history that they need but to be known to relieve the Jesuitism of the day of the fragment of a platform on which to stand.

DOMESTIC RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CANON FARRAR IN AMERICA.—Probably no man, since Dean Stanley visited America, has received such marked consideration from the American public, and imparted so much of his own thought to us, as Archdeacon Farrar. His wide range of interests has given him auditors from the most diverse classes of persons. His sympathetic, scholarly discussions of purely literary topics—his broad, firm enunciation of religious convictions in his sermons—his tact and un-British readiness in impromptu remarks on various occasions—his hearty participation in the deliberations of the Americo-Anglican Church—and, finally, his bold utterances upon the questions of temperance, have altogether placed him within the touch of "all sorts and conditions of men."

His well-known attitude upon the last-mentioned subject called forth an expression from those prominent among us, and took the form of a reception, tendered to him jointly by the National Temperance Society and the Church Temperance Society. Canon Farrar is an advocate of total abstinence, and gives clear reasons for his position, untinged by the utopian and fanatical ideas which have repelled many, and caused a lack of sympathy with some of the supporters of this branch of the question.

He addressed the audience in Chickering Hall, extemporaneously, for nearly an hour, and reiterated his opinions as expressed in "The Nineteenth Century" of May last, in his reply to Lord Bramwell on "Drink." There he says: "Sin is the worst curse of mankind, and intemperance is

the one sin at once very common and very fatal which is absolutely and easily preventable. It is the one curse of humanity of which we might absolutely cut off the entail. At present it is the scourge of nations, and into many nations England has helped to introduce that scourge. We have 'girdled the world with a zone of drunkenness;' we have made ourselves, as the Archbishop of York said, 'the drunken Helots of the world.' Such statements only sound exaggerated to those who know nothing of the facts, and who have not heard the bitter cry which has arisen from the tribes of North America, from the West Indies, from India, from Ceylon, from Australia, from New Zealand, from Natal, from Madagascar, from Mauritius, from the Hottentots and Kaffirs, whom drink, more than any other cause, has helped to decimate and degrade. . . . We have become total abstainers in the desire to diminish the awful aggregate of human wretchedness. Without personal example, *we* cannot ourselves succeed in rescuing the drunkard. . . . To us the protection by government of a liberty which is inevitably associated with frightful license, is an abdication of the noblest functions of rule, and involves the neglect of the classes least represented, whose interests should therefore be most carefully studied. . . . The prime minister told us, in the House of Commons, that drink produced evils more deadly, because more continuous, than those of the three great historic scourges of war, famine, and pestilence combined; and 'that,' he said, 'was the measure of our discredit and disgrace.'"

American public opinion has long been in advance of that of other countries upon this subject so vital to national prosperity, but with such words from leading Englishmen in Church and State, with such warnings and appeals, we may confidently expect a growth of sentiment and practice in favor of this great reform which will extend throughout all ranks of society in Great Britain.

In a memorial of Cardinal M'Closkey, the first American Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church, published in the "American Catholic Quarterly Review" for October, the growth of that Church in New York and Brooklyn within the short period of his life is pointed out. In his boyhood he could not find in Brooklyn a church wherein to worship, nor a priest who could administer to him the sacraments; he was obliged for that privilege to cross to New York, and there obtain the coveted favor in one of the two churches of that city. There are now in Brooklyn, according to the same authority, one bishop, more than one hundred priests, and nearly as many churches and chapels. New York has, in place of her two small churches, an archiepiscopal see, two hundred priests, and over one hundred churches. Within the life-time of Cardinal M'Closkey, mainly within the years of his priesthood, has this change been wrought.

Among other enterprises, it is now proposed to found an American Catholic University, within which, as a focus, to unite the results of all former educational projects. The aim of this university has been well characterized as "not merely a corporation dispensing knowledge of

a varied and excellent kind, but a high tribunal presiding over the spirit of its times; judging and fashioning thought and feeling; regulating public opinion; settling intellectual strifes; far above partiality or weakness or dependency of any kind." The spirit of an able article on this subject in the above Review is entirely opposed to the modern idea of education as summed up in the term "practical." Utilitarianism is deplored, and the opposition which must be encountered from the popular educational party, if American Catholics determine to establish a real *universitas literarum*, is frankly met and acknowledged. The weight of American prejudice against a combination of ecclesiastical and literary aims as offered in such an institution is felt; but a zeal for the "one true faith," and a manly acknowledgment of devotion to the interests of the "one true Church," shames the lukewarm, shifting allegiance of the majority of Protestants. The fact that the Roman Catholic Church in America is about to crown its well-founded structure with a broad educational enterprise is one of great significance.

THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH was held in New Haven, beginning October 20, and continuing four days. The Church was represented by both clergy and laity coming together from distant parts of our country, and holding views quite as far separated. The subjects under discussion were those of denominational interest, more especially, and avowedly chosen to promote a greater unity within that Communion. While freedom of expression was encouraged, a skillful tact was apparent in turning the currents in desired directions. The Congress has no voting power, and is simply a voluntary gathering of Episcopalians for discussion.

"The Christian Doctrine of the Atonement" was the first topic discussed, and upon which Canon Farrar gave his views. The trend of the discussion was not toward the "old orthodoxy." "The Grounds of Church Unity" was opened by Bishop Coxe in a truly "Church" spirit, and treated by Canon Farrar in such sentences as, "Partisans are ever ready to say with the sons of thunder, 'We forbade him because he followeth not with us;' but Christ's answer was, 'Forbid him not.' . . . Unity is essential and obligatory; uniformity is impossible, and even I will venture to say, undesirable. . . . The railing restrictions which would fain fence in with anathemas the portal of the Church are unevangelic, unapostolic, unchristian." But Farrar did not voice the ruling sentiment of the body.

Among the topics discussed were "The Ethics of the Tariff Question," "Æstheticism in Worship," "Free Churches," "Deaconesses and Sisterhoods," and "Place and Methods of Bible Study in the Christian Life."

LAW AND GOSPEL IN UTAH.—A judicious mingling of the Law and the Gospel is the remedy necessary to cure the evil disease prevailing in Utah. It is not difficult to find numbers of physicians ready to make out

prescriptions; but, as is often the case, the dose stops just outside of the patient's mouth. Utah objects.

The government tried persuasion—offered gelatine capsules—but Utah remained unreasonable. Now the government has seized the patient and forces her to swallow at least a portion of the medicine.

A vigorous article in the "Andover Review" sets forth the danger of the situation. Fifteen thousand of the inhabitants of the Territory are in polygamy; many more are firm believers in the doctrines of the Book of Mormon. The hope, rumored about, that this people would depart in a body to Mexico, has not sufficient foundation; some of the most fanatical may go, the bulk of the population will stay in their present pleasant and prosperous home. In September last about thirty of the elders were in durance vile, accused of offenses against United States laws, most of them awaiting trial. The more recent case of "Bishop" Sharp in pleading guilty on being arraigned, has not been followed by similar instances. The "arm of the law" seemed to become nerveless before such gentle submission, and the ordinary penalties were so far remitted as to emphasize the belief that the "Bishop" was a martyr.

Converts to Mormonism continue to be gathered from almost every State and Territory. A number of perverts from among Methodists and Presbyterians in Illinois are recently reported. While our Church is working in Scandinavia to prevent the spread of this evil doctrine, and in Utah to substitute the pure light of the Gospel for superstitious darkness, here in our midst we find the plague spreading. It has been said that statesmanship of a more transcendent quality than has yet been applied will be needed. This part of the remedy, so far, has caused a quickened circulation in the patient, but no *cure* is possible without both Law and Gospel.

The latter element is rapidly increasing in effectiveness. The work and influence of the different Churches in the Territory are beginning to leaven the whole lump. The establishment of our own Church was only effected fifteen years ago; naturally its early progress was slow, for the enmity it met, besides being very bitter, was well organized. Statistics show a very encouraging increase in every department of our work, while reports of conversions from among the ranks of the Mormons continually reach us. One fact of great significance is shown in the item that in 1884 there were four hundred and twelve children of Mormon parentage attending our day-schools. Our converts are not only from the English-speaking population; there is much done among the Scandinavians—a people who furnish many recruits to the Mormon faith.

The Roman Catholic Church has schools for both boys and girls in Salt Lake City, as well as a well-equipped hospital. The Episcopalians have also a hospital, besides schools; the Presbyterians and Congregationalists are active in the cause of education; all this besides the direct evangelical work of the several denominations. A need long felt has recently found expression in an appeal for pure literature to counteract the tracts and books of the Mormon Church. Utah needs to be "sown knee deep" with pure literature; those on the ground say Mormonism seems to be

losing its hold, but the work is not done. There can be no compromise between the government and polygamy. There can be no compromise between the Gospel and polygamy. "True to God and our country" must be the watch-word of preachers, teachers, and officials of the government.

WHILE the Methodist term "revival," as well as some of our distinctive "revival methods," are repudiated by some of our sister denominations in their recent organizations for evangelistic work in New York and neighboring cities, yet to Methodists "mission" and "missioner," and similar terms, indicate nearly the same thing as "revival meetings" and "revivalists." It would be incorrect to say that such efforts are a complete novelty in other Churches; they are comparatively so in the Episcopal Church in this country. Under whatever name the organized effort goes, the object is to win souls. In that object all Christians are united. In New York a "mission" was appointed for "Advent," to be held in eighteen of the Episcopal churches of the city. Services are held four times a day, especially designed to reach all classes and ages of attendants. Several of the "missioners" are from England, belonging to the Parochial Mission Society of the Church of England, men peculiarly suited to such service. So far, three "missions" have been held in the Church of England, in 1869, 1874, and 1884; an increasingly large number of churches participating in the successive years.

A similar organized effort has been set on foot among the Presbyterian churches in New York, instituted by the action of the Presbytery of New York, and arranged to include in due order all the churches of this denomination in the city. It seems to be necessary to "stir the fires," however well the machinery may be running.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE AMERICAN BOARD.—The annual meeting of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions is always a great event in Congregationalism—we might say the central event, to which all the churches of that communion look forward, and from which they all draw inspiration for another year of effort and sacrifice for the great cause. The departed glory of the May anniversaries, which used to make New York in that beautiful month a sort of Holy City, to which the devout of several denominations annually journeyed, is recalled by the autumnal gathering of this, the oldest of American Missionary Societies. It has no fixed place of meeting, but moves from city to city, now in the East, now in the West, refreshing nearly every section of the Congregational field with its presence. It was fitting that its seventy-fifth anniversary should be held in Boston, the head-quarters or "Hub" of Congregationalism. It was in

Bradford, near Boston, that the American Board was organized, in 1810, "for the purpose of devising ways and means and adopting and prosecuting measures for promoting the spread of the Gospel in heathen lands," and it is not surprising that the recent anniversary should have drawn together from the neighborhood of Boston, and from all parts of New England, the largest attendance known in the history of the Board. As the constitution and business methods of the American Board may not be fully known to the majority of our readers, we will explain them briefly.

The American Board is a close corporation of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. These "corporate members," so-called, are about 230 in number, and are distributed through the country in proportion to the strength of the Congregational denomination in the States. Half of them are ministers, and half laymen. At the great annual meetings of the Board the corporate members present occupy seats on the platform behind the presiding officer, and, if any vote is to be taken, the president turns his back on the audience and addresses the men behind him, who are the only ones who have the right to vote. At every meeting they elect those who shall fill up the vacancies made in their own number by death or resignation. One who leaves the denomination to join another does not thereby lose his membership. At the Boston meeting ministers who had, since their election, become pastors of Presbyterian churches were present and voted. If there be any important question of policy to be settled it is done by their vote after discussion, in which any non-voting member can, however, take part. But generally the policy of the Board is determined by the Prudential Committee, and the corporate members have little to do except to approve what has been done and to ballot for officers.

The responsibility for the conduct of the American Board rests upon the "Prudential Committee," chosen by the corporate members annually, and consisting of eleven members. Of these five are clergymen, and six laymen. They all live in Boston or its immediate vicinity, and hold weekly meetings. There has been, for years, no break in the meetings from January to January, summer included, except on the rare occasions when Tuesday falls on a holiday, as the Fourth of July, and excepting the week of the annual meeting. Every important matter is discussed by the members in rotation, beginning at the youngest, and, if necessary, going back from the oldest in reverse order. Six members constitute a quorum. The corresponding secretaries and treasurer are always present for consultation, but are not members, and have no vote. While the Prudential Committee have the entire control of the policy of the Board, subject to review by the corporate members at the annual meetings, their directions are carried out by the three corresponding secretaries and the treasurer. Great pains is taken to select corresponding secretaries who shall be men of sound judgment and highly reputed in the churches. The secretaries are not required to go about the country to meet the brethren or visit the churches, but devote themselves entirely to the duties of their office in Boston. They all attend

the annual meeting of the Board, in whatever part of the country it may be held; and perhaps once in a generation, when some especially important matter of missionary policy is to be decided, one of them visits the same foreign field. The special care of particular fields, and of the home work, is divided among them. Their salary is $3,000, of which about one half is provided by a special fund given for officers' salaries. There is an assistant secretary, who is editor of the "Missionary Herald." Two local assistant secretaries are employed, one at New York and the other at Chicago, whose duties are to distribute information.

The "Missionary Herald" is in its eighty-second year, being by many years the oldest missionary magazine in the United States, and thus antedating the claims of the oldest religious newspaper in the country. The last number before us has sixty-eight pages, besides cover and advertising pages. It is a well-edited magazine, containing miscellaneous notes, long papers, correspondence from the field, a juvenile department, the month's receipts, maps, and pictures. A dollar is charged for subscription, though it is sent free to pastors and honorary members, made such by payment of one hundred dollars. The cost of the "Herald" to the Board, including salaries of editor and general agent, was last year $18,251, of which all but $1,516 was paid by subscriptions and advertisements. Other leaflets, etc., bring up the total net cost to the Board for publications to $3,090.

The annual meetings of the Board are held in October, and alternately in the East and the West. The last meeting being held in Boston, the next will be in Des Moines, Iowa. These meetings are by far the most popular and enthusiastic missionary meetings held in the country. They begin Tuesday afternoon, and sessions are held morning, afternoon, and evening until the meeting closes Friday morning. Full accounts of the work in different missions are read by the secretaries; these are referred to their several committees, and each committee is called on in its turn for a report, which is accompanied by addresses by missionaries or other speakers. An annual sermon is delivered on Tuesday evening, and the other evenings are devoted to rousing addresses by distinguished speakers. A marked spirituality of tone always characterizes the meetings. On Thursday afternoon the Lord's Supper is celebrated. The largest hall in the city is never sufficient to hold the crowds that attend. In Boston, this year, Tremont Temple and the Music Hall and two churches were open and filled at nearly all the sessions; and three of the largest churches in the city did not suffice to seat the communicants on Thursday afternoon.

The receipts of the Board are from annual collections in the churches, from the auxiliary Woman's Board, and from legacies. The total receipts, which for the first year, ending 1811, were $999 52, were last year $656,226 88. During the last ten years two immense legacies have been received, one of over a million dollars from Asa Otis, and another of about half a million from Samuel W. Swett, a Unitarian. These sums have been expended for new or special work, so as not to discourage the ordinary gifts of the churches.

It must be remembered that this Board represents only what the four thousand Congregational churches and four hundred thousand members do for Foreign Missions. Their Home Mission work, including that for Negroes and Indians, is under the care of two other independent societies.

The special peculiarity in the management of the American Board is, that it is responsible to no general council nor local conferences nor associations, nor yet to its own members, life or honorary. No payment of money, and no vote of any ecclesiastical body, can direct its action. It is a self-perpetuating body, like a bank. It is amenable only to public sentiment, and the fact that there has never been any serious breach of confidence on any ground speaks favorably for the administration.

The following is the summary of statistics for the year:

Missions.

Missions	22
Stations	83
Out-stations	826

Laborers Employed.

Ordained Missionaries (6 being Physicians)	156		
Physicians not ordained, 8 men and 4 women	12		
Other Male Assistants	6		
Women (wives, 147; unmar'd, besides Physicians, 101)	248		
Whole number of laborers sent from this country	—	422	
Native Pastors	147		
Native Preachers and Catechists	212		
Native School-teachers	1,319		
Other Native Helpers	505	2,183	
Whole number of laborers connected with the Missions			2,605

The Press.

Pages printed, as nearly as can be learned	25,000,000

The Churches.

Churches	292
Church Members, as nearly as can be learned	23,392
Added during the year, as nearly as can be learned	3,008
Whole number from the first, as nearly as can be learned	94,702

Educational Department.

High Schools, Theological Seminaries, and Station Classes	50
Pupils in the above	1,981
Boarding Schools for Girls	40
Pupils in Boarding Schools for Girls	1,690
Common Schools	803
Pupils in Common Schools	30,941
Whole number of Pupils	35,561

This table gives a succinct view of the whole work of the Board. It cannot, of course, represent the progress of the missions in self-dependence, in self-support, in liberality, in spirituality. It is to be remembered that a few years ago the Board surrendered all its work among the Indians in this country, partly to the Presbyterians and partly to the American Missionary Association. By this it lost several hundred members. Its net gain the past year was 2,216, which is nearly half the net gain reported last year for all the Congregational churches in the United States. In Africa the oldest mission, the Zulu, is furnishing laborers for the new

mission in Umzila's kingdom; in Japan 25 of the 30 churches are self-supporting; in Ceylon the work is in such a state of advance that it is hoped that it may soon be intrusted entirely to native hands; in the Maratha Mission, India, all the churches are self-supporting, and in Madura native women are doing a great work as Bible women; in Turkey, particularly Eastern Turkey, the churches are far advanced toward self-support.

THE METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Missionaries of the American Board were in the field about twenty years before the first Methodist missionaries were sent abroad. Our Church was engaged at home in an evangelistic work which absorbed for the time its energy, and fully employed its resources. It was a new Church, a Church of the people, and it was kept busy providing houses of worship and educational institutions and other appliances which the older denominations, like the Congregational and Presbyterian, had already at hand. Though our first foreign mission dates only from 1832, our Missionary Society goes back to 1819. The receipts for 1820, the first year, were $823, and about $75,000 had been received and disbursed for home work before the first foreign missionary, Melville B. Cox, was sent to Africa; and from its organization to the present its total income exceeds nineteen millions by more than a hundred and sixteen thousand. Our domestic missions are really seven or eight years older than our Missionary Society, and these missions were by no means confined to the English-speaking population. On the contrary, the first efforts of the society were among the French of Louisiana, and we had a flourishing mission among the Wyandots before the close of the second decade. The first appropriation for a foreign mission was to Liberia, the payment in 1833 being $834 49. This mission, which is one of the least successful of our foreign missions, has received large sums of money, the greatest being $37,233, in 1854. Year by year, as important results became less and less probable, appropriations were reduced, until they have almost reached, on the downward grade, the figures of the third year, 1835—or $3,548. Our second oldest mission is South America, begun in 1836, although 1867 is the date of the beginning of Spanish work. South America is a hard field, and may be said to rank next to Africa and Bulgaria in unproductiveness. It is by no means hopeless, but we can hardly expect a rapid growth. It is a case demanding patience and persistence. So also is Bulgaria, which has fewer results that can be measured by figures than any other of our missions. When the status of these progressive people is settled there may be an excellent opportunity to plant among them seed which will, as Bishop Hurst intimates, not only produce a bountiful harvest in Bulgaria, but find its way into Russian soil. The General Committee, in making appropriations to these and other foreign missions, carefully considered how they might so distribute the money available for foreign work as to obtain the largest results. The committee has a very delicate and difficult task, and its duties are so weighty, and the interests it must consider so numerous and diverse, that it is a

matter of wonder that it should be able to finish its annual task in six days. Most of our readers know how it is constituted: that the Bishops, the corresponding secretaries (it is an unsettled question whether the recording secretary is also a member, the committee discussing it and referring it to the General Conference), and the two treasurers are *ex officio* members; that the General Conference elects, to serve four years, a representative from each of the thirteen mission districts into which the territory of the Church is divided; and that the Board of Managers elect annually thirteen of their own members as representatives: these make a body of 12 Bishops, 4 secretaries and treasurers, and 26 representatives—in all, 42. This is not a fixed number. Vacancies in the Board of Bishops would reduce it till the succeeding General Conference. In general terms the committee has power to determine what fields shall be occupied as foreign missions, the number of persons to be employed, and the amount necessary for the support of each mission, and also to fix the sum which each Bishop may draw for domestic missions. The Bishops preside in turn. The committee must first estimate as nearly as possible the gross amount which the Church will give. Having fixed on some sum as a basis of distribution, the committee must next decide what proportion of this sum should go to foreign and what to domestic missions. In the discussion on this point both sides are sure to be forcibly presented. The sum was fixed this year at $850,000. It was then proposed that $360,000 should be appropriated to home missions, and, after considerable discussion, it was carried.

The foreign missions were first taken up, and the recommendation of the committee having charge of each particular mission was presented from the Board of Managers. The Board of Managers consists of the Bishops, secretaries, (3) treasurers, and 32 ministers and 32 laymen, elected by the General Conference, making a body of 81 members. Most of the ministers and laymen reside in New York or near by. The Board is charged with the "management and disposition of the affairs and property" of the society. It directs the management of the various foreign missions, issues instructions to missionaries and fixes their salaries, controls the purchase of real estate and the publication of necessary missionary literature, and attends to bequests and questions arising under wills, and other details financial and otherwise. Standing committees, five on the foreign and one on the domestic missions, and eight on finance, credits, publications, etc., are appointed, which report to the Board at its monthly meeting, held on the third Tuesday of every month, at 3:30 P. M. The regulations of the Board require each missionary to report to his superintendent quarterly, and each superintendent to report to the corresponding secretaries quarterly. The reports of superintendents and missionaries together with the incidental correspondence with the secretaries are, it would seem, well adapted to keep the Board fully informed of the state and progress of the various foreign missions.

The total receipts of the society for the year were $826,828, being an increase for the year of $95,702 50. The analysis of the increase as made

by the treasurer shows that of this amount $51,931 81 came by legacies, $1,924 73 by sundries, and $41,845 96 by Conferences. The million-dollar appeal must have stimulated the Church to some degree, but the receipts have been on the increase for some years, the average since 1880 being about $50,000 a year. The debt of the society has been reduced upward of $55,000, standing at $90,885 on the first of November. After the appropriations were all made, it was found that with the debt added a million of dollars were required for the coming year, and the Church is asked to provide this sum. We give a table of the specific appropriations for Foreign Missions:

Africa	$7,000	Bulgaria	$14,166
South America	29,075	Italy	29,739
China	92,774	Mexico	43,038
Germany and Switzerland	24,600	Japan	54,600
Scandinavia	51,794	Korea	9,311
North India	71,200		
South India	12,500	Total	$439,796

The appropriations for Domestic Missions were distributed as follows:

English-speaking missions administered as foreign missions	$73,200
English-speaking Conferences	203,650
German	46,700
French	1,500
Bohemian	2,800
Indian	5,950
Scandinavian	31,800
Welsh	200
Chinese	15,500
Total	$381,300
Foreign	439,796
Miscellaneous	88,019
Liquidation of Debt	90,885
Grand Total	$1,000,000

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

PROFESSOR TORREY begins in the October "Andover" an examination of the "Théodicée" of Leibnitz. This important work, less known in our generation than it ought to be, was published in the year 1710. It was written at the request of the Queen of Prussia, Sophia Charlotte, and was intended as a reply to the philosophical and theological doubts expressed by Bayle. A valuable analysis of the argument is given, which shows how much modern writers in the same direction have followed in the path which Leibnitz marked out. These two papers almost wholly consist of an analysis of Leibnitz's opinions, while criticism and adjustment seem to be left to subsequent papers. It is an interesting fact to observe that, with regard to the origin of souls, Leibnitz decides for Traducianism,

though in a modified form. He appears also to hold to a doctrine of pre-existence of this sort—that all souls have existed in the form of organized bodies or germs since the beginning of things, and that, at the instant when the animal soul is to become a human soul, it then, for the first time, receives the additional endowment of reason by a special divine act, as he inclines to think, which he would call a kind of trans-creation. The result of reading this analysis will be to enhance the respect for Leibnitz's power, which all those familiar with his work have had for a long time.

In the October number will be found a very valuable paper by J. H. W. Stuckenberg, D.D., giving "A General Review of the Religious Condition of Germany." He pleads for a more careful examination into German religious life before it is condemned as thoroughly given over to Rationalism. He admits that the union of Church and State has been powerful in shaping the character of the Church, and that the Church has suffered from the transference of opposition to the government, being sometimes regarded contemptuously as a government police force. Instances have occurred where pastors have been appointed who were repugnant to the majority, so that the attendance at church is not to be wholly regarded as a correct gauge of the religious condition of the people. The theological teachers appointed by the State may represent the government rather than the faith of the Church whose pastors they are. The author also makes the statement that while the universal priesthood of believers has nowhere been more clearly stated as a theory, it has nowhere been more systematically ignored in practice. He admits, also, that the failure to provide for the religious needs of the people is a sad comment on the present management, illustrating this by the fact that a single church, built in Berlin in 1835, when the parish had 709 souls, is still the only church, though now there are 35,000 souls in the parish, the church holding but 400 persons. In Berlin, away from the center, there are parishes with 100,000 souls with a single church and a few pastors. He admits that the increase of churches and pastors throughout Germany has been far from keeping pace with that of the population. There is also strong testimony to the truth, which workingmen are slow to perceive, that the abandonment of the Christian Sabbath makes Sunday a day of labor for the poor. Christians and socialists have now united to oppose this destruction of the day of rest, but of course from different stand-points. Dr. Stuckenberg names, as among the more recent anti-evangelical tendencies, the following: modified forms of the old Rationalism, some of its phases being thoroughly negative and destructive, though passing under the name of exegetico-historical criticism; the pantheism of various philosophical schools; the godless pessimism of Schopenhauer and Hartmann; the communistic tendencies in natural science, largely monopolized by the development of Darwinism; and that carnal spirit misnamed socialism, being in reality selfishness deified, based on atheism and intent on destroying the ethical and religious forces of society. A godless culture above and communism below have co-operated to banish

spiritual objects, and to promote the secular and sensualistic spirit, so that Germany is now largely realistic instead of idealistic. This spirit reveals itself in an immovable indifference to spiritual things. Yet the outlook is far from being discouraging. There are country districts in which the old forms of piety are still maintained. The condition is generally better in the smaller cities than in the larger ones. In manufacturing districts the laborers usually take little or no interest in religion, but these places are not nearly so numerous as formerly. The number of evangelical ministers is greatly increased, and the statement is made on the authority of Christlieb that the rationalistic preachers consist now only of a small minority. The pulpit has become more biblical, more direct, and more practical. Even in liberal pulpits there is a great change, the stress being put upon trust in God, the love of Christ, missionary activity, and practical religion; but the writer admits that it is not true that religion has suddenly passed from a very low to a flourishing state. As the obligation to baptize children is now voluntary, the fact that the increase in the proportion of baptisms to births of children of evangelical parents in Germany has been two per cent. since 1875, is regarded as very favorable to the old evangelical Christianity. The statistics of recent years show, that throughout the empire more have come from Catholicism to Protestantism than *vice versa*. The significance of the present state of Germany is in the fact that the downward tendency has ceased, and a very strong upward one has taken its place.

The editorial development of progressive orthodoxy in this number relates to "The Christian." The most noteworthy thing in this article is the following: "Christianity invariably precedes the Christian, creating those conditions and setting in motion those agencies which act, by the co-operation of the individual will, to produce the required result in Christian character. The incarnation does not create a new value in man; it reveals to him his real worth in the thought of God. The resurrection does not confer immortality upon man; it gives him the moral advantage of immortality; it puts him under the power of the endless life."

In the November "Andover" Professor Palmer, of Harvard, attempts the vindication of the new education. The article is written in a very fair spirit, and its key-note is in the following sentence: "To those who have sound seed in themselves, who have known duty early, and have found in worthy things their law and impulse, the elective system, even during the freshman year, gives an opportunity for moral and mental expansion such as no compulsory system can afford." He admits that the new education is fully embodied in no college; that it is an influential ideal toward which all are moving, and that, side by side with the nobler tendencies, disheartening things appear.

The editorial paper is given to the Scriptures—to the question, "What is the Bible?" The article is written much in the spirit of Professor Ladd's work, is admirable, full of learning, broadly sympathetic, but somewhat cloudy.

The "Bibliotheca Sacra" for October opens with "A Study in Biblical History," by George F. Herrick, D.D., of Constantinople. The article is valuable as giving reasons for what has been a burden to the faith of some, namely, the perpetuation in the book of God, for all time and in all languages and for all races of men, of the most revolting records contained in Old Testament history. Among other reasons for their retention Dr. Herrick gives the following: "They show the capabilities of the human soul in the direction of moral evil; they show that the development of moral beings is, even for omnipotenee and infinite love, a long process; they give an impressive lesson in the divine patience." The article is richly worth study.

Professor Schodde translates the "Book of Jubilees" from the Ethiopic, and has an introductory chapter. The Rev. Dr. Henry Hayman, formerly head master of Rugby School, treats of a sermon delivered at the re-dedication of the Metropolitan Church of Tyre, probably by Eusebius himself.

Dr. Brand, of Oberlin, examines the effect of England's opium policy on the missions in China, and finds that that policy is purely selfish and commercial. It justifies Christlieb's statement, that in no other heathen land has belief in the unselfishness of Christian love been made so difficult as in this land of China, groaning under the withering curse of opium.

Dr. Chambers replies to Professor Brigg's criticism of the Revised Version in an article which is very entertaining reading.

A new and interesting subject is opened in the October "Presbyterian Review" by Professor W. G. Blaikie, namely, "Christianity and the Professions." He inquires into the affinity or the want of affinity between Christianity and the chief secular professions. He regards the inquiry as difficult, but not by any means hopeless. The military profession occasionally furnishes splendid Christians. In the writer's judgment, the artist has a more difficult time in being a Christian. Secular literature is not regarded as favorable to Christian profession and conduct, and the characteristic complexion of the rank and file of our journalists and literary men is skeptical, though the poetical department of literature seems to be more congenial to Christianity. The difficulty of establishing happy relations between Christianity and science seems to be particularly great at the present time. Medical science is subject to the observation that the medical profession is inclined to unbelief. The profession of law has, as a whole, probably furnished a larger proportion than the medical, of eminent Christians. Teachers have not been prominent as Christian men in proportion to their number. Between the actual stage in the theater of to-day and the spirit of Christ there is no fellowship.

The particularly noticeable article in this number is that by Professor Gardner, which is an exposition of Lotze's Theistic Philosophy.

A large portion of the November number of the "New Englander and the Yale Review" is given up to the discussion of the present interests of Yale College. President Porter, whose resignation is to take effect at the

next commencement, discusses the charter of Yale, and the attempt to put a new interpretation upon that charter, and certainly succeeds in proving that the charter requires the control of the college by the Congregational ministers of the State of Connecticut. He is strongly in favor of following the unbroken tradition of the college, that a majority of the clerical profession should control its board of trust. We are not able to see the force of the statement that country clergymen, in relatively insignificant positions, are more likely to do good work in the controlling board than those who are in more considerable positions. We express the opinion that so many concessions have been made to advanced opinion already, that those which are demanded are quite sure to come. The college has outgrown the denomination which founded it, and has sympathies and tendencies far beyond the Congregational Church of New England. Dr. John P. Gulliver, a Congregational minister, also takes strong ground in favor of the retention of the control of Yale College by the Congregational Church of the State, holding that all the concessions which have been made have been injurious to the interests of the college. Henry C. Kingsley follows in the same line. We fear that the judgment of the inexpediency of representation from the body of graduates in the board of control is far more due to a sense of diminishing influence by the Congregational Church than to any just conception of damage to the interests of the university.

Professor Simeon E. Baldwin, of the Yale Law School, discusses the question whether the institution should be known as Yale University or Yale College. Of the contributed articles, "Current Theology," by S. S. Martin; "Witchcraft in Connecticut," by C. H. Levermore; and a review of Professor Ladd's "Doctrines of Sacred Scripture," by A. C. Sewell, are most notable. This last is rather a statement of Professor Ladd's opinions than a just criticism of them.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Pentateuch: Its Origin and Structure. An Examination of Recent Theories. By EDWIN CONE BISSELL, D.D., Professor in Hartford Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 484. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The assaults made upon the Old Testament by the critical school of which Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Robertson Smith are the accepted representatives are eliciting the responses which they made necessary. It seemed at first a bold declaration to be made in favor of the integrity of the Bible and its proper authority, to say that these assaults were not to be indiscriminately rejected, nor the positions that they assumed to be condemned at wholesale, as the expressions of profane unbelief; but all this is now practically conceded by those who have undertaken to champion the cause of the Bible. These assaults made it necessary that

the defenders of the faith should accompany the assailants through the whole field of discussion, and it is well that the work has fallen into competent hands, none more so, perhaps, than his who has given us the work above named.

Dr. Bissell was first inducted into this discussion when a pupil of Delitzsch, and having since made its study a specialty, he is prepared to respond to his antagonists after having traversed the whole field, and duly considered all their arguments: and having done so, he is free to concede that the work he has taken in hand requires the conscientious study of problems of the utmost intricacy and perplexity. And while our author still holds to the conviction that "the so-called traditional view of the origin and structure of the Pentateuch is much better supported than the one now most widely current in Germany, he also confesses that he cannot beguile himself with the illusion that there are no serious difficulties still remaining to be solved." His book is therefore not designed to make an end of the subject; but instead, to contribute something to its elucidation, and that purpose it accomplishes in a highly satisfactory manner. Two things may be anticipated as almost certain to result from the now pending discussion of Old Testament themes. As to its substance, the book will remain intact; but as to its form, and the conception of its method, and its growth, there will be great changes. And to this may be added whatever modifications shall arise from the corrected theory of inspiration and the improvements in the methods of criticism and interpretation. Unquestionably the Christian thought of the age is in transition, and because these changes ought to be made under the direction of our best Christian scholars, we rejoice at the appearance of such books as that now before us.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes, by A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Vol. I, The Apostolic Fathers: Justin Martyr, Irenæus. Pp. 602. Vol. II, Fathers of the Second Century: Hermas, Tatian, Athenagoras, Theophilus, and Clement of Alexandria (entire). Pp. 629. Vol. III, Latin Christianity: Its Founder, Tertullian. 1. Apologetic; 2. Anti-Marcion; 3. Ethical. Pp. 745. All imperial octavo. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Publishing Company.

The first of these volumes we noticed in our issue for last May, and then also considered some general features of the proposed series. The second and third volumes very satisfactorily answer to the promises made by the publishers, and to the hopes that were assured by the initial volume. The second volume extends from Hermas to Clement of Alexandria, the several writers arranged in their proper order; and the third is devoted entirely to Tertullian, and yet this does not exhaust the productions of that voluminous and versatile writer. The translation here given is in fact a recension of that of Oxford, and is a real Anglicized reproduction of the substance, as nearly as it can be made out, of the original. The En-

glish reader accordingly has a better version of Tertullian's thoughts than the author himself produced. And generally it may be said to the praise of this edition that, without sacrificing the sense or spirit of the original, the version is a decided improvement upon it in both clearness and elegance. The volumes of this edition combine, very successfully, compactness of matter with clearness and legibility. The pages are broad, with ample double columns, and clean-cut letters moderately large. A large quantity of matter, beyond what its size would promise, is by this method presented in each volume.

The publishers of this "Library" are conferring a real and a highly valuable favor upon all whose calling and studies lead them into this department of reading. Hitherto the Fathers have been known almost entirely at second-hand, for the number of well-read patristic scholars has been very small, the "crabbed Latin" of the original rendering them extremely uninviting, even to those whose classical learning might seem to qualify them for the study of such works. The authority of these writings is certainly less than formerly, but still there has lingered in the common mind the notion that there was something excellent in the words of these worthies who were so near the apostles themselves. Perhaps the actual perusal of their works will prove the most effectual means for dispelling any excess of reverence for them. But independent of their intrinsic value for doctrine or instruction, the writings of the Fathers are highly important on account of the place they hold in Church History, and all who would pursue the study of that department of knowledge must lay the foundation of the structure with materials drawn from the earliest times. Such a study will probably very sensibly diminish the reader's traditional veneration for these ancient records, which will be a wholesome emancipation, both intellectually and spiritually; and yet they will prove valuable helps toward the better understanding of many things found in the New Testament, and especially in the theological discussions that came down from that age to the mediæval Church, and which still hang as weights upon the theology and exegesis of the present times. The price at which these volumes are sold brings them within the reach of nearly every minister; and by a judicious use of his spare time the whole body of patristic learning may be compassed during the first ten years of his ministry. Could he make a better use of his opportunities?

The Blood Covenant. A Primitive Rite, and its Bearing on Scripture. By H. Clay Trumbull, D.D., Author of "Kadesh-Barnea." 8vo, pp. 350. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a curious, a remarkable, and a very valuable book. The author in his reading having detected, as many others have done, the occurrence among widely separated races of men of the practice of making use of blood in covenant-making, set himself at work to find out the *nexus* by which this common practice among different peoples is connected together. In its form the book is made up of three parts, each a lecture,

somewhat enlarged for publication, and an extensive and elaborate appendix, perhaps the best part of the work. The first lecture brings together, from widely separated peoples, the evidence of the practice of making covenants with the use of blood; and by detecting its presence almost every-where, the inference is readily drawn that its source lies very deep down in human nature, or else that it is the result of a tradition brought down from the earliest times. The second lecture attempts a religio-physiological theory of the relation, or rather the identity, of the blood and the life, and from this thought deduces the notion of the union and personal intercommunion of those who become partners in the "Blood Covenant." If we are compelled to confess that in this we find a great deal that is strained and far-fetched, we must also concede that some things at once remarkable and suggestive are brought into view. The third lecture, devoted to "Indication of the Rite in the Bible," has, of course, a clear field, with abundant materials for illustrating the subject in hand; and here are found both the chief excellences and the possible misleadings of the discussions. Of course, the facts and doctrine of atonement are brought into notice, with a shadowing of the thought that the incarnation of the Logos, the transfusion of the blood, "the life," of humanity with the divine, constituted the real process of redemption, so making the sufferings of the God-man only incidental, and not directly saving in results. This is, indeed, not expressly declared, though it is pretty clearly intimated; and indeed this seems to be the logical outcome of the whole course of the thought. As is usually the case when one sets out to find proof for a theory, inferences are drawn and implications assumed that are less obvious to the reader than to their author.

The book is well written, the subject ably thought out, and the conclusions stated in a manner wholly unobjectionable. It is well that such a book has been written, and its intelligent and discriminating reading will do good.

Daniel the Prophet. Nine Lectures, Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Oxford. With Copious Notes. By Rev. E. B. PUSEY, D.D., Regius Professor of Hebrew, etc. 8vo, pp. 519. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Pusey's Daniel is an authority in its sphere, which is also clearly defined and determined. His scholarship is conceded by all parties, and there is scarcely less unanimity in respect to his ability and his fairness as a polemic. His churchmanship, which is specifically "high" and reactionary, operates effectively upon his views and opinions as a biblical critic and exegete, so that the conflict in which he is a champion *agonist*, begins in the preliminaries of the contest. Responding to the authors of the "Essays and Reviews" of nearly forty years ago, he disputes, not so directly their conclusions, as their methods and assumptions; and in this department of the discussion he was no doubt the peer of the ablest of them. Probably a non-partisan reader, himself sufficiently master of the subjects in hand to form his own opinions respecting them, would find not a little to abate in the claims of both parties.

The Book of Daniel constituted the best possible arena for the trial of the skill and strength of the contestants; and it may be safely said that the champion of the *old* against the *new* proved his sufficiency for the work taken in hand. It is the fashion of the assailants of Christianity, whether in nature or revelation, to quietly assume that they know all about it, and that their opponents are either ignorantly or perversely blind to truth and reason; but such discussions as those presented in these lectures effectually rebukes this pretentiousness, and puts the assaulting party on the defensive. No one, therefore, can claim to be duly informed respecting the ruling principles of the case until the argument of the defense, as given by Dr. Pusey, has been heard; and when so heard, that argument will itself very widely change the aspect of the matters at issue. It is well, therefore, that a work of such decided ability as that now under notice has been brought within easy reach of all, and accordingly its publishers deserve our thanks, both for the work itself, and also for the form of plain and clear printing and substantial paper and binding in which it is issued.

Apostolic Life: as Revealed in the Acts of the Apostles. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Holborn Viaduct, London, Author of "Ecce Deus," etc. Three volumes. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

To be able, from one's average thinkings, to produce in oral discourse what shall be at once acceptable and useful, and then to reproduce the same matter with like results in printed volumes, is a remarkable and profitable talent. And precisely that talent the "Minister of the City Temple" evidently possesses in a high degree, and this is especially manifested in his "Apostolic Life," a series of pulpit discourses extending to more than a hundred, and covering the whole of the Book of the Acts. Their manner is the freest possible. The speaker, after announcing the passage for consideration, proceeds to speak to the people without any formal introduction to the discourse, or careful exposition of the text, along the chosen line of thought as suggested by the text.

In the sermons of the last century, the "*improvement* of the text" was a special feature, and its disuse in the "preaching for the times" is a change of very doubtful value. In these discourses, however, nearly the whole matter is of the character of this "improvement." That a preacher having a reputation in view, either to be made or supported, should venture on such a method of preaching is rather marvelous, because it cannot fail to be perilous; but if it shall succeed, as certainly it does in this case, its success must be of great interest to both preacher and hearers. In reading these simple and direct discourses, with a lively conception of the conditions among which they were delivered, the personal presence and attractiveness of the speaker, and the earnest expectancy of the congregations, it is not difficult to understand how they should become a living power.

Dr. Parker's style is clear, earnest, and forcible, giving great force to the thoughts that he expresses, and his thoughts and imagery are variable

and rich, and sometimes perhaps rather brilliant than profound; and because of the wealth of words and figures employed, even commonplace thoughts are made striking by their setting. And yet in not rare instances rich clusters of gospel truth, adapted alike to awaken, persuade, and edify, will be found presented in most attractive forms. The books are easy reading, and yet they are instructive and helpful religiously, good books to read during the leisure hour.

Pastoral Theology of the New Testament. By the late J. T. BECK, D.D., Professor of Theology, Tübingen. Translated from the German by Rev. JAMES A. M'CLYMONT, B.D., Aberdeen, and Rev. THOMAS NICOL, B.D., Edinburgh. 12mo, pp. 348. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This volume is made up of lectures delivered by its author in the University of Tübingen, the character of which is indicated in the translator's preface by his saying, "They are the fruit of a life-time devoted, with rare ability and piety, to the study of Holy Scripture, and to its scientific and practical exposition." Though contemporary and a collaborator with Baur, he was of a widely different spirit, and it is believed that his influence, more largely than that of any other, tended to counteract that of Baur's destructive rationalism. The work is exceedingly learned, philosophical, and reverent, and to a moderate degree devout; but it is German in all its thinkings and methods, and not all that could be desired as to its adaptation to the necessities of theological students in this country, either in the seminary or in the active work of the ministry. And yet it is full of wholesome lessons, which may be studied with profit, as helps, rather than as rules to be implicitly followed.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

The Land and the Book; or, Biblical Illustrations Drawn from the Manners and Customs of the Scenes and Scenery of the Holy Land—Lebanon, Damascus, and Beyond Jordan. By WILLIAM M. THOMSON, D.D., Forty-five Years a Missionary in Syria and Palestine. One Hundred and Forty-seven Illustrations and Maps. 4to, pp. 711. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Probably no other publication has contributed so largely, among English-speaking readers, to the acquisition of intelligent notions respecting whatever relates to the natural aspects of Bible lands as has "The Land and the Book," first issued in two volumes nearly thirty years ago, but now re-issued complete, much enlarged and finely illustrated, in three superb volumes, the last of which just now comes to hand. Dr. Thomson writes not as a mere explorer or sight-seer, nor yet as simply a book-maker, but rather as a biblical student and commentator, drawing his expositions and illustrations of "The Book" from "The Land," its geography and topography, its fauna and flora, its seasons and climatology, its monuments and ruins. The work has been performed with singular conscientiousness and with unsparing painstaking, and the author brought to

its performance an unusual fund of definite information obtained in part by personal researches, for he traversed the whole area, much after the manner of a topographical surveyor, and in part by a thorough study of the Bible; and these acquired qualifications were rendered all the more effective by reason of his warm devotion to his subject and his natural aptitude for descriptive writing. With all these conditions so happily united, it could not be otherwise than that the work should excel in all its characteristic excellences; and it is not doing too much to claim for it the character of an authority in all its comprehensive subject, and of a classic in English literature.

Of the three volumes of the present edition, the first related exclusively to southern Palestine, Judea and Jerusalem; the second, to middle and northern Palestine, including Phenicia; while the last one treats of the outlying and vastly more extensive regions of Lebanon and Damascus and the countries lying to the eastward of the Jordan, lands whose local and historical affairs are closely interwoven with those of the Holy Land and its people, as these things appear in "The Book." Because of the wider extent and more varied aspects of these exterior regions, and also because their history is much more obscure and fragmentary, their story has an atmosphere of romance quite beyond that of the more definite histories and descriptions of Palestine proper. Such names as Lebanon and Damascus, and Gilead and Bashan, naturally bring weird suggestions, with thoughts of patriarchs and prophets and kings with whose names Bible readers are familiar, and yet of whose life-stories in their fullness they know comparatively but little. Here were the earlier abodes of Abraham, after he departed on his westward wanderings, and also the land of Uz, with its wonderful sage, renowned alike for wisdom and patience, and the birthplace of Elijah, of whose descent we know so little; and here lived and died old Barzillai. Respecting the localities of which this volume treats, the author remarks very felicitously in his Preface:

> The tours and excursions described in this volume . . . are invested with peculiar and surprising interest. Lebanon, little more to the average reader of the Bible than a vague geographical expression, is not a single mount, but a long and lofty mountain range, abounding in picturesque and magnificent scenery, from which the inspired prophets and poets of the sacred Scriptures have derived some of their most exalted imagery. And the ancient cities of the regions beyond and east of the Jordan, whose prostrate temples, theaters, colonnades, and public and private buildings amaze and astonish the modern traveler, are not mere names, but impressive realities.

This last volume is less a record of personal observations and measurements than were the earlier ones, but in their place the author has made a free and judicious use of the archæological researches of the two well-known "Palestine Exploration" associations, respectively of England and America, and of the somewhat numerous and decidedly able published accounts of recent travelers and explorers in the trans-Jordanic regions, so bringing his work down to the latest dates. The illustrations and maps add not a little to the value of the work, and the "two care-

fully prepared indexes, one of texts and one of names and subjects," will be found especially useful. We heartily congratulate the veteran author and the enterprising and liberal publishers in view of the completion of this noble work. But above all else, as those more deeply interested, we felicitate our real students of "The Book" on the possession of a help of such untold value.

Cyclopædia of Universal History. Being an Account of the Principal Events in the Career of the Human Race from the Beginnings of Civilization to the Present Time. From Recent and Authentic Sources. Complete in Three Volumes. By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL.D., Professor of History in DePauw University; Author of "A History of the United States," etc. Imperial 8vo, pp. 936, 752, 658. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Professor Ridpath had abundantly justified his claim to be regarded a master in writing history, before he issued these superb volumes, by his "History of the United States," which has become a household companion in many tens of thousands of American homes. The expectations that are warranted by the character of the earlier work in respect to this later and greater one will be more than sustained by the work itself, wherever it shall be allowed to plead its own cause through an examination of its merits. The literary qualities by virtue of which the earlier and smaller work has achieved such remarkable success are found without any diminution of excellence in this. Not only is the language pure, idiomatic English, and the style at once strong and sprightly, there is also the dramatic grouping that gives vivacity to the narrative, while the arrangement of the matter indicates large constructive abilities; and, most difficult of all, the selection of matter to be used is eminently judicious.

To arrange into a composite unity the vast amount of matter with which the writer had to deal was a work not only of very large proportions, but such as required no small share of constructive and organizing genius. A plan and method had to be adopted extending over the whole subject, and within this the multiplied details were to be disposed, and to each its proper place and proportionate space assigned. The first volume embraces the whole of what is usually termed Ancient History, coming down with the Eastern Empire to the Fall of Constantinople, devoting a "Book" each to Egypt, Chaldea, Assyria, Media, Babylonia, Persia, Greece, Macedonia, Rome. The second volume begins with the incursion of the northern barbarians into southern Europe, overrunning the Western Empire, followed by the rise of Mohammedanism and the Empire of the Caliphs. After this comes the age of Charlemagne; then in succession, the age of Feudalism, the Crusades, and the period of the Free Cities, and after these the beginnings of Modern History, with the discovery of America, the invention of Printing, and the Reformation. After these come the abundant matters of Modern History.

In the author's conception history is much more than a register of political affairs, of wars and revolutions, and of kings and dynasties. Nor is it confined to what is sometimes called the "philosophy of history," of which governmental affairs, civil and military, are the sole basis. Among

the most valuable, and also the most interesting, chapters in these volumes are those devoted to the social life of their peoples; their manner of living, the nature of their civilization, their industries, learning, and arts, and indeed all that enters into the life of the tribe or nation. The attention devoted to these things forms a marked excellence of the work.

The value of such a work does not depend at all upon original research, or the bringing out of matter not before understood, but in the orderly and felicitous presentation of what was already well known. Accordingly, the writer appears not to have forgotten at any time that his office was that of an instructor, the well-instructed scribe, bringing forth things new and old in appropriate order. And his work, as here presented, speaks well of his skill in the accomplishment of his great undertaking. He has accordingly given us a complete "cyclopædia of history"—at once full and concise—a work that cannot fail to prove a most valuable educating agency, especially adapted to family use and private reading.

History of Christian Doctrine. By HENRY C. SHELDON, Professor of Historical Theology in Boston University. In Two Volumes. 8vo, pp. 411, 444. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Histories are of two kinds. One kind is made up of the records of things, and is designed to inform its readers respecting the facts and happenings of some given place, people, or period. The excellence of this kind of history consists in the use made of the material in hand, the judiciousness of the selection of matter, so that it shall correctly image the subject treated of, and the skill brought into action in ordering and presenting the subject-matter, so that it shall be readily comprehended in its completeness. The other kind is less a history proper than a series of disquisitions, discussions, and essays, designed to illustrate the philosophy of the things detailed, and usually liberally seasoned with the sentiments and opinions of the writer. The work named above is clearly of the former of these kinds. As an instructor of young men, respecting the doctrinal phenomena of the Church, the author seems to have felt that it was his chief business to help his pupils to a knowledge of the principal events that have occurred during the ages of the Church's existence, rather than to examine each particular doctrine and adjust the relations of each to the whole. It is a teacher's production, giving information, pure and simple, much more than a series of arguments and disquisitions through which to propound and defend some special line of opinions.

As to its theological tendencies it is especially devoid of novelties, and in telling his story the writer is quite free from partisan tendencies. The distribution of the matter into "Periods," and its subdivisions into chapters, in which a good deal of arbitrariness must be exercised, is perhaps as good as any other would have been, for the old maxim, *dividere non frangere*, is only partially practicable in such a case. The style of writing is plain, idiomatic English, and usually the words are well chosen, though we regret to see that the writer employs as legitimate

English the outlandish westernism "resurrected," which even "Webster's Unabridged" stigmatizes as "low." For any who may wish to pursue the subject to which these volumes are devoted, as a learner rather than a critic, we know of no work that we can more heartily recommend.

The Religious History of Israel. A Discussion of the Chief Problems in Old Testament History, as opposed to the Development Theorists. By Dr. FRIEDRICH EDWARD KÖNIG, of the University of Leipsic. Translated by Rev. ALEXANDER J. CAMPBELL, M.A. (Barry). 12mo, pp. 192. New York: Scribner & Welford.

A well recognized and powerful school of thinkers in Germany have attempted to subject the religious life and progress of the Israelitish nation to the laws of development, in doing which they are compelled to assume that the theism, worship, and ethics of the Old Testament belong only to the later period of Israelitish history, and that it had been slowly evolved from the heathenism of earlier times. This is the theory of the teachers of the "Higher Criticism," of which Wellhausen and Kuenen are masters, and Robertson Smith an apt and able disciple; and precisely at that point, which is the crucial one in the controversy, König antagonizes them, and seeks to prove that the ruling religious ideas of the Prophets and Psalms are clearly detected in the whole history of the Hebrew people. The argument, though closely compacted in this little volume, is still sufficiently full and very satisfactory. He shows that the ethical code, the spiritual conceptions, and the institutions of worship, that stand out so closely in the historical and didactic Scriptures, are also unmistakably indicated in the recognized religious consciousness of the nation, from Abraham downward.

The dissecting and constructing process, now so fully applied to the Old Testament, is here gone into with an unconstrained hand, and with only the faintest respect to the traditional sacredness of the ancient records; and yet our author contends and proves that there are abundant evidences that all that belongs essentially to the religion of the days of the prophets was in full force and authority in the times of the patriarchs and of the judges of Israel. That point, here so sharply contested, is a pivotal one, and its defense in this little volume is all that could be desired, though many of the author's minor concessions to German rationalistic thinking are gratuitous on his part, and not at all a necessary part of his general argument.

The Boy Travelers in South America. Adventures of Two Youths on a Journey through Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Brazil, Paraguay, the Argentine Republic, and Chili. With Descriptions of Patagonia and Terra del Fuego, and Voyages on the Amazon and La Plata Rivers. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Young Nimrods in North America," etc. Illustrated. 8vo, pp. 510. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Knox's books for boys, which by successive additions have become a library of travels, with sketches of manners and customs, and descriptive of objects of natural history, are among the very best of their class. Their narrative style, with enough of novelty and adventure to insure unflag-

ging interest, offers the requisite attractions, while the valuable information given makes the books in a wide sense educational manuals. With the whole continent of South America for its field, it is of course necessary in this work to pass over large portions very rapidly, and to leave many interesting things unsaid; and yet, after carefully pursuing this journey in the quiet of his home, with the guide and companions here presented, any intelligent boy will be able to form clear and pretty correct notions of the chief features of that vast and fertile, though but little known, portion of the earth's surface. As this is among the earliest to appear of the books designed especially for the coming holiday season, so it will, no doubt, continue to be among the very best. Such books in the family where there are boys and girls can scarcely fail to be of very great utility.

The Newton Lectures for 1885. The Hebrew Feasts, in their Relations to Recent Critical Hypotheses Concerning the Pentateuch. By WILLIAM HENRY GREEN, Professor in Princeton Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

The "Newton Lectures" are the fruits of an endowment providing for an annual course, to be delivered under the direction of the Faculty of Newton Theological Seminary (Baptist), "by teachers connected with other seminaries" before the students of that institution. The choice for the last course fell upon Professor Green, of Princeton, whose recognized scholarship, as well as his conservative modes of thought, gave assurance of an altogether wholesome production. The Jewish festivals were chosen as a theme especially well adapted to prove and illustrate the character of Hebrew worship and religious observances, and so to demonstrate the presence of the things taught in the earlier Scriptures among the Hebrews, from the earliest times. The least that can be said of these Lectures is, that they effectually demur to the hasty conclusions that have been demanded by those who claim that the Levitical system was chiefly a modern creation. They say to any and all who have been inclined to accept the findings of Wellhausen, Kuenen, and Company, "Hear the other side;" and having done so, they will also be persuaded to reconsider the whole subject.

The Period of the Reformation, 1517 to 1548. By LUDWIG HÄUSSER. Edited by WILHELM ONCKEN, Professor of History at the University of Geissen. Translated by MRS. G. STURGE. New edition, complete in one volume. 12mo, pp. 702. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

This work comes to the public through a kind of triple authorship. The nucleus is Häusser's lectures, first delivered about 1860, which, having been roughly sketched from the speaker's lips by Professor Oncken, the matter was by him some eight or ten years later wrought into shape and supplemented, so that his fragmentary notes were changed into a continuous treatise, written out in the German language for German readers. And later—about ten years ago—the whole was rendered into English, with the sanction of the editor, by an accomplished English writer. The

period covered by this volume is among the most intensely interesting in the world's history, and its treatment of the times and seasons, with their persons and events, is worthy of the subject. It is altogether a tale of faith and indomitable zeal, and of vile intrigues and horrible persecutions, the whole closing with the establishment of a peace bought with abundant labors and sufferings. The work is a monograph of very great value.

The Life and Times of Levi Scott, D.D., One of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By JAMES MITCHELL, D.D. With a Preface by Rev. D. P. KIDDER, D.D., LL.D. 12mo, pp. 272. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The memoirs of our Bishops are becoming a very considerable library, valuable both for their historical memoranda and as stimulants to right living. This one of Bishop Scott, drawn up by the skillful and appreciative hand of a member of his own family, will rank favorably with its fellows. No better specimen of a Christian Bishop is portrayed in any one of them.

The Fall of Constantinople. Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade. By EDWIN PEARS, LL.B., Late President of the European Bar at Constantinople, etc. 8vo, pp. 422. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The "Fall" of which the history is here given is not that by which Constantinople passed from Christian to Mohammedan rule under the Turkish conqueror, Mohammed Bodjauk, but an earlier revolution, in which the Greek Empire was overthrown by the Crusaders during the first half of the twelfth century. This epoch constitutes a distinct chapter in European history, and it is one that has often been but very slightly considered by historical writers. Its isolated character especially adapts it to a separate treatment in the form of a monograph, which is the character of the work now before us. The author's position gives him the best possible opportunities for the work he has taken in hand, and to which he has certainly brought excellent personal qualifications. The work has also evidently been prosecuted as a labor of love. It will be read as a learned recreation, with equal profit and pleasure.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Nearly thirty years ago Mrs. Caroline R. Wright issued her little volume of "Scripture Lessons." How it has been received and appreciated is best shown in the fact that a new edition—the fifth—has just appeared. Though in the form of questions and answers, it is quite unlike ordinary Sunday-school question books, but instead, a succinct catechetical Bible history in a form and style adapted to the use of the young. It is especially suitable for the Bible class in the family. (18mo, pp. 174. New York: Phillips & Hunt.)

Phillips & Hunt publish for the use of Sunday-schools during the year 1886:

1. *The Senior Lesson Book* (Berean Series, No. 1), on the International Lessons. 16mo, pp. 208.
2. *The Berean Question Book* (No. 2). 16mo, pp. 184.
3. *The Berean Beginner's Book* (No. 3). 16mo, pp. 218. 15 cents each.

All prepared under the care of Dr. Vincent, which fact sufficiently guarantees their excellence.

Hand-Book Upon Church Trials. By Professor L. T. TOWNSEND, Boston University. Paper, 18mo, pp. 75. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

This little manual, we are told, was first prepared as a lecture for students in theology, and it is now issued for wider use. As its author is neither a law-maker nor an administrator of law, his opinions have no other authority than the private judgments of one whose experience in the things of which he writes is not large. There are much better books extant on the same subject, and easily accessible.

From Boston to Bareilly and Back. By WILLIAM BUTLER. 12mo, pp. 512. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

It is not often granted to any man, after initiating such a work as the Methodist Episcopal missions in North India, and then turning it over to others, to visit it again after the lapse of a quarter of a century, and to see the ripening harvest from his early planting, as was the case with Dr. Butler in the journey abroad of which the book above named is the record. If in such a record there should seem to be something of the *magna pars fui*, even that is at most a wholly venial offense. The account given in these pages is vivacious and life-like, at once attractive and instructive, and the book is a valuable contribution to our missionary literature.

A Summer in the Rockies. By ANNA E. WOODBRIDGE, Author of "Jessie and Ray." 18mo, pp. 341. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

The Thread of Gold. By Mrs. C. E. WILBUR. 18mo, pp. 172. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Two decidedly agreeable books, written in the popular narrative and dialogue style.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—*In Quarters with the 25th (The Black Horse) Dragoons.* By J. S. WINTER.—*Musical History.* By G. A. MACFARREN.—*Primis in Indis.* By M. J. COLQUHOUN.—*The Sacred Nugget.* By B. L. FARJEON.—*The Royal Mail.* Its Curiosities and Romance. By JAMES WILSON HYDE. Illustrated.—*The Ghost's Touch, and Other Stories.* By WILKIE COLLINS.—*The Dark House.* By G. MANVILLE FENN.—*Malthus and His Work.* By JAMES BONAR, M. A.—*Self-Doomed.* By B. L. FARJEON.—*Houp-la.* By JOHN STRANGE WINTER. Illustrated.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)—*What's His Offense?* By the Author of "The Two Miss Flemings."—*The Unforeseen.* By ALICE O'HANLON.—*White Heather.* By WILLIAM BLACK.—*My Wife's Niece.* By the Author of "Dr. Edith Romney."—*Babylon.* By CECIL POWER.—*Mrs. Hollyer.* A Novel. By G. M. CRAIK.—*A Strange Voyage.* By W. CLARK RUSSELL.—*The Courting of Mary Smith.* By F. W. ROBINSON.—*In Sunny Lands.* By WILLIAM DRYSDALE. Illustrated.—*Adam Bede.* By GEORGE ELIOT. Illustrated

The holiday season will produce very few better art publications than the Christmas number of the "Art Journal," which is also made to serve as "The Art Annual for 1885," being also a sketch of the life and the principal works of Sir John E. Millais, beautifully and liberally illustrated with engraved reproductions of some of his most celebrated paintings. Millais stands at the head of the recently revived pre-Raphaelite school in England, with Holman Hunt for his second, who is still more pronounced in the realism of his sketches. There is in these pictures a wholesome naturalness, with the absence of every thing at all meretricious, which constitutes their highest excellence. The letter-press matter gives a sketch of the man, and especially of his career as an artist, with satisfactory ability and completeness.

Pepper and Salt; or, Seasoning for Young Folks. Prepared by HOWARD PYLE. 4to, pp. 116. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The making of books for the holidays has made more than a single revolution since the "Annual" and the "Rhymes for the Nursery" constituted the whole provision. With the advance of wealth and luxury a higher and better style of art has come into general use, and with this has come also something that will afford amusement as well as give instruction. Both of these requirements are responded to in this volume. It is elegantly, even sumptuously, "gotten up," alike in pictures and printing, and in paper and binding. The ruling characteristic of the matter is "drollery;" the method is the use of odd stories and ballad-tales, sometimes witty, and less frequently wise, but often so consummately without meaning as to present a kind of sublimity of non-sense, that is not altogether unwholesome.

A Larger History of the United States of America, to the Close of President Jackson's Administration. By THOMAS WENTWORTH HIGGINSON, Author of "Young Folks' History of the United States." Illustrated by Maps, Plans, Portraits, and other Engravings. 8vo, pp. 470. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Colonel Higginson has some excellent qualifications for writing history, especially his faculty for grouping events, and so of presenting and sustaining a lively narrative style, which aids largely in understanding and retaining his statements. This volume is chiefly to be valued as a concise but comprehensive summary of the beginnings of the nation, to which part, coming down to the inauguration of the first president, more than two thirds of the volume is devoted. The record of the first quarter-century of the completely organized national life is necessarily very brief and incomplete, but it is sketchy and vivacious. For the design evidently aimed at the work is fairly well adapted, and will serve a good purpose.

White Heather. A Novel. By WILLIAM BLACK, Author of "Judith Shakespeare," etc. 12mo, pp. 497. New York: Harper & Brothers.

There are no longer any novelists of the first-class, of which were Dickens and Thackeray, George Eliot and Anthony Trollope; but of the surviving second-class William Black is at or near the head.

My Sermon Notes. A Selection from Outlines of Discourses Delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle. With Anecdotes and Illustrations. By C. H. SPURGEON. From Ecclesiastes to Malachi. 12mo, pp. 378. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

A wonderful man is Charles H. Spurgeon, and the work he is doing is marvelous alike for its abundance and its results. A look through these "Notes" will show the secret of his power to be in his perpetually abiding in the word of God.

A Baptist Meeting-House: The Staircase to the Old Faith; the Open Door to the New. By SAMUEL J. BARROWS. 12mo, pp. 221. Boston: American Unitarian Association.

This little work is semi-biographical, a record of the author's mental and spiritual experience, in which an orthodox Baptist became a Unitarian. It is made pretty clear that the man became a Christian under Baptist influences, and upon the religious forces thus gathered he continued to go forward, it may be hoped to the end. A converted man may become a Unitarian and not wholly fall from grace; but the case of him who is neither a converted man nor an intellectual believer in orthodox truth is much less hopeful.

"As We Went Marching On." A Story of the War. By G. W. HOSMER, M.D. 18mo, pp. 310. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The time of this story appears to be about the middle period of the war of the rebellion; the locality, northern Virginia and western Maryland. The persons and events, though sufficiently interesting, are still only commonplace, such as might have been duplicated, in all their chief features, a thousand times. It is written in good English, and with a fair share of vivacity, and may be read as an agreeable pastime.

The Chautauquan: A Monthly Magazine, Devoted to the Promotion of True Culture. Organ of the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle. Vol. V. From October, 1884, to July, 1885. THEODORE L. FLOOD, Editor and Proprietor. 4to, pp. 516. The Chautauqua Press, Meadville, Pa.

The appearance of the bound volume of the Chautauquan brings the publication within the sphere of the reviewer, and we accordingly give it a passing notice. As the "organ" of the widely-known "C. L. S. C.," it is, of course, "known and read of," not all, but many, men, women, and children. But it is not a child's book, nor yet a compilation of light reading, but, like every thing else belonging to Chautauqua, it is in dead earnest. Both its general tone and its substance-matter have a marked affinity for the reading of the "Literary and Scientific Circle," but with greater freedom of scope and a wider range of topics. There is science made easy, but not, therefore, the less truly scientific; there are history and biography, educational notes, and hints in agriculture, temperance talks, and poetry—a compact household library between two lids. But we need not bespeak for it the public favor, for that is assured by the hundred thousand Chautauquans and their friends. We heartily congratulate all concerned in view of a splendid success.

Atonement and Law; or, Redemption in Harmony with Law as Revealed in Nature. By J. M. ARMOUR. 8vo, pp. 240. Philadelphia: Christian Statesman Publishing Co.

This work consists of a restatement, with some variations of method, of the more specifically orthodox views of the great doctrine of atonement by Christ, including substitution and satisfaction. The objectionable forms in which what has been called the "commercial theory" of the atonement have been avoided, but without at all giving up its substance —the notion of something given for something received — a veritable *redemption*, which is in some sense, and to some degree, *commercial*. These views are clearly and forcibly presented, and the whole expression of the book is wholesome and edifying.

American Commonwealths—Kansas: The Prelude to the War for the Union. By LEVERETT W. SPRING, Professor in the Kansas University. 12mo, pp. 334. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

Kansas is a young State, but it has a history of the most intense interest. It is well that the stirring events of thirty years ago, and later, which at length spread out into the great war of the rebellion—of which they were the first acts, rather than simply the prelude—should be collated and set out in order for future times while they are yet fresh in the minds of their actors.

A Layman's Study of the English Bible. Considered in its Literary and Secular Aspects. By FRANCIS BOWEN, LL.D., Professor in Harvard University. 12mo, pp. 145. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This is a collection, not of pleas or polemics, but of meditations—calm and discursive considerations of a variety of subjects—side thoughts, brought into view in the Bible. First of all, we have a discussion of the purely literary claims of the Bible, in which its claim as an "English classic" is asserted and justified. Next the "Old Testament Narratives" are considered, and their high character as embodiments of very fine sentiment skillfully delineated is clearly demonstrated. After this, the parables of our Lord and the Gospel narratives receive the same treatment. And then we have in order the Philosophy, the Poetry, and the History of the Bible, with a concluding thought on the "Institutions of Moses." The outcome of these successive meditations is, that the Bible with which we have been familiar from childhood, and from whose teachings our conceptions of religious things have been drawn, is quite too well sustained by its own evidence to be lightly set aside.

Strange Stories from History. For Young People. By GEORGE CARY EGGLESTON, Author of "Red Eagle," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 243. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Eggleston has a faculty for detecting and delineating curious and interesting historical incidents. He here brings into a neat volume more than a dozen "stories"—really scraps of history, chosen from a very wide range—and to these are added half a dozen "biography stories," much of the same in character and substance with what precedes them. The work will be read with interest.

The Lesson Commentary on the International Sunday-school Lessons for 1886. By Rev. JOHN H. VINCENT, D.D., and Rev. J. L. HURLBUT, M.A. 8vo, pp. 309. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Those who are using the "Lesson Commentary" for the current year will be satisfied with the simple announcement of that here named; for those who have not seen that, we may say that of the many expositions and "helps" for the better understanding of the International Lessons we have found none that appear any better to answer to the demands of the case than those of Messrs. Vincent and Hurlbut. The expositions, in most cases expressed in words selected from some well-known and approved commentary—usually of a recent date—Whedon, Ryle, Westcott, the Cambridge Bible, and good old Matthew Henry *et. al.*—are clear and concise, giving the manifest and common-sense meaning of the text, and nothing more. Every Sunday-school teacher should have a copy.

Defense and Confirmation of the Faith. Six Lectures, Delivered before the Western Theological Seminary in the Year 1885, on the Foundation of the Elliott Lectureship. 12mo, pp. 201. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

These lectures are the productions of some of the ablest men of our day —Drs. Wm. M. Taylor, Carroll Cutter, S. J. M'Pherson, Nathaniel West, Henry C. M'Cook, and Rev. S. F. Scovel. Each lecturer pursues his own course of argument, and yet there is no disharmony of parts in the common unity. Without attempting to embrace the whole subject of Christian apologetics, they very satisfactorily cover the chief points in the field.

Dr. Deems's Sermons: Forty-eight Discourses, Comprising every Sunday Morning Sermon Preached from the Pulpit of "The Church of the Strangers," by the Pastor. 8vo, pp. 304. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Sermons by T. De Witt Talmage, Author of "Crumbs Swept Up," etc., delivered in the Brooklyn Tabernacle. Phonographically Reported and Revised. First Series. 12mo, pp. 405. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Sermons whose preachers' names and the names of the churches in which they were delivered are sufficiently notable to stand foremost in the titles of the volumes in which they are printed are outside of the usual range of criticism. Both Dr. Deems and Mr. Talmage are well-known and highly-respected preachers, who have given renown to their several pulpits. The sermons of the former volume were printed and pretty widely circulated some years since; they now appear somewhat revised, and their success in the earlier edition is a pledge of a continued demand. Mr. Talmage will not want an audience nor readers for whatever may issue from the pulpit of "the Tabernacle." The words "First Series" in the title contains a promise and a prophecy. Personally we have very little use for printed sermons, having had to do with that form of literature in its earlier manifestations. But sermon readers will appreciate these.

HARPER'S YOUNG PEOPLE for 1885 is issued as a bound volume, and so makes a capital holiday book for boys and girls—especially for boys. Its reading matter, though purposely avoiding every thing severe, and only furtively didactic, is wholesome as well as amusing; its poetry is

above the character of doggerel, and its pictorial illustrations are decidedly good in their subjects, design, and execution. It will no doubt gladden many a boy's heart on Christmas morning.

Natural Theology; or, Rational Theism. By M. VALENTINE, D.D., ex-President of Pennsylvania College, and Professor of Theology in the Lutheran Theological Seminary, Gettysburg, Pa. 12mo, pp. 274. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

The methods of "Natural Theology" have greatly changed since Paley wrote his famous, and, indeed, admirable, treatise on the subject, and the change is certainly for the better. In this little volume Professor Valentine presents, in very concise statements, the arguments in favor of the being of God, which the rational understanding requires; and these, we are free to add, meet all reasonable demands. The atheistic argument begins with the unallowable denial of the supernatural as a factor in the problem, which of course rules out all possible theistical evidence; but granting, as must be done, a Power above mere nature, systematic theology becomes only a matter of details. Arguments from the natural side the author treats in an able and satisfactory manner. The smallness of the volume recommends it as a hand-book.

The Unrivaled Cook-Book, and Housekeeper's Guide. By MRS. WASHINGTON. 12mo, pp. 623. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A reviewer cannot be supposed to be a master of the mysteries of cooking, however well he may be persuaded of the value of the art, and its intimate relations to civilization and religion. This volume is at once large and well filled, and probably very good of its kind, for Virginians of former times were masters of the gastronomic arts. The name given as that of the author, though it belongs to Virginia, is confessedly fictitious, appropriated as ex-slaves have often taken and borne the name of the Father of His Country.

Sermons on the Christian Life. By JOHN DEWITT, D.D., Professor of Church History, Lane Theological Seminary. 12mo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Specifically these are not exactly sermons, for lack of the peculiar homiletical and hortatory elements which are essential characteristics of the pulpit address. But as essays on Christian experience and duty, they are worthy of great praise, being sound in doctrine and both pure and elevated in moral tone. But, as is the case with most of the "preaching for the times," the ethical rather than the evangelical spirit is chiefly manifested in them. By common consent, and perhaps largely unconsciously, the great fundamental doctrine of the Reformation—Justification by Faith—seems to be losing its hold upon both the heart and the mind of the Church.

The Seven Wonders of the New World. In One Volume. With Illustrations. By Rev. J. K. PECK, A.M. 12mo, pp. 320. Price, $1 25. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

James Elijah Latimer

METHODIST REVIEW.

MARCH, 1886.

ART. I. DEAN J. E. LATIMER

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METHODIST REVIEW.

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PROBABLY no man in Methodism filled so important a position with such signal ability and yet drew so little attention to himself as the late Dean of the School of Theology of Boston University—Rev. James Elijah Latimer, S.T.D. He was born at Hartford, Conn., Oct. 7, 1826, and died at Auburndale, Mass., Nov. 27, 1884. The ignorance of the Church in regard to one of the foremost scholars the first century of Episcopal Methodism has produced is a striking proof of his humility. It never occurred to Dean Latimer to prepare any autobiographical notes, or even to preserve a file of his large correspondence. This fact, together with the fact that his life, like that of all scholars, was mainly interior, renders impossible any extended biography. Happily, however, he came in contact with some of the best minds of his generation, and the varying impressions of these witnesses may possibly enable those who never knew him to obtain a more life-like picture of the man than a volume of dry details could give. The impression he produced was so clear and simple, and the independent estimates of his character are so accordant, that our readers are in no danger of being confused by conflicting opinions.

We begin with a charming sketch of Dr. Latimer's boyhood from a letter of reminiscences written by his gifted wife; a sketch so full of interest that one might wish she had carried forward the story to its close.

At the time of Mr. Latimer's birth his father was a teacher. Soon afterward the family moved to Brooklyn, N. Y. Here the father

opened a private school, which James attended at a very early age. When five and a half years old his mother took him to see his Connecticut relations, *via* the Sound. Upon the boat a gentleman took a fancy to the little fellow, and asked him various geographical questions of constantly increasing difficulty. Finding all his replies accurate, the stranger at last said, "Can you tell me where the city of Hardscrabble is?" The child paused a moment to think, and then promptly answered, "That, sir, is not down upon my map." When eight years old the boy was studying both Latin and Greek, but was not for a moment allowed by his discreet parents to think that his scholarship was in any way remarkable. There was, indeed, a striking incongruity between his scholarship and his deportment. His boyish gleefulness and wit were irrepressible; and upon one occasion, after a most commendable translation from the Fifth Book of Cæsar, he was corrected for inciting the entire school to laughter by one of his mirth-provoking sallies. At eleven years of age the youthful student had mastered all the arithmetics of the day without unusual effort, and commencing algebra, was charmed with the new exercise. Before this period of his life his father had entered the ministry of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and had commenced preaching in western New York. His parents were both scholarly, and retained their habits of reading and study throughout the ceaseless duties attending the bringing up of seven children and the busy cares of itinerant life. The appointments of the father were a source of great joy to the family, as they brought the children to the first schools and academies in that part of the State. Teachers began to employ the young linguist and mathematician as private assistant, giving him his tuition for the help he rendered those less advanced in study, though far more advanced in age and size. At twelve years of age he was prepared for college. As he could not enter at so early an age, employment was found for him in a dry-goods store. Here he was surrounded by fine influences, and gave excellent satisfaction to his employers. It was during this apprenticeship to business that he gave his heart to God. His conversion took place during a revival of remarkable power. He declared that until this time he had steeled his heart against all the influences of home persuasion and revival force, feeling that if he became a Christian he must forsake his plan of studying law, and commence in the school of the prophets as a preparation to join the humble ranks of the Methodist itinerants.

Probably the needs of a Methodist preacher with a large family, and the necessity the boy was under of earning in part, at least, the money for his college course, were the chief reasons of the long interval between his preparation for college and his entrance at Wesleyan University. This impression is confirmed

by the fact that while attending college he taught school during the winter months. But the fact that the boy could wait and work from twelve to eighteen, and not abate by one jot his purpose of going to college, shows perhaps as clearly as his later acquisitions his life-long love of knowledge. His classmate and friend, the Rev. Daniel Steele, D.D., gives this vivid picture of young Latimer's college days:

> It was in the autumn of 1844, in the middle of the first term of the year in Wesleyan University, that a light-haired boy of eighteen came into the freshman class. We pitied him for beginning the college race under the disadvantages of his late entrance. But when he was called upon to recite our commiseration was changed to admiration. He was master in all the departments of the old, severe curriculum, and that, too, without apparent effort. He soon projected a parallel course of elective studies, and read Aristophanes's comedies as a kind of sauce to the more solid food of the required Greek tragedies. He also mastered the French and German languages, which were then no part of the college course, required or elective. The extended mathematical course—a daily exercise, without omission, for four years—was only pastime to his sharp and rapid intellect. Meantime he was an omnivorous reader, devouring more books than any half-dozen of his fellow-students. And yet he was no recluse nor book-worm, shutting himself up in the cocoon of unsocial reserve, but a man of affairs, a jovial companion, a brilliant conversationalist, and a ready debater.

While he studied many subjects not included in the college course, yet the thoroughness of his work is evidenced in later life. From the time he left college down to the day of his death he read both the French and German languages fluently; and during a visit to Europe found himself able to converse intelligently with German professors, and to understand lectures at the Sorbonne in Paris.

Young Latimer was graduated a few weeks before he was twenty-two, under the presidency of Dr. Olin. He was at the beginning of what may be called the second stage of Methodist history in the United States. The Methodist Church had proved one of the grandest recruiting offices for the Lord's militant host of any organization since the days of the apostles. But it had a larger mission to fulfill along with its revival work. Whether or not Wesley clearly foresaw the full mission of Methodism and heartily planned for a permanent, separate

ecclesiastical organization, Asbury and Coke at least saw great possibilities for the infant Church in the new nation. It represented not simply new methods of revival work, but a new theology, which they believed might be made a permanent, if not the dominant, type of faith in the New World. Accordingly they built churches, administered the sacraments, founded colleges, and prepared for the permanent occupation of the country. The repeated destruction by fire of the first college buildings of the Methodist Church in the New World awakened a doubt in the minds of these godly men as to whether their broader plans, especially in the line of education, were in accord with divine providence. These doubts, together with the lack of funds and the demands of direct evangelistic work, delayed the educational interests of Methodism for a generation. But holding and training our converts was the logical sequence of winning them, especially as our theology differed from that of the established Churches; and so this second stage in our history was inevitable and providential. Fisk, Olin, Ruter, Caldwell, and others began founding and developing institutions of learning. Latimer, inheriting scholarly tastes, coming under the inspiration of the sainted Fisk and the direct personal influence of the mighty Olin, responded with alacrity not simply to the general call to Christian service, but to the special work of elevating the standard of consecrated learning in the Church, and so preparing her children to make permanent and final the triumphs of our Lord. Accordingly, from twenty-two to twenty-three he was teacher of languages at Newberry Seminary, Vt. From twenty-three to twenty-five he taught Latin and geology at the Genesee Wesleyan Seminary at Lima, N. Y. When twenty-five he was made Principal of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary, then situated at Northfield, N. H.; and at twenty-eight he was promoted to the headship of the larger and more flourishing Seminary at Fort Plain, N. Y. Soon after this, an interdenominational seminary was founded at Elmira, N. Y., called the Elmira Female College, and Mr. Latimer was at once chosen to represent the Methodist scholarship of the Empire State in the professorship of languages. His success in his chosen calling is shown by the fact that during his first thirteen years' service as a teacher he was five times promoted. During this period

he largely shaped the intellectual and spiritual life of many of the most talented and earnest young people in Methodism, as well as of others outside the Church.

While teaching at the Genesee Seminary he first met Miss Anna Ross, then a pupil at the school. Their acquaintance and friendship ripened into love, and resulted in their marriage, four years later, when he was Principal of the New Hampshire Conference Seminary. She was so well fitted for her new sphere that she taught with him at the Fort Plain Seminary, and later at the Elmira Female College. Her companionship was an unfailing antidote to any discouragement on his part, and the delights of his home probably prolonged his life and usefulness many years.

Other influences in addition to study and teaching contributed to the enlargement and ripening of his powers. It was doubtless a great advantage to him that he was born in a large Christian family, and was trained from infancy to stand in Christian relations to the other members of the household. The unity of purpose and the distinctively Christian character of the family is seen in the fact that all of the brothers and sisters entered upon an open Christian life; while James and the youngest brother, Edward, followed the father into the ministry, and the youngest sister is a missionary in Mexico. But his affectional and spiritual nature was ripened, not simply by family fellowship and a happy marriage, but also by deep personal losses. Every college student is called to settle for himself or herself the problem of the relation of study to health, to find the golden mean between intellectual sloth upon the one side and a broken constitution upon the other. Like many lofty souls young Latimer erred upon the side of earnestness. He contracted dyspepsia from overwork at college, a disease which the heavy responsibility of his teaching developed into a life-long torment. He also suffered intensely from heart disease. The loss of a sister and the frailty of his own tenure of life did not embitter him, but contributed rather to develop that humility, indifference to earthly honor, and that spirituality which in later life were so finely blended with his marvelous learning. He had been converted, as his wife narrates, at thirteen, and he never fell back from that boyhood conversion. But, while he was outspoken in his religious convictions in col-

lege, he was at that time more noted for intellectual than for spiritual attainments. His religion seemed at this period of his life more a code of duties which he strove to fulfill than that joy in the Lord which is one's spiritual strength. But this joy in the Lord came while he was teaching, not so much by any great crisis as by a deepening of his spiritual experience, and by the frequent coming of the Holy Spirit to him and to his pupils. What wonder that this deepening experience brought to him, as it has brought to hundreds of other teachers, a longing for the more directly spiritual work of the Christian ministry!

Again, while the family had enjoyed the father's pastoral charges, it must be remembered that the itinerancy, with its surrender of self-direction and its possibilities of personal disappointment, had made his call to the ministry in boyhood a dreaded but lofty summons. He was now escaping this stern feature of the ministry in the apparently more independent and less heroic work of the teacher. So the itinerancy, with its demand for self-sacrifice and heroism, was constantly appealing to his noblest impulses, and he felt that his offering to God was not quite complete until he was enrolled in the ranks of the traveling preachers.

For eight years he was in the active ministry; serving the most important churches in his Conference with rare acceptability, and with ever-increasing power. He was stationed at the First Church in Elmira, at Asbury and the First Church in Rochester, and at the church in Penn Yan.

His sermons in general were thoughtful, attractive, and inspiring. Yet this modern St. John was a son of thunder too, as with stern and prophetic messages, delivered at times with the charge of preaching politics ringing in his ears, he portrayed at the on-coming of the Civil War the spirit and the outcome of the great slavery contest.

These years seemed to him, in memory at least, the idyllic period of his life. He delighted in after years to recount the various haps and mishaps of pastoral life, and more than once he remarked, at the close of these reminiscences: "I wish I had spent my life in the pulpit and the pastorate." Those who knew him only as a teacher felt that he was divinely called to bear the standard of Christian education in our Church, and some

regarded the diversion into the active ministry as a mistake. He himself was inclined to consider teaching his proper vocation. On the other hand, those who listened to his preaching often contended that the pulpit was his throne, and that, had he devoted his life to the ministry, Methodist history would have been enriched by a preacher combining the learning of Adam Clarke with something of the eloquence of Summerfield. Whether or not a great career might have opened for him in the ministry, it is impossible to say. Occasional sermons, preached when he was deeply moved, when his imagination was kindled, and his thought was melted by emotion, revealed a power of which some more formal discourses before Boston audiences gave scarcely a hint. He certainly was not largely gifted with the magnetic personal presence, the ready emotion, and the creative imagination which make platform speaking a fairly successful calling to men of a certain temperament. He so despised mere effect that he usually checked the emotion that naturally arose within him. He had, on the other hand, a wealth of learning, an ease in recalling and using it without ostentation and almost without effort, a chaste and classical style, a tender nature, a child-like manner, a love for the spiritual side of all truth, and a lofty conscientiousness, which, all combined, made the fair, frail man seem at times like a messenger from God, all the more inspired from his very humility and his utter freedom from all rhetorical arts.

In 1868–69, he spent a year with his wife in Europe. While in Germany he applied for private instruction in philosophy to Professor Erdmann, of Halle, then at the height of his philosophic fame. He went to the professor as an itinerant Methodist preacher from the United States, and made the same terms as other students for private instruction. The distinguished historian of philosophy had not met his unknown pupil a week, however, before he canceled their contract as teacher and pupil, declined pay for his services, and said that they must henceforth meet as equals and common workers in the great field of metaphysics.

In 1870, when forty-three years old, he was called to the chair of historical theology in the Theological School at Boston. Those who knew him best, and especially scholars who were aware of his attainments, agree in the opinion that the Theo-

logical School was his providential field. In this his last field of labor he received a double promotion. At the end of three years' service, when Dr. Warren was called to the heavy responsibility of organizing the new University, Dr. Latimer was advanced to the chair of systematic theology, and also called to the deanship of the School. During his connection of fourteen years with the Theological School, over three hundred ministers received much of their broadest and finest culture, and their noblest inspiration, in the class-room of this great teacher. There is scarcely a mission-field of our Church, or a nation of the civilized world, where they are not at work. In the United States, Canada, Mexico, South America, in Africa, Japan, and China, and in almost every nation of Europe his pupils are found, engaged in preaching and in mission work, in colleges and in literature.

In the organization and initial administration of the new University Dr. Latimer had no inconsiderable part. In virtue of his office as Dean of the School of Theology, he was a permanent member of the important body known as the University Council. It is the duty of this body to consider all questions of administration affecting the inter-relations of the different colleges and schools which are included in the University organization. In it, and especially in his place upon the Standing Committee upon post-graduate studies, examinations, and degrees in the School of All Sciences, his excellent judgment, his wide scholarship, and his varied experience were of great value. They gave him an influence upon the highest range of university education which many a prominent college president might justly envy, and which should never be overlooked in any comprehensive estimate of his life. With all the great ideas and achievements of the University he was in heartiest sympathy. While his personal contribution to the upbuilding and fame of the institution can never be sufficiently separated from those of his colleagues to be independently gauged and measured, it is certain that it was a contribution whose results will be fruitful in blessing for generations to come.

President Warren, in his eleventh annual report of Boston University, after calling attention to the fact that such a report is not the place for eulogy, and that he confines his

words to the briefest and most necessary historical allusion, gives the following estimate of his associate's attainments and character:

A broader scholar the country hardly contained. Theology was not his only forte. In the chair of philosophy or history he would have been an ornament to any university in Christendom. A more devout Christian would be hard to find. Through the pupils he trained he will long be a power in the Christian thought and aspiration and achievement of this and other nations.

In another place President Warren says:

Dr. Latimer's habitual range of reading was something quite exceptional. In one of his memorandum books I found a list of the books which he drew from the Athenæum Library during a single season. The number was astonishing. The variety of interest which they represented was equally remarkable. Yet this great library was but one of the supplies on which he was continually drawing. His power of critically dealing with such masses of perused matter was the admiration of his intimate friends from the days when he was a college student till the end. He could always pass a just critical judgment upon every book which had engaged his attention. These judgments, freely given to his pupils, were of great service to them, and added not a little to the charm of his teaching.

Of the scholarship of this gifted teacher Dr. Steele, who was with him more or less from their college days, bears the following witness:

No man within range of the writer's acquaintance had such a facility in mastering and retaining a wealth of learning. In this particular he was a genius. With an intuitive power, a kind of miniature omniscience, he would glance through an alcove of a library and carry away in his memory a summary of every volume for future use. At his funeral the remark was made that Dr. Latimer was the ripest, broadest, and most ready scholar the first century of Episcopal Methodism has produced. None who have been intimate with him will question this high eulogium.

These tributes of Drs. Warren and Steele seem strong. But they are amply sustained by the estimate of a leader in a denomination to which our readers seldom look for encomiums of Methodist scholarship. Dr. A. P. Peabody has been known for years as the Professor of Moral Philosophy at Harvard University, and as a leading scholar of the Unitarian Church. He and Dean Latimer were for several years members of a

Ministers' Club embracing the best scholarship of Boston and Cambridge. Dr. Peabody says:

> Dr. Latimer read before our club several essays showing equally thorough conversance with the labors of others and profound and original thought of his own. I suppose that no man among us was better versed, hardly any so well, in the history of philosophy, both ancient and modern; and I was greatly impressed with his familiarity with the modern, especially the German, schools of speculation. He was a foremost scholar in whatever he undertook to learn or to teach. I regarded him as an excellent biblical scholar; for whenever any subject was before us involving biblical criticism, he was second to no one of our number in its discussion. At the same time he seemed to me pre-eminently a Christian scholar. The tokens of his close kinship to his Lord and Master could escape the emphatic attention of no one who knew him. He was a thoroughly lovable man. In our club, in which we all are brethren, no one could have had more entirely the love no less than the respect of all.

It will always be regretted by those who knew him best that he did not publish more. "John Scotus Erigena" and "Mysticism" were the only two articles published in the "Methodist Quarterly Review." Seven articles were contributed to "Zion's Herald." These are all reviews of books, but are of more than temporary interest as showing the reviewer's opinions upon theology, Christian missions, Christian experience, and philosophy. His Baccalaureate sermon before Boston University in 1884 was published under the title, "The Rational Vindication of Christianity." He was also a contributor to "Johnson's Encyclopædia."

Upon the hearty invitation of editors and publishers, and at the earnest solicitation of many friends, he had consented to prepare the central work in Crook and Hurst's theological series—the work on Systematic Theology. He regarded his subject as the queen of sciences. He was distilling into this volume the reading and thinking and convictions of a life-time. It promised to be an *opus magnum*—a monumental work. It can never be completed as he designed it. After the first one hundred pages we have only the skeleton, without the flesh and blood with which he alone could clothe it. If parts of his writings are ever edited they will furnish at best but an outline of his rich study and conclusions. The condensation of the lectures which he dictated to his classes makes them severe

in style. His lectures upon Christian Philosophy, for instance, are broader, richer, and clearer than the coarse print of Ueberweg's History of Philosophy in the fourth edition. But the coarse print of Dr. Ueberweg does not form a fourth of his rich volumes; and all the comments and suggestions with which Dr. Latimer was accustomed to enrich his dictations are only partially preserved in the notes of widely scattered students. It was only when a dictation was challenged or discussed that the students became aware of the manifold reasons, involving the study of volumes and the thought of years, lying back of and determining the very words of the paragraph. This very condensation, however, would give his writings great value for those who have a general knowledge of the subject in hand, and who wish to hear the latest word of scholarship upon the lofty themes of theology and philosophy. Such a volume, if published, would not attract the multitude, but would give earnest thinkers important help upon some of the most difficult problems of Christian philosophy.

As this failure to produce a single volume for publication was a loss to the Church, some of its causes merit a brief discussion. The fact that our Church periodicals are official organs produces an unconscious pressure for unity of thought and expression in their columns. Dean Latimer was not out of sympathy with the great currents of thought in the Church. Perhaps no member of our communion saw more clearly the broad philosophic foundations of Methodist theology. But the very largeness of his vision put him out of sympathy with the narrower and more dogmatic defenses of the faith which he sometimes saw others making, and made his thinking seem somewhat bold to them. The unconscious pressure, not simply for conformity in doctrine, but for agreement in the methods and philosophy by which principles are to be supported, pervades every large Church or party. It seems inseparable from thorough organization. This pressure is not severe, and cannot become tyrannical in our land and time. Nevertheless, it is a force to be recognized in our literature, and probably chilled the freedom of Dr. Latimer's utterance.

Another condition in our Church unfavorable to literary productiveness is the frequent change of professional work, under the call of the Church, upon the part of our leaders. The most

promising men in the ministry have divided their time between two or more of the distinct callings of preacher, teacher, editor, secretary, and bishop. This frequent change of work makes Methodist preachers prominent among other denominations as well-balanced, practical men. But it renders well-nigh impossible the work of a Tischendorf, a Delitzsch, a Greeley, or a Spurgeon. We have produced journalists equal to Horace Greeley in talent and his superior in culture. They are not, however, so far superior to Mr. Greeley that they can make their names a synonym for American journalism in eight or twelve years when it required forty years of undivided effort upon the part of Mr. Greeley to accomplish this result. It may be said that Bishop Simpson was greater than any living preacher in the pulpit. But with his varied work as tutor, professor, editor, bishop, he has left for posterity only a single volume of sermons, gathered after his death and without his own revision. The literary productiveness of his life will not compare with that of several modern preachers who have reached hundreds of thousands through the newspaper publication of their sermons, and who will leave twenty or thirty volumes for posterity. This, however, is only one side of the question. A man's service to his Church and to the world is not comprised in his entire external achievements, much less in his writings. St. John is infinitely more to the world by what he was than by what he did. If by advancing her sons through various callings the Methodist Church is really developing a larger and finer type of manhood, she is doing a diviner work than she could accomplish by converting them into machines to turn out the largest possible products before the eyes of the world. This method may secure in the end the best external results. The books that reach the twenty-fifth or thirtieth century will be far briefer in compass, with far more wisdom, experience, and character compressed into them than most present literary products can boast. If after the fullest development our workers are allowed time and opportunity for a single creation which shall embody their entire personality, whether it be a book, a college, a newspaper, or a new organization, they may yet combine the broadest culture with the highest possible achievement. Dr. Latimer thought that too much was written, and avowed the theory of a single book

which should embody all one's wisdom. While the result of such a process is apt to be finer when reached, the Church must accept the fact that the larger and finer method will more frequently fail of consummation.

If there is regret upon the part of old students that their great teacher never received that public recognition which he merited, and that he died at last with no adequate expression of his wisdom, they must remember that it is of the very nature of his chosen work that it be done in obscurity. Says Phillips Brooks:

> The teacher is one of those men who give other men the chance of making history rather than make it themselves. Many a great teacher has been perfectly satisfied with teachership, perfectly content to furnish materials of effective and conspicuous activity in others, and to rest himself in obscurity as they went forth to prominence. Let us always remember that the Perfect Life was content, as one of its highest titles, to be called a teacher's life.

The best teacher is not the one who so pushes himself to the front that his pupils' faculties are repressed and they become the mere echoes of his authority. The greatest teacher is he who so calls out the students' powers by question, suggestion, and inspiration that they fail to distinguish between their own and the teacher's thought. Such a teacher is no more apt to be seen of men than are the roots of the tree over which we pass to gather its falling fruit. This is why the Holy Spirit has been so little recognized thus far in even Christian history. "He shall not bear witness of himself" is Christ's characterization of Him who leads us into all truth.

It must be remembered, also, that Dr. Latimer did not aspire to authorship, nor care for public recognition. His life-long passion, and the spring of his long and varied activity, was his craving after personal holiness in all the largeness and consecration of that term. His chief glory was his discipleship to Christ. He was ever inspired by his Master's promise that he might be led into all truth, and be perfect as his Father in heaven was perfect. It was this that made him hold fast his plan of a college training during six years of working and waiting between his preparation and his entrance. It was this, and no vulgar ambition, which made him the finest student in

his class. It was this which led him to tarry at his studies and at teaching instead of hurrying into the pulpit at the close of his college course. It was this which made him a more earnest student and a more omnivorous reader than any pupil down to the close of his life. It was this which made him dread the ruts and narrowness which life-long work in a single profession and a single place is very apt to induce. It was only through this promise of an enlarged experience that temptations seriously assailed him. He once told me that Byron's writings strongly attracted him for a season in his youth, and the flood of the poet's passion nearly swept him from his moorings. But as he turned to the writings of St. John he found there an infinite sweep which Byron could not approach. So he concluded that it was a part of the deceitfulness of sin to promise an enlargement of knowledge while it really destroyed the spiritual senses, that there was room for illimitable growth upon the side of truth and love and holiness, and only upon that side of man's nature, and that purity was the key to the secrets of God. It was his refusal upon the one side to follow ordinary men into a mere life of routine, into a period when one's education is finished and he begins dying at the top; it was his refusal upon the other side to follow the Byrons and Poes into those experiences of sin which cut the tap-root of the soul, sever its connection with God, and leave the spiritual man dying; it was this combination of constant growth with child-like purity that gave him his transforming power as a teacher and a preacher.

At a time when the intellectual world is thoroughly alive—when many are failing through over-activity without sufficient ripeness—when even the Church is flooded with mediocre literature and we are vainly striving to make our achievements greater than our characters, he probably accomplished more for God by his steady pursuit of truth for its own sake and not as an object of intellectual barter—by his great attainments and child-like humility—by his outward contentment in the performance of inconspicuous duties and his inward struggle for an unrealized perfection, than he could have accomplished by some fame-attracting work. He did not despise but simply lost sight of earthly honors in his eagerness to realize his possibilities as a child and a servant of God.

Art. II.—THE APOLOGETIC VALUE OF MIRACLES.

The word *miracle*, in its modern and theological sense, has no equivalent in the New Testament. Θαῦμα, *miraculum*, is not found there at all. Τέρας, the word most nearly akin to it, is of frequent occurrence; but it always appears to refer to the effect on the witnesses rather than to the essence of the occurrence—having thus an altogether subordinate meaning. It is wholly in accordance with the use of language that this, which is originally only a consequence, comes to stand for the thing itself. Still it is never applied to what we call miracles except in connection with other names. They are "signs *and* wonders," but never "wonders" alone.

Another word used is σημεῖα, *signs*. This is found, as representing the conception in question, more frequently than any other word; and yet it is hardly what the writers on logic call a categorematic term; that is, it requires another word, or other words, to make complete sense. A "sign" implies three conceptions, namely, the phenomenon, the sign, and that of which it is a sign. It thus becomes a very suitable word for the purpose for which it is used in the Bible; and, doubtless, if the Greek word had always been rendered by its English equivalent, it would have prevented much misunderstanding. But it should be borne in mind that it is a generic word, and that the specific term is always understood. Many phenomena are *signs* which are not *miracles*. But a miracle is always a sign.

Miracles are also styled δυνάμεις (Lat., *virtus*), that is, "powers," or "mighty works," as of God.* The "power" is primarily a characteristic of the agent; but by an easy transition it comes to signify the exercise and effect of this power or energy. The word is occasionally translated "mighty works" when thus used, and this would seem to be the appropriate English expression, rather than miracles, as for the most part it is translated. This term, δυνάμεις, is the one almost constantly employed by the synoptic evangelists. John more frequently uses σημεῖα than any other word, though the most significant word which we find in this writer to express what

* Trench.

we now mean by miracles is ἔργα, "works." It clearly indicates a personal power or agency. This interpretation has been called in question by certain writers, they understanding by the term the sum total of the acts and the teachings of Jesus. But these authorities are so few as to prove only exceptions to the general drift of thought. It is not claimed by any that the word is used exclusively in this sense by John; but there are passages where to attribute any other meaning to it would be altogether preposterous. To this reference will be had further on.

From these remarks it is evident that the definition of a miracle is attended with some difficulties. It is by some writers regarded as equivalent to any thing *supernatural;* that is, to any event not explicable on the basis of merely natural law, but requiring a power above nature. Others add to this definition that these supernatural characteristics indicate a divine agency, and certify a divine authority in the person performing, or through whom is performed, the act, and that such an event never occurs except in attestation of some religious movement. It is tolerably evident that the events to which we apply our English word miracle were "wonderful," and that this was not an accidental characteristic. They were designed to excite the emotion which the word implies in the beholder —they were calculated to attract attention. They were also invariably intended to be "signs" of something beyond themselves. Without this latter element there could be nothing worthy of the name. Even if we admit the possibility of supernatural works by evil spirits, these would be put forth as "signs" or indications of something to be believed and accepted by the witnesses. This, from the nature of the case, would be something false and vicious and devilish; hence the whole procedure would be fraudulent, and the miracles would be false miracles. They would be base and wretched imitations of real miracles, which are not only of an incalculably higher character in themselves, but they are signs of that which is true, excellent, and divine.

The miracles of Jesus were signs of his Messiahship, certifying a divine authority—credentials of his divine mission. They were addressed to the prevailing belief of intelligent and pious Jews that no genuine miracle could be wrought but by

the power of God, and that this power was never granted except to a good man.

The proofs of the above proposition are gathered from, 1.) The declarations of the people; 2.) The statements of Christ himself; and 3.) The utterances of the apostles.

1.) The following are some of the passages from the evangelists which clearly indicate the public sentiment of the Jewish people. The point to be particularly observed is, the indication every-where that the masses of the people recognized in the miracles of Jesus the power of God, and that it was to their minds a clear proof that God was with the worker of them. In Matt. ix, 8, after the healing of the "sick of the palsy," we find it was spontaneous with the multitude, when they saw what had been done, that "they marveled, and glorified God, which had given such power unto men." Also in the same chapter, verses 32–34, we have the effect of the cure of the dumb demoniac: "The multitudes marveled, saying, It was never so seen in Israel." Matt. xii, 22, 23, gives an account of the healing of a blind and dumb demoniac: "And all the people were amazed, and said, Is not this the son of David?" In Matt. xiv, 33, when Jesus, after walking on the sea of Galilee, had come to his disciples in the ship, "they that were in the ship came and worshiped him, saying, Of a truth thou art the Son of God." After the healing of the demoniac recounted in Mark i, 23–27, the people said, "What thing is this? . . . for with authority commandeth he even the unclean spirits, and they do obey him." In Luke vii, 16, at the raising of the son of the widow of Nain, we read that, "There came a fear on all: and they glorified God, saying, That a great prophet is risen up among us; and, That God hath visited his people." In Luke xviii, 43, when sight had been restored to a blind man, "all the people, when they saw it, gave praise unto God." In John ii, 11, we read: "This beginning of miracles did Jesus in Cana . . . and manifested forth his glory; and his disciples believed on him." John iii, 2, Nicodemus said, "We know that thou art a teacher come from God: for no man can do these miracles that thou doest, except God be with him." John vi, 14, on the occasion of the miracle of the loaves, those who were present said, "This is of a truth that Prophet which should come into the world." John ii, 23, "Now when he was in Jeru-

salem at the passover, in the feast day, many believed in his name, when they saw the miracles which he did." John vii, 31, again at Jerusalem, many of the people believed on him and said, "When Christ cometh, will he do more miracles than these which this man hath done?" In John ix, 30–32, we have the ready, clear, and conclusive argument of the man who had been born blind, whose eyes Jesus had opened: "Why herein is a marvelous thing, that ye know not from whence he is, and yet he hath opened mine eyes. . . . Since the world began was it not heard that any man opened the eyes of one that was born blind. If this man were not of God, he could do nothing." See also verse 16: "How can a man that is a sinner do such miracles?" Also x, 21: "Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?"

2.) The declarations of Jesus himself which indicate the character and purpose of his miracles are numerous. Any thing more explicit can scarcely be conceived than the words contained in Matt. ix, 6, on the occasion of healing the man "sick of the palsy." The words, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," had startled and scandalized the by-standers. Muttered maledictions were beginning to be uttered. "And Jesus knowing their thoughts said, Wherefore think ye evil in your hearts? For whether is easier, to say, Thy sins be forgiven thee; or to say, Arise, and walk? But that ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins (then saith he to the sick of the palsy), Arise, take up thy bed, and go unto thine house." The reasoning is clear and simple and the conclusion unevadible. A being who has power to produce such a marvelous physical change must be in such relation to God that he would not, without authority, presume to declare the forgiveness of sins.

In Matthew xi, 4, 5, we read, "Jesus . . . said unto them, Go and show John again those things which ye do hear and see: The blind receive their sight, and the lame walk, the lepers are cleansed, and the deaf hear, the dead are raised up, and the poor have the gospel preached to them." This, it must be recollected, was the answer of Jesus to John's inquiry whether he were really the Messiah. (See also Luke vii, 19–23.) We read in Matt. xii, 28, "But if I cast out devils by the Spirit of God, then the kingdom of God is come unto you." (See also

Mark ii, 7–11; Luke v, 18–26.) In John v, 36, it is said, "But I have greater witness than that of John: for the works which the Father hath given me to finish, the same works that I do, bear witness of me, that the Father hath sent me." John ix, 2, 3, "And his disciples asked him, saying, Master, who did sin, this man, or his parents, that he was born blind? Jesus answered, Neither hath this man sinned, nor his parents; but that the works of God should be made manifest in him." In John xi, 41, 42, at the raising of Lazarus, "Jesus lifted up his eyes, and said, Father, I thank thee that thou hast heard me. And I knew that thou hearest me always: but because of the people which stand by I said it, that they may believe that thou hast sent me." John xiv, 11, "Believe me that I am in the Father, and the Father in me: or else believe me for the very works' sake." John x, 37, 38, "If I do not the works of my Father, believe me not. But if I do, though ye believe not me, believe the works; that ye may know, and believe, that the Father is in me, and I in him." Also verse 25: "The works that I do in my Father's name, they bear witness of me." John xv, 24: "If I had not done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin. But now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father."

As before remarked, it has been claimed that by the "works" in these passages Jesus refers not merely to his miracles, but to the whole of his words and acts. This may be true in certain instances, and in some sense in all. Yet obviously the term is used in some of these passages in such a specific way that the prominent reference must be to his miraculous manifestations. There need be no dispute that Christ's character and the character of the "works" are closely associated in the statements—the one is necessarily the outcome of the other. But that the miraculous element is the essential and effective characteristic in many of these utterances is very obvious. To leave this out, and to limit the term as indicating only the moral character of the public addresses and other deeds of Christ, will evidently create more difficulties than it will relieve. Christ clearly discriminates between his "words" and his "works," always giving much the greater emphasis to the latter. Furthermore, aside from these, the labors of Christ, so far as mere human appearance and apprehension go, were

not distinguished above those of his predecessors and successors. Indeed, we may say that in this respect, and so far as any possible immediate effect upon contemporaries is concerned, the lives of many of the prophets and religious men of the Old Testament, and of the apostles and others in the earlier and even in the later days of Christianity, exceeded his. The work of Moses, of Samuel, of Elijah, of Isaiah and Jeremiah, of Daniel and Ezra, of John the Baptist, of Paul and Peter, and of Wiclif, Luther, and Wesley, in each several case was, in outward appearance and effect, greater than that of Jesus during any portion of his active ministry, if we eliminate what has been regarded as the supernatural element in it. It is true that the *one great* work of Christ infinitely transcends all the works of all other men, and as well all human conception. But this was not visible nor apprehensible when he made his appeals to the Jews, and it could not have been this to which he directed their attention in proof of his divine mission.

3.) The apostles boldly cite these miraculous works of Jesus as proofs to the Jews of his Messiahship. In John xx, 30, 31, it is said, "And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God." Acts ii, 22, "Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves also know." Heb. ii, 3, 4, "How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation; which at the first began to be spoken by the Lord, and was confirmed unto us by them that heard him; God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will?"

So many and so positive are the Scripture statements in support of the position taken near the beginning of this article. They fairly indicate the doctrine of the New Testament on this subject, unless equally positive and equally numerous texts are found to neutralize them. The doctrine contradictory to the one we have here attempted to sustain is comprised in the statement that miracles are not credentials of any thing, and that they have no evidential value in respect to religion or revelation. So far as the miracles of Jesus are concerned the

argument for this view is embraced in the two following propositions: 1) That the Jews held that miracles might be wrought by evil spirits; and 2) That therefore it would be impossible to infer from such manifestations the divine mission of the worker.

The positive proofs advanced in favor of these propositions are very few. Scarcely half a dozen passages in the New Testament can be cited that in any sense furnish support to this doctrine, and all these can be easily interpreted to harmonize with those already quoted on the opposite side. Take, for instance, that in which Christ is accused of casting out devils by Beelzebub. This is so obviously the utterance of partisan bigotry and baffled malice as to have no relation to candid public sentiment. Its hypocrisy and blasphemy called forth the most terrible rebuke ever pronounced by Jesus. There are two or three other passages which record the accusations of certain parties to the effect that Christ was possessed of a devil, or that he was a sinner, which are clearly inspired by the same disreputable and malevolent disposition. It is quite conceivable that many who were unfavorably situated in relation to the events which were transpiring, or who had unconsciously become prejudiced, might innocently mistake Christ's character, and might regard him as an impostor; but this in no way affects the question.

It has been urged that the Bible itself teaches that supernatural effects are brought about through the agency of evil spirits, and that the Jewish people in the time of Christ believed this. We regard this as an open question. But it is not necessary to discuss it here. Admitting the theory implied for the sake of the argument, no candid thinker will for a moment insist that the phenomena alluded to are to be put on a level with miracles wrought by the power of God as claimed in the Bible. In every case in which they are brought into any thing like competition with each other, we see at once how feeble the former are as compared with the latter. The most conspicuous case of this kind is the contest of the Egyptian magicians with Moses. Their miracles were simply imitations of his. Aaron's rod became a serpent. Apparently the same transformation of their rods took place; but Aaron's rod swallowed up all theirs. Moses turned the water to blood.

Again they imitate him—not a very difficult achievement one would think, since all the water in rivers and ponds and pools and even drinking vessels had been changed. Moses brings in frogs till they are on every plat of ground, in every house and every room, and clinging about every person. It would not be very wonderful to appear to produce more frogs. It were something to the purpose to furnish some pure water, or even in some moderate degree to abate the nuisance of the frogs; but so far as we are informed neither of these was attempted. Even the poor mimicry with which the contest opened soon failed them, and the magicians retired vanquished from the field. In all the instances recorded in the Bible and generally elsewhere, these miracles of soothsayers, magicians, and false prophets are of a trivial, sensational, and unmeaning character. They are altogether rudimentary and indefinite. Frequently they originate with persons either physically or mentally disordered. The demoniacs of the New Testament were numerous, and we may readily admit that they were, as the statements of the evangelists naturally and obviously imply, under the control of evil spirits. But where is there the slightest intimation of their ever doing any thing worthy of the name of a miracle? It was unquestionably the public voice which said, "Can a devil open the eyes of the blind?"

The rabbis distinguished true from false miracles by six chief tests: 1) The *object* must be worthy of the divine Author; 2) The performance must be *public*, and 3) Submitted to the *senses*, so that men might judge of their reality; 4) The mode of working must be *independent of second causes;* 5) They must be attested by *contemporaneous evidence;* 6) Recorded by a *monument*, or in some form equally permanent.*

With such rules as these it is improbable that any person who was really anxious to know the truth respecting Christ's miracles at the time when they were wrought would fail to be convinced of his divine mission. We see at a glance how far any of the so-called miracles wrought by diviners, soothsayers, magicians, astrologers, or the possessed of devils, fall short of these tests.

The fact that great numbers of persons rejected the claims

* Smith's "New Testament History," p. 212.

of Christ, and ignored the testimony of the miracles, is of no force against the general position here maintained. It is not the method of the divine procedure to offer such evidence as will *compel* conviction, or, at least, practical acceptance of the truth. There are thousands all around us to-day who not only have ample reason, according to their own testimony, to admit and acknowledge the substantial claims of Christianity, but who actually do this, who still reject Christ and refuse to submit themselves to God. The miracles of Christ were sufficient to convince candid and unprejudiced and fairly intelligent Jews that he was the Messiah; but they were not, and were not intended to be, of the nature of irresistible evidence. Hence the fact that the nation rejected him not only does not militate against the doctrine herein set forth, but it was something anticipated and predicted.

There are certain obvious inferences from what has been said: 1.) That a supernatural event is not necessarily a miracle, in the sense of the New Testament words which we thus translate; but a miracle in this sense is always a supernatural event. 2.) That though a miracle is always a remarkable event, and calculated to excite wonder, it is also something more than that. 3.) That while there are many signs and tokens of religious truth, these are not always miracles; yet a real miracle is always a sign of divine agency and authority. 4.) A miracle is to be defined as an event wrought through human instrumentality, and not explicable on the basis of merely natural laws or causes, but requiring a power above nature indicating a divine agency, and certifying a divine authority in the person performing the act, and never occurring except in attestation of a religious movement.

The miracles of Jesus, though having many features in common with all other Bible miracles, yet in several particulars differed from them. Certain peculiarities of the former have been noticed by several writers. The following are the more prominent of these: 1.) Christ always wrought in his own name. He obviously exercises a power as of his own. His references to the Father in connection with the forth puttings of his power are evidently intended to indicate the identity of his action and purpose with God's action and purpose. In this respect we see a marked distinction between Christ and any of

his predecessors or successors. 2.) Connected with this peculiarity is that of the confidence, ease, and naturalness with which these works are performed by Christ, as compared with a kind of difficulty, hesitancy, and struggle often observed in the most conspicuous of the Old Testament miracles. Compare Elijah and Elisha in restoring the dead children to life with the acts of Christ in the cases of the son of the widow of Nain, and of Lazarus; also, that of Moses in the healing of Miriam and the healing of the lepers by Jesus. 3.) The larger and freer character of the works of Christ is also noticeable. His miracles are for the most part upon a greater scale. Furthermore it is observable that most of the workers of miracles before Christ used some material instrument, as a staff or rod, not as having any magical or talismanic influence, but as a symbol to aid the senses in the performance of their work. Nothing of this kind is found in connection with the miracles of Christ. 4.) The miracles of the Old Testament were largely in the sphere of external nature; those of Christ were chiefly in that of humanity. 5.) Finally, the supernatural works of Jesus differed from most of those of the Old Testament in the fact that the former, almost without exception, were in the way of beneficence, while the latter were much more frequently in execution of judgment, or as signs of the divine wrath and indignation against sin.*

What, then, is the apologetic value of the miracles of Jesus to us of this age? Taken by themselves as evidences of the truth of Christianity, we are constrained to regard them as of no value whatever. We have the evidence of "greater works than these" to the truth of this system of religion. To us Christianity proves the miracles rather than the miracles prove Christianity. Says Robertson: "The strongest proof of Christianity is Christianity." To the Jews at the time of the advent it was altogether different. A momentous change was to take place, a great new movement was to be inaugurated. Neither the movement nor the leader in it was unanticipated. They had been foretold and expected for many ages. But how was their arrival to be made known? Miracles to them were indispensable, so far as we can see, both as the fulfillment of prophecy and as credentials of the Messiah. Christ being

* See Trench more fully.

what he was, and Christianity being what it is, it appears impossible that there should have been no miracles. They were demonstrative evidences, then and there, of a new and divine dispensation; but by and of themselves they prove nothing to remote generations.

But though of no essential apologetic value in the nineteenth century, they are of incalculable historical value. They are implied in the very nature of the case; we are compelled to think of them as essential conditions; and they are involved among the fundamental facts of our religion. To deny them or to explain them away is to destroy the credibility of revelation. We may say of them in a general way what Paul has said of the greatest of them all, if they are not facts, "then is our preaching vain, and your faith also is vain." It is this which gives importance to the numerous and successive systems of modern Rationalism. This is the point of concentrated assault by the foes of Christianity. Once do away with the conviction of the supernatural in our religion and its overthrow becomes easy.

Art. III.—MADAGASCAR.

Madagascar, the Great Britain of the Indian Ocean, and the field on which the militant Church has won one of its proudest triumphs, fills a large place in the eye of modern Christendom. Information concerning it is surprisingly abundant. In addition to many books in English and French, numerous papers upon the exploration, natural resources, animal and vegetable life, political and religious condition of the country, have been given to the world. M. Alfred Grandidier's "Histoire Naturelle, Physique, et Politique de Madagascar," in twenty-eight quarto volumes, alone includes almost every thing of scientific worth to be found elsewhere.

Madagascar, the third largest island in the world, is situated in the Indian Ocean, about 300 miles from the south-east corner of the African continent, from which it is separated by the Channel of Mozambique—from 230 to 300 miles across. Its extreme length from north to south is very nearly 1,000 miles. Cape Amber, the northernmost point, is in 12 degrees south

latitude, and the southernmost point at about 25 degrees 35 minutes. The main axis of the island runs from north-north-east to south-south-west. The broadest part, from Cape St. Andrew on the west to Tamatave on the east, is 354 miles. North of this line the shape of the island is that of a long, irregular triangle. Southward the average breadth is about 250 miles. The superficial area embraces nearly 230,000 square miles.

Two thirds of the eastern shore are almost rectilinear, broken by very few inlets. Tamatave and Foul Point, the most frequented ports on this side of the island, are mere open roadsteads, protected by coral reefs. North of these is Antongil Bay, a deep, wide inlet, running 50 miles northwardly. Farther north is Port Louquez; and immediately on the north of the island is Diego Suarez Bay, one of the finest harbors in the world. The north-west coast presents numerous inlets, some land-locked, and of considerable extent. South of these are the bays of Chimpaiky, Pàssandàva, Port Radàma, Narinda, Majámbo, Bembatoka, and Iboina; and the estuaries of a number of rivers. South of Cape St. Andrew, the north-west angle of the island, there is nothing in the shape of a gulf until the bay of St. Augustine is reached. The only indentation on the southern shore is the small bay of Itapéra, near Fort Dauphin on the south-east. The map of James Sibree, Jr., F.R.G.S., prepared from the various maps of naturalists, shows that more than one third of the interior is occupied by a mountainous region, lying to the north and east. Other hilly ranges are found in the west. Around the first, and between it and the latter, are extensive plains, as yet but partially explored.

While the shores of the southern half of the island are low and flat, much of the northern coast is bold and precipitous. The littoral plains on the eastern side vary from 10 to 50 miles in width; those on the western are often 100 miles across. Successive ranges of hills lead from the coast plains to the elevated interior, which is broken up in all directions by mountains. Four peaks of the basaltic Ankàratra Mountains protrude through the gneiss and granite of the great central range and rise to the height of from 8,100 to 8,950 feet above the sea level, and from 3,900 to 4,700 feet above the surface of the circumjacent country. The loftiest of these peaks bears the significant title of Tsi-àfa-jàvona, that is, "that which the mists cannot climb."

To the south of these, in the Bétsiléo province, are very many other imposing peaks, some of which attain to an elevation of nearly 8,000 feet. Farther south, in the Bàra district, the Isàlo Mountains are said by a recent traveler to resemble the "Church Buttes" and other striking features of the scenery on the line of the Union Pacific Railroad. But the most majestic of all the Malagasy mountains is the isolated peak known as Ambòhitra, near the northern extremity of the island. Rising from plains but little above the level of the sea, its grand proportions command notice from every direction, and it is seen far out at sea.

Fertile plains and luxuriant valleys thread this rugged network of volcanic hills and peaks. Those of Bétsimitàtatra in Imérina and Tsiénimparìhy in Bétsiléo yield extraordinary crops of rice. Still more extensive valleys occupy other portions of Madagascar, the central portion of which exhibits a saucer-like depression. As the eastern mountains are the highest, the water-shed on the east is not more than from 50 to 80 miles from the sea. The copious rain-fall on the north and east constantly replenishes the countless springs and streams, and imparts productiveness and verdure to the soil. But in portions of the west, south-west, and south the supply of moisture is inadequate and the land arid. The principal rivers flow into the Mozambique Channel, and are usually choked by sand-bars. They are seldom navigable for more than 30 or 40 miles, except for native canoes. The Betsibòka, on the west, may be ascended by light-draught steamers for about 90 miles, and by smaller craft for 160. The Tsìribìhina is navigable for a long distance, and pours such an immense flood into the sea that its waters are fresh at a distance of three miles from the land. Dense forests, magnificent gorges, rocky bars, and grand cataracts effectually prevent navigation. The Màtitànana descends at one plunge nearly 500 feet. Of the few large lakes in the country the Alàotra is 25 miles, and the Itàsy is about eight miles, long.

The geological structure of Madagascar is easily apprehended. Powerful subterranean action from south-east to north-west and north, along a line whose northern extremity is in the volcanic Comoro Islands, is often experienced. Eruptions have ceased, but numerous extinct craters, cones, and lava masses attest their

former violence. Dr. Mullens counted 100 craters within an area of 90 miles round the mass of Ankàratra. Ambòhitra is an ancient volcano. Columnar basalt, pumice, and volcanic ashes are frequent. Earthquake shocks and thermal springs indicate that in the depths the "wonted fires" are still glowing. In the eastern and central provinces are numerous sulphur springs. The granite, gneiss, and basalt rocks cresting the hills of the upper region often resemble Titanic castles, pyramids, and cathedrals. Madagascar is, geologically, one of the oldest lands on the face of the earth, the island having in the central parts neither stratified nor fossiliferous rocks. The southern and western plains are comparatively recent accretions, and only rise from 300 to 600 feet above the sea level. Belonging to the secondary period, their fossils are of a later age. Abundance of iron, unworked deposits of copper and silver ore, antimony, rock-salt, plumbago, various ochers and colored earths are among the mineral products. Lignite suitable for fuel occurs on the north-west coast, but true coal has not yet been discovered. Bare rolling moors, distinguished by bright red and light brown clays, and rich valleys, whose vegetable soil is of bluish-black alluvium, are general features of the landscape.

Cogent reasons, drawn from the study of ethnography, phi lology, botany, zoology, and geology, have led many scientists to the conclusion that Madagascar and adjacent islands are the remains of a primeval continent that once covered much of that section of the southern hemisphere. From the fact that in southern Africa and south-western Asia occur the only apes known in the world, Professor Winchell infers that these regions are best fitted for the reception of the human animal.

A similar opinion has also been formed, on more general zoological and geological grounds, by M. Milne Edwards, who suggests that what he designates the "Mascavene continent" has disappeared from a region situated south-east of Africa. More recently the eminent English ornithologist, Sclater, has given the name Lemuria to a supposed obliterated land, including the Mascavene continent of Milne Edwards, and stretching across the Indian Ocean to Ceylon and Sumatra, and including the Laccadives and Maldives.

The wide distribution, in southern latitudes, of various species of *Phycosperma*, all very difficult of dissemination, in the

opinion of the botanist Beccari, makes it necessary that we should "assume the former existence of obliterated lands in the very region where the Indian Ocean, with its storms and tempests, is to-day exclusive monarch—exactly in the region where we must locate the hypothetical Lemuria in order to explain the otherwise incomprehensible facts of the geographical distribution of animals."

Dr. Winchell acknowledges that geologists were mistaken in asserting the remote antiquity of man because the extinct mammoth and cave bear have been his contemporaries, and concedes that extinction of species are not necessarily remote in time.

The European *urus*, the Arctic *manatee*, the *Balœna biscayensis*—a whale which was once the basis of a flourishing industry on the coasts of France and Spain—the American mammoth, and the Irish elk, have all ceased to exist within the human period. "Species are constantly dropping out of existence" as environment becomes unfavorable to their continuance. Similar conditions of floral or faunal life in different parts of the earth are accompanied by the same or similar forms.

In the high interior of Madagascar the climate is temperate and salubrious. The hot and rainy season lasts from November to April, the cool and dry from April to November. The average annual mean temperature on the east coast is 77 or 78 degrees Fahrenheit, the range being from 70 degrees at sunrise to 86 degrees in the afternoon. The temperature of Antanànarivo, the capital, is like that of Palermo or Naples. The vapor-laden trade-winds deposit much moisture on the east coast. Drained almost dry by the central mountains, they have but little left for precipitation on the western shores. Terrific thunder-storms are, with intense lightning, of frequent occurrence. Malarial fevers, of deadly and malignant type, are prevalent on the low-lying coasts, and are as fatal to natives of the elevated provinces as to Europeans.

The vegetable growth of the island is remarkably luxuriant. An almost unbroken belt of dense forest, at no great distance from the sea, encircles the interior. On the north-west two lines of it overlap for a hundred miles, and leave an opening seventy miles wide between them. This unique arboreal girdle is from fifteen to twenty miles in width, but reaches forty miles on the north-east. ' Containing a large variety of hard-wood

and valuable timber trees, as well as numerous species of palm, bamboo, tree fern, euphorbia, pandanus, baobab, tamarind, etc., besides ferns, of which two hundred and fifty species have been collected, and some of which are filmy and viviparous, and also many interesting orchids, their forests are one of the principal sources of wealth to the inhabitants.

The number of known floral genera is about seven hundred, of which eighty are supposed to be endemic. But as yet the flora is not half-known. Of spiny and prickly plants there is large variety; also of grasses, reeds, and rushes, many of which are of excellent service in native manufactures.

Rev. Mr. Ellis, who spent some years in the island, writes, in his "History of Madagascar:"

> One of the most beautiful things to be found in Madagascar is its grass. This covers many thousands of square miles. It is beautiful, as it spreads abroad over the open plains, where it is short, compact, and juicy, and supplies abundant nourishment to the great herds which the nobles of the land send to fatten upon what costs them nothing. It is beautiful in the sheltered valleys, where the soft, tender blades, enriched by the pearly dew and the gentle rain, are refreshing to the eye, and yield like velvet beneath the foot. . . . Burned year after year by long, sweeping fires, it springs up again with a profusion and a fullness which clasp huge rocks within its soft embrace. Here it is short but strong; there it rises into vast tufts, each of which contains many thousand blades, and covers many feet of ground; and yet again it spreads over vast patches of country in thick, tall masses, which tower above men's heads, open their tinted blades to the warm sun, and wave their myriads of golden feathers in the summer winds. —Vol. ii, p. 458.

Rice is the staff of life to the Malagasy. Maize, millet, manioc, yams, and sweet potatoes are indigenous. The common potato is an exotic. Many species of vegetables and fruits have been introduced by Europeans. Gum, copal, and caoutchouc are exported in considerable quantities, and are among the commodities that promise to become the source of future national prosperity.

The ornithology of Madagascar, although richer than the mammals, lacks the largest and most brilliantly colored birds. Of its more than 220 species, nearly one half are peculiar to the island. Some of the birds are of such peculiar structure that they puzzle the ornithologists, and make it extremely difficult

to classify them. Lakes and streams are alive with water-fowl. Four or five centuries ago this insular country was the home of the *Æpyornis*, a member of the ostrich family, whose eggs, found in a sub-fossil state, are 12¼ by 9⅛ inches in size. This singular bird is now extinct. Deadly serpents are unknown. Two or three small species of boa occur. Crocodiles are excessively numerous in the lakes and rivers, are ferocious and dangerous, and scarcely compensate for their ravages by the supply of their eggs for the food of the natives. Feared by the heathen as beings possessed of supernatural power, the people "invoke their forbearance with prayers, or seek protection by charms, rather than attack them. Even the shaking of a spear over the waters would be regarded as an act of sacrilegious insult to the sovereign of the flood, imperiling the life of the offender the next time he should venture on the water." The Christianized natives have lost all superstitious dread of the brute, and do not hesitate to attack and destroy him. Crocodiles' teeth are worn as charms. Lizards, chameleons, and tree-frogs inhabit the woods. Several peculiar tortoises attract curiosity. The gigantic species, however, has almost if not quite ceased to exist, and is now mainly found upon the little island of Aldebra to the north. Insects are multitudinous. Splendidly colored beetles, butterflies, moths, spiders, locusts, and also noxious spiders, scorpions, and centipedes, interest and delight the naturalist. The entire Madagascar fauna is strongly individualized, and corresponds with its geological singularities and isolation from other zoological regions. The Asiatic and Malayan affinities of the animals, coupled with the physical conditions of the bed of the Indian Ocean in that section of the globe, induced A. R. Wallace to accept the theory that Madagascar is the chief relic of an archipelago or continent still slowly sinking beneath the waves.

The population of the island is known collectively as the Malagasy, and is variously estimated at from 2,500,000 to 5,000,000. These are divided into numerous tribes, each of which has its own name and customs. Near as they are to Africa, they are not African, but belong to the Malayo-Polynesian stock. Physical similarities, mental habits, customs, and language—the latter particularly—unite to establish this relationship. Tradition leads to the same conclusion. African

immigration has modified the tribes on the western side, and Arab blood has been infused into those on the north-west and south-east coasts. The different Malagasy tribes preserve traditions of an earlier people called Vazimba, whose alleged graves, covered by small shapeless heaps of stone, are scattered over the bare downs of Imérina. The superstitious fear of the Hòva forbids the exploration of these African "barrows." When further enlightenment permits investigation it will probably be found that the Vazimba were a tribe allied to the Kìmos and Bélòsy, aborigines of low stature, and resembling in other physical characteristics the Bushmen of southern Africa. Dr. Mullens maintains that "they were a true Malagasy people," with "nothing African about them."

On the east of the island are the Bétsimisàraka, Bezànozàno, Tanàla, Taisàka, Taimòro, and others; in the center, the Sihànaka, Hòva, Bétsiléo, Bàra, etc.; in the west, the generic Sàkalàva—so called from the conquering tribe, although the vanquished retain their own proper names and individuality. The Hòva, occupying the central province of Imérina, are the dominant tribe. These are held to be the latest immigrants. Lighter in color, they are certainly far in advance of their countrymen in point of intelligence and civilization. Starting in the south-east, they have pushed their conquests over most of the island, and are manifestly destined to be the ruling race. As a whole, says Mullens, "the Malagasy are a Malay people, following Malay customs, some of them possessing Malay eyes and hair and features, and all of them speaking a Malay tongue at the present hour."

The language of the Malagasy is substantially one throughout the country. Dialectic differences of vocabulary and pronunciation are marked, but there are no traces of any distinctively different speech.

Some of the words of this widely extended language are said to be identical with the Sanskrit, others with the Hebrew and Arabic. The Malagasy was probably derived from a language, rich, flexible, and exact, spoken by an intellectual people whose culture it reflected. This seems to have been the opinion of many able scholars who have studied the migrations of the races.

Destitute of written characters, excepting some rude attempts at picture-drawing found near St. Augustine's Bay, the Malagasy

had no manuscripts, inscriptions, or books until their language was reduced to writing by English missionaries over sixty years ago. In many of its verbal and other forms it is very copious, but it has also some curious deficiencies. Full of vowels and liquids, and free from all harsh gutturals, it is very soft and musical. Native oratory is affluent in figures, metaphors, and parables. Folk-tales, songs, legends, and very numerous proverbs attest the intellectual power and imaginative faculty of the people.

The Malagasy have never fallen into the depths of savagery and barbarism, and are wholly free from the cannibal practices of allied peoples. Endowed with strong tribal instincts, they are loyal and law-abiding. Living in settled communities, in villages often skillfully fortified, and under the patriarchal government of chiefs and elders, they present fewer difficulties to evangelization than do the nomadic races. In Imérina the Hòva are divided into three great classes: the Andrìana, or nobles; the Hòva, freemen, or commoners; and the Andèvo, or slaves. The Andrìana are really royal clans, descendants of the petty kings and nobles who succumbed to the power of the present reigning dynasty. Resembling the *boyars* of Russia, and the *noblesse* of France, they are entitled to certain honors in virtue of origin; for example, special terms of salutation, the use of the smaller scarlet umbrella, the right to build a particular kind of tomb, exemption from certain kinds of government service, and from sundry punishments for crime. Of the six ranks of Andrìana, besides the royal clan, many members hold estates by a kind of feudal tenure from the sovereign. Often segregated in separate communities, and monopolizing some of the handicrafts, they are frequently very poor, and exhibit no outward distinctions between themselves and the people at large. The Hòva, or commoners, compose the mass of the freemen, and consist of a large number of tribes, whose members usually intermarry so as to keep property and land together. They may, like the Andrìana, be either civilians or of the military class. The third social division includes the slaves. Up to 1877 these consisted, first, of the offspring of the Hòva, or freemen, reduced to slavery for debt, or for political or criminal offenses; second, the Andèvo, or slaves proper, descendants of the Malagasy tribes subdued and enslaved by the Hòva;

third, the Mozambiques, or African slaves, and their descendants, imported in Arab slaving dhows. These in 1877 were liberated and mainly reckoned with the Hòva, or freemen. Hòva, in the widest sense of the term, means the entire population of Imérina. Malagasy chieftainship and royalty retain semi-sacred character. In life, the heathen chief is the high-priest of his people, and after death he is worshiped as a god.

Arab connection with Madagascar began at a very remote epoch. Adventurers made settlements in the north-west and south-east of the island. In the latter section a few of their descendants still preserve some little knowledge of the Arabic tongue. The ruling clans of the Tanàla and other tribes in the district are evidently of Arabian extraction. Amalgamation with the mass of the population is, however, almost complete. In the north-west the large Arab colonies seated in the ports of Amòrontsànga, Mòjangà, Màrovoày, and Mòrondàva, retain their distinctive nationality, together with their dress, habits, houses, worship, and language. In earlier times the Arabs exerted powerful influence upon the Malagasy. Many words from the Arabic are found in the native tongue. Among them are the names of the months, and days of the week; terms used in astrology and divination, some forms of salutation, words for dress and bedding, money, musical instruments, books, writing, and many miscellaneous terms. In the north-west of the island there is also a large Hindu element in the population. In some towns it is quite as conspicuous as the Arabic constituent. Hindu dress, ornaments, food, music, and language are special features in the social life of these places. Intercourse is now, and has been for centuries, kept up between India and northern Madagascar. The introduction of Christianity, followed by foreign commerce, has already modified the social constitution of the Malagasy people, and will inevitably lead to still further changes.

Rice culture is necessarily the principal industrial pursuit. Remarkable engineering talent has been developed through ages of thoughtful devotion to it. As in nearly all barbarous and semi-civilized countries, women do much of the hard labor. Rice, roots, vegetables, and fish are the chief articles of diet. Occasionally flesh from the fine herds of humped cattle, found all over the country, is added. "Give to the Malagasy," says

Mullens, "rice and gravy, gravy and rice, and they desire little more."

In 1853 the average price of a good ox was five dollars; eight or ten turkeys could be bought for a dollar, and a score or couple of dozen fowls for the same sum. The schedule of prices is probably still about the same.

The manufacture of textile fabrics is one of the most important industries. Women spin and weave, and by the simplest means produce strong, durable cloths of silk, cotton, hemp, ròfia palm, aloe, and banana fiber of elegant patterns and tasteful colors. Mats and baskets of delicate fineness, hats like those of Panama, and rush mattings are also fabricated. The use of vegetable fibers for clothing is another strong link connecting the islanders with the Polynesian race, and differentiates them from the skin-clad tribes of South Africa. The *salàka*, a loin-cloth for men, and the *kitàmby*, or apron, folded round the body from waist to heel, for women, are covered in both sexes by the *làmba*, a large square of cloth of different materials, folded round the body, something like a Roman toga. The large white *làmba*, bordered with the *akotso*, or fine, broad stripes, is the distinctive badge of the Hòva. The hair of all the Hòva of pure blood is black and smooth, rich and glossy. The former custom of ladies used to divide it into twenty or more sections, plaited together and tied up into a small bow. Different fashions prevailed in different tribes, but being found inconsistent with cleanliness and comfort, many of these have been abandoned, and the Anglo-Saxon plan of daily dressing the hair adopted.

Artistic genius is common among the Malagasy. Even the heathen are skillful metal-workers, and by means of the rudest tools manufacture fine silver chains and filagree ornaments of gold and silver. The introduction of European artisans has still further improved mechanical talent. Their work in iron, copper, and brass is excellent. Every thing made by foreigners is successfully imitated. European ideas are quickly seized and adopted, and considerable power of invention is also exemplified. Domestic architecture is various. To the dark-skinned tribes, inhabiting the hot, saline plains on the coast, the *pandanus* is invaluable. Most of the Hòva houses are constructed of hard-red clay, with high-pitched roofs, thatched with grass

or rushes. The chiefs and rich men build houses of framed timber, covered with massive upright planking, and having lofty roofs of shingle or tile.

Antanànarìvo, the capital, is not only the largest city in the island, but it contains the most inhabitants. Here the old timber and brush houses have nearly all been replaced by much larger and more substantial ones of sun-dried brick and stone, constructed in European fashion. A group of royal palaces crowns the summit of the ridge on which the city is built. Four handsome stone memorial churches, with spires or towers, mark the spots where the Christian martyrs suffered. Other notable buildings are the Chapel Royal, the Norwegian and Roman Catholic churches, the London Missionary Society's college, the London Missionary Society's and Friends' normal schools, mission hospitals, the court of justice, and numerous large Congregational churches of sun-dried brick.

Antanànarìvo is computed to contain 100,000 inhabitants; Mòjangà, 14,000; Tamatave, 6,000; Fianàrantsòa, the chief Bétsiléo town, about 6,000; Ambòhimànga, the old capital of Imérina, about 5,000. Few other towns have so large a population as the last. The country, as a whole, is comparatively and painfully empty, and is densely peopled in only two or three districts. The Hòva and Bétsiléo used to build their villages on the summits of lofty hills, and encircle them with a concentric series of deep fosses for the sake of safety. Prickly pear or thorny mimosa fences still inclose villages and homesteads in other districts. Sanitation is unknown. Rotting refuse is the cause of fever and other diseases.

Fearing foreign invasion the rulers have purposely refused to improve the means of internal communication. These could not well be worse than they are. There was not, a few years ago, and is not now so far as our information extends, a single road in the modern sense of the word in this vast island. Wheeled vehicles are unknown.

Canoes and porters being the only internal vehicles of commerce, all mercantile operations are conducted with difficulty. Cattle for export are driven to the sea-coast, whence they are taken to Mauritius and other islands. Hydraulic engineering is needed to increase harbor accommodation, and railroads to evoke the amazing resources of the country. Its native

products may be raised in indefinite quantities, and an equally indefinite demand for articles of foreign manufacture may be created. Madagascar has no native coinage. The French five-franc piece, or dollar, is the standard of value. All coins less than these are obtained by cutting them into all shapes and sizes, even to $\frac{1}{720}$ of the original.

The natural facilities for foreign commerce have not hitherto been utilized by the Malagasy. At present there is no harbor south of Tamatave, which for that reason must continue to be the principal port on the east coast. Open roadsteads, exposed to winds and currents, are so dangerous that underwriters refuse to insure vessels having no better protection. Inside the reefs, on which they are so often wrecked, and which have been cast up in the ceaseless conflict between the rivers and the ocean waves, is sufficient accommodation for the navies of the world, provided sufficient inlets were constructed and the engineering schemes of King Radàma executed. Thirty miles of canalization would complete a harbor—now of river and again of lake-like expansion—extending for 200 miles along the coast. French ambition and aggression are to blame for the slow development of trade with Madagascar. The occupation of Majunga, and the bombardment of Tamatave and other places have both retarded it. All attempts to convert the island into a French dependency are flagrantly wicked and doomed to failure.

Before the advent of missionaries, the Malagasy were what the Germans call a nature-people. As heathens, they had neither temples nor stated seasons of devotion; neither priesthood nor any organized religious system or form of worship. The existence of the Supreme Being, called Andriamànitra, "*The Fragrant One*," and Zànahàry, "*The Creator*"—words in vogue all over the island—had always received distinct recognition. Proverbial sayings enforce many of the truths of natural religion, such as the attributes of God. Fetichism, or belief in charms as having power to protect from certain evils, and to procure various benefits, was their religion. Four of five of these charms were each called "god" by the Hòva, and were honored as national deities. On all public occasions they were brought out to sanctify the proceedings. Belief in witchcraft, sorcery, divination, lucky and unlucky times and

seasons, ancestor-worship, and ordeals for the detection of crime, characterized the Malagasy. These are still prevalent among the unevangelized tribes. Sacrifices of fowls and sheep are made as thanksgivings and propitiatory offerings. Human sacrifices are sometimes offered in the southern districts. The New Year's festival among the Hòva is almost peculiar to that tribe. At general circumcisions, practiced every few years by royal command, general rejoicing, drunkenness, and licentiousness prevail. Funerals are times of great feasting. Idol-keepers, diviners, day-declarers, and others connected with heathen customs, constitute the nearest approach to a priesthood. Morals correspond to this religion, such as it is. The non-evangelized natives are impure, in some places shamelessly indecent, and in all untruthful and cruel. Yet the position of woman in society—Madagascar having had female sovereigns for nearly half a century—is much higher than in most pagan lands. Infanticide, under the most unfeeling and abominable forms, was formerly the general practice. Death in shocking shapes was inflicted for trifling offenses. Drunkenness was prevalent, and persistent industry very infrequent. For the courage and loyalty of the chiefs, the brief energy of the people, firmness in friendship, kindness to relatives, respect for old age, politeness and courtesy, and hospitality to strangers, the Malagasy, as compared with other pagans, are remarkable. Slavery, as it existed and still exists among them, was seldom either cruel or oppressive.

The multitudinous literature to which we have adverted reveals the causes of religious, moral, political, and commercial changes among this extraordinary people. The history of Madagascar presents few features of interest until the first half of the seventeenth century, when the French and English attempted to colonize the island about the same time. For more than a thousand years it had been known to the adventurous Arabs, and for many centuries to the enterprising Indian traders of Cutch and Bombay. Nor is it at all improbable that the Phenician merchants were acquainted with it through their "ships of Tarshish." 1 Kings x, 22. The classical writers mention it under various names. Marco Polo, the celebrated Venetian traveler, first revealed its existence to modern European nations in the thirteenth century. His account of the

rukh, or gigantic bird, indigenous to it, was long ridiculed as a traveler's fable, but within the past few years was seen to have a basis of fact in the now extinct *Æpyornis*. On the 1st of February, 1506, Fernando Soares, while on his way to Portugal in command of the eight spice ships of Francisco de Almeida, caught sight of the east coast of the island. In the same year Joăs Gomez d'Abreu discovered the west coast on the 10th of August, St. Lawrence's Day; from which circumstance it received the designation of San Lorenço. Tristran da Cunha also visited and made a chart of part of the coast. But the Portuguese had too many possessions in heathen lands to allow of any permanent occupation of Madagascar. From 1595 to 1598 the Dutch had some little intercourse with it, but with no profit to themselves. Nor did the French and English fare much better in subsequent attempts at colonization. Robert Drury, an English lad, who was shipwrecked on the south-west coast in 1702, and afterward detained as a slave for fifteen years, was the first author who gave authentic information about the inhabitants, their customs and superstitions.

Madagascar had always been portioned out by many indigenous tribes until a period about two hundred and thirty years ago, when the Sàkalàva, a small but warlike people, advanced from their home in the south-west, and conquered the western and also some northern and central clans. Founding two kingdoms, they retained supremacy up to the close of the eighteenth century, when the Hòva of Imérina, under the warlike Andrianimpòina, and Radàma, his son, rebelled and established a nominal suzerainty over the Sàkalàva, vanquished the surrounding tribes, and made themselves the virtual masters of the whole island. The Hòva authority is now supreme over the central and eastern provinces, and nominal over much of the western. In the south-west the people are practically independent, and live under their own kings or chieftains.

Radàma I. (1810–28) claimed the sovereignty of the whole country, although controlling only about two thirds of it, by right of conquest. Shrewd, aggressive, and indomitable, he was a Malagasy Peter the Great. Perceiving that education and civilization are essential to national progress, by treaty with the Governor of Mauritius he abolished the exportation of slaves, and received in return a compensative annual grant of

arms, ammunition, and uniforms for his troops. English officers disciplined the latter. Thus assisted, he extended and consolidated his authority, cruelly enough, but with salutary results. Native youths were sent to Mauritius, and others to England, for education and instruction in some of the arts of civilization, and in seamanship. Mr. Hastie, the British agent resident at his court, wielded unusual influence over the monarch, and accomplished much for the material progress of the country.

In 1820 the agents of the London Missionary Society began their labors at the capital, reduced the language to a systematic written form, introduced the art of printing, translated and published the Holy Scriptures and other books, gathered numerous schools, and organized several Christian congregations. They also imparted knowledge of many of the useful arts, discovered valuable natural productions, and taught their preparation and manufacture to the people. The spread of religious and secular knowledge broke the spell of deadly superstition, and the Malagasy awoke to a new and inextinguishable spiritual life. Radàma died at the age of thirty-six. The loss of his keen good sense proved to be an irreparable calamity to his people. Ràvavàlona, one of his wives, succeeded to the throne. Superstitious, immoral, despotic, and suspicious, she aimed a terrible blow at Christianity. In 1835 the profession of it was declared to be illegal, all worship was prohibited, and Christian books were ordered to be given up. By the middle of 1836 the last English missionary had left the island. A twenty-five years' persecution followed. The formal charges preferred against the Christians in 1835 were:

1. They despise the idols; 2. They are always praying; 3. They will not swear, but merely affirm; 4. Their women are chaste; 5. They are of one mind with regard to their religion; and, 6. They observe the Sabbath as a sacred day.

These accusations appear to have been strictly true, but they redound to the highest credit of the accused. Like Daniel, no fault could be found with them, except it were concerning the law of their God.

The scenes witnessed in the great African island, during this protracted and bloody persecution, exhibit a striking resemblance to those enacted in different parts of the Roman Empire under the Pagan emperors. The accusations, the cruel

outrages, the judicial murders by the authorities, the calmness, joy, and consistency of martyrs and confessors, all proceeded from the same sources as those of the early Church. This fiery trial culminated in 1849. From two thousand to three thousand Christians were fined, sold into slavery, poisoned, flogged, speared, burned alive, or thrown down the lofty precipice of the Malagasy Tarpeian rock at Antanànarìvo. The number of those who were "faithful unto death" has not been accurately ascertained: they were counted by thousands. But their record is on high, and their witness is with God.

The effect of these sanguinary severities on the people was deplorable. Governmental oppression provoked frequent rebellion, distant provinces were desolated by destructive wars, Europeans were excluded from the country, commerce with foreign nations came to an end. Cessation of the latter was due to an ill-judged attack on Tamatave in 1846 by one British and two French ships of war, designed to avenge wrongs inflicted upon foreign traders. But the leaven of Christianity could not be expunged. It was that which preserved Madagascar from utter corruption. To use the words of Tertullian, it was "the red rain that made the harvest grow." Besides the many who were martyred, hundreds were expatriated. These went every-where, "preaching the word." Twenty-five years afterward it was found that the number of professing Christians had increased, despite the persecutions, from twenty to thirty fold.

Intrigue and conspiracy against the queen, in which Madame Ida Pfeiffer and other foreigners were inculpated, recoiled on the plotters, who were punished by exposure to deadly malaria and banishment from the country. In 1861 Rànavàlona died, and Radàma II. ascended the throne. Missionary labors recommenced, foreign trade sprang up again, and the younger, more intelligent, and influential people identified themselves with Christianity. But French intriguers essayed to subject the sovereign by treaty stipulations. This fact, together with the vices and insane follies into which he fell, occasioned his murder in 1863. Queen Rasòhérina, his wife, succeeding him, refused to ratify his agreement with the French, and preferred to pay them one million francs by way of indemnity. Steady advance in education, civilization, and treaty relations with the

French, British, and American governments illustrated her five years' reign. In 1868 Ràvanàlona II. assumed the scepter. One of her first acts was the public recognition of Christianity, which had acquired such tremendous momentum that her politic counselors advised her to place herself at its head. The idols were contemptuously ignored; but the Bible "occupied a conspicuous place close to the queen's right hand, while on the canopy over her head there were written in large characters words taken from the angelic hymn: 'Glory to God,' 'Peace on earth,' 'Good-will to men.' A new era had that day been inaugurated. In February, 1869, the queen and her husband, the prime minister, were baptized in presence of a multitude of the chief people of Madagascar; public worship was celebrated in one of the royal houses, and the foundation of the Chapel Royal was laid in the palace yard. In September of the same year all the idols in the central provinces were committed to the flames. The population willingly placed themselves under Christian instruction. Since then the London Missionary Society and the Friends' Foreign Mission Association have been the most forceful agents in effecting wonderful melioration.

With a people like the Malagasy, accustomed to move in crowds, and to follow implicitly any thing which is favored by their rulers, the effects of this government patronage may be easily imagined. The immediate results were an enormous numerical increase in the attendance upon Christian services; every chapel was crowded to excess; new places of worship were hastily erected in every village; the people eagerly came forward to be baptized and to become church members; and every missionary was pressed with work and felt overwhelmed with the responsibility thrown upon him. The number of congregations in the central province of Imérina increased in two years more than tenfold, and the attendants upon public worship in a somewhat less proportion; in fact, almost the whole population of Imérina professed themselves to be Christians.—SIBREE, pp. 252, 253.

Many of these eager converts were undoubtedly the subjects of regenerating grace, but more were actuated by motives of courtliness and policy. With equal readiness they would have professed Roman Catholicism or Mohammedanism had their rulers set the example. The missionaries of the Friends and of the London Missionary Society, working together in loving

concert, grouped the rural congregations into districts, introduced judicious discipline, and devoted themselves to instruction and pastoral supervision. The improvement of their flocks became markedly manifest. A dirty hemp or rofia làmba constitutes all the clothing for which an ordinary heathen Malagasy has any desire. But among the Christians "every woman must have her neat jacket and skirt of print or other stuff, and the men their shirts and pantaloons, as well as the flowing outer dress, or làmba (common to both sexes), of European calico." This fact indicates the intimate relation that Christianity sustains to manufactures and commerce. Consular returns prove that every missionary is worth $50,000 annually to European and American trade. In Madagascar his commercial value is rapidly rising, and in 1880 represented from $10,000 to $15,000 per annum of foreign imports.

The erection of the Martyr Memorial Churches (1864–1874) greatly stimulated the building art. Instead of being crowded into the single room of a wood or rush house, a Malagasy family now has in many cases two or three separate sleeping places. Further progress is undoubtedly desirable, but not more so than in the domicile of the British laborer, or in the New York tenement-house. Chastity and purity are held in increasingly high estimation. Polygamy is at an end in Iméerina, and divorce is becoming infrequent. The sanctity of the marriage tie is appreciated, and Church censure of those who fail to respect it raises it ever higher in popular estimation. The observance of the Sabbath is secured by making it a legal day of rest. All public work is forbidden by the government; all markets are closed, public worship is encouraged by example, and public business is not transacted with unfaithful representatives of Christian powers. In all these particulars the new-born Christian nation is an example to those whose profession antedates its own by many centuries. Nor is it less so in relation to the vice of intemperance. Very stringent laws against the manufacture in or importation of ardent spirits into the central province are rigidly enforced. Inability alone prevents similar enforcement on the eastern coast, where English and French traders debauch and destroy the poor natives by yearly pouring upon it thousands of gallons of rum. "Civilization without religion," as Mr. Sibree remarks, "means

rum, rifles, and the vices of the Europeans." Religion—the religion of Christ—is alone the creator and conservative force of true civilization.

Cruel punishments for political and other offenses have fallen into disuse. So thoroughly has the kind and merciful spirit of the Gospel infused itself into the Hòva that in the last expedition against the Sàkalàva, in 1873, one of the divisions of the army returned without firing a shot, or taking a single life. Yet it thoroughly accomplished its mission. More than that, it conciliated the rebels by furnishing the best possible market for the sale of their produce, and by proclaiming to them, at the Lord's day worship held morning and evening in the camp, the glad tidings of salvation. "What is this religion which leads the Imérina people not to enslave us any more and take us away by force?" inquired the Sàkalàva; and they were answered, "Because Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Redeemer of men, has given the Gospel to teach mankind to show mercy." The military expedition became a missionary expedition.

Too much is often anticipated from a lately redeemed people. Ten or ten times ten years are but a brief period in which to eradicate the evils, vices, and cruelties of uncounted centuries. Change is frequently on the surface; the leaven has not penetrated the depths. England once was papal or Protestant by turns, as royalty led the way. Can more be justly expected of Madagascar? It was only when multitudes were made "partakers of the divine nature" that England refused to tread in the footsteps of the Stuarts; and it is only when equal relative numbers of the Malagasy are "joined to the Lord in one spirit" that we may look for sturdy steadfastness and growth. Only one fourth of the Malagasy tribes have been affected hitherto; but from that fourth are radiating influences that will eventually transform the whole.

The College at Antanànarìvo, first called the London Missionary Society Theological Institution, was commenced in April, 1869, and was intended to meet a sorely felt necessity. The native Church then contained more than 200 pastors and 1,800 lay preachers. To these most of the preaching was perforce committed. That preaching was of the best quality at their command, but the best was very poor. In 1876 the usefulness

of the institution was extended by opening its doors to lay as well as ministerial students. The length of the course is four years for candidates for the ministry and three for seculars.

The subjects of study for all alike are grammar, geography (general and physical), arithmetic, algebra, Euclid, logic, simple lessons in mental and moral philosophy, the English language, and Old and New Testament history. Besides these more general subjects, the candidates for the ministry are taught historical, dogmatic, and exegetical theology, Church history, and homiletics; whilst the secular students study ancient and modern history, and the elements of physical science, besides paying more attention to the English language. . . . An annual meeting of missionaries, old students, and students still in the college pleasantly ends the year. ("Ten Years in Madagascar.")

More than 100 students have been trained and sent out into the ministry, and many others have been called to the incumbency of posts under the government. Carefully educated native teachers have become assistants in the work of instruction.

The queen and prime minister have sympathized most heartily with these efforts to enlighten and instruct the people, and have done all in their power to insist upon the necessity for education. The result has been an increase in the number of schools from 359 at the end of 1870 to 862 ten years after, in which 43,904 children are receiving a good elementary education. And there are now upward of 26,000 adults able to read. ("Report of the London Missionary Society," 1881.)

Mr. Shaw now (1885) writes:

From a schedule issued by the government, we find that after the completed registration there are 1,167 schools and 150,906 scholars, divided among the various societies thus:

	Schools.	Scholars.
London Missionary Society and Friends' Foreign Missionary Association	818	105,516
Norwegian Missionary Society	117	27,909
French Jesuit Mission	191	14,960
Society for the Propagation of the Gospel	41	2,521

Not less than 1,500,000 copies of publications of various kinds had been issued from the printing-press in the decade prior to 1881. But the arrival in February, 1874, of the Bible in the Malagasy language, supplied by the British and Foreign Bible Society at the low price of one shilling (or twenty-four cents) per copy, was the great event in the literary history of the country. The anxiety to obtain it was fully equal to that

of the American people to secure copies of the Revised Version of the New Testament from importers in New York a few years ago.

> The news was announced in the numerous chapels throughout the country, and was received with great delight. For several weeks a large portion of the missionaries' time was occupied in selling Bibles. Some of the people came many miles with their shilling, in order to purchase a *Baiboly tapitra* (complete Bible). An edition of 20,000 of these shilling Bibles has been all but exhausted within the last six years. ("Ten Years in Madagascar.")

The statistics of the Malagasy Christians in ecclesiastical connection with the London Missionary Society (including four missionaries of the Friends' Association) in 1882, give the following totals: English missionaries, 28 (now 29); native ordained ministers, 64; native preachers, 4,134; church members, 71,585; native adherents, 244,197 (over 300,000 in 1885); schools, 862; scholars, 43,968; fees and local contributions, about $20,000. ("Report of London Missionary Society," 1882.)

These are exceedingly gratifying facts; and, notwithstanding the superficial character of much of the work indicated, still point out most marvelous results of evangelical enterprise. The dissenting Churches of Great Britain and Ireland have hitherto had the Christian good sense not to interfere with the Congregationalists in their blessed operations. The Friends work in unison with them. The same cannot be said of the Episcopalians. The "Church Missionary Society" wisely withdrew from the island in order to avoid confusion; but, in marked contrast to their discretion, the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts" sent a missionary-bishop to Antanànarivo, and is doing its utmost to disturb the minds of the people by settling down in the very districts most thoroughly worked by the agents of the London Missionary Society. Bishop K. Kestrel-Cornish, in his report for the year 1881, complains of the opposition of those upon whose foundation he was endeavoring to raise his own superstructure. He reports the erection of three churches and three schools at the capital, and of a college at Ambatoharanana, in which a number of boys, some of whom were of high rank, were being very carefully educated. He hopes "eventually to bring the native Church of Madagascar to the condition of a pure branch of the

Church Catholic." Twelve clergymen, including himself, and forty-five foreign and native teachers, were then toiling toward this end.

Their claim to the title of the "Church Catholic" is zealously disputed by the Jesuit missionaries, who, in Madagascar as in the South Seas, have won unenviable notoriety as the bitterest adversaries of evangelical Christianity. With persistent energy, worthy of a better cause, and by bribery and other unfair means, they have striven and still strive to injure the work of the Protestants, extend their own influence, and make themselves the masters of Madagascar. Not content with buying the influence of chief men, they also descend to small bribery of the children, lying misrepresentations, hypocritical promises, and interference in the temporary dissensions of the Churches. The world is large enough for all Christian missionaries, if, instead of grasping at territory already occupied, the representatives of the "Catholic Church" and "Roman Catholic Church" would spread out into the heathen regions beyond.

The Norwegian Lutheran missionaries, who entered Madagascar in 1866, under arrangement with their British predecessors, chose the province of Bétsiléo, in which they found willing hearers. In 1870 Lars Dahle, the present superintendent of the mission, established a school for women and girls, and a training school for catechists, in connection with the central representative station at the capital. In 1874 their Church of the Cloven Rock at the same place was dedicated in presence of seventeen Norwegian missionaries laboring in Madagascar. Schools and orphanages multiplied, a mission press was provided, and a seminary for teachers was opened at Masinandreina in 1878. In 1883, out of 35,000 registered scholars, 30,000 were regular attendants. A second training school for teachers was then organized, and more than 500 teachers competent to give instruction in special branches introduced. The medical practice of the mission at Antanànarivo has been exceedingly successful. In two years Dr. Guldberg treated 14,000 patients, and performed many operations. In 1875 a mission among the Sàkalàva on the west coast, with its principal station at Morondava, was begun. Last year it returned 34 Sàkalàva Christians, 60 pupils in the schools, and

claimed credit for having put an end to the local slave-trade. In 1884 the central mission reported 4,861 members, 1,377 catechumens, and 38,000 members of congregations, distributed over 16 stations, in which are 211 houses of worship.

The government of Madagascar is theoretically despotic, but practically limited. Public opinion has gathered force commensurate with the growth of Christianity. New laws receive the united consent of the large *kabarys*, or popular assemblies, through the headmen of the different divisions of native society. This is a revival of the custom in use before the disciplined army of Radàma I. changed the limited monarchy into a despotism. Small garrisons of Hòva troops aid the governors appointed by the queen to uphold her authority in the central and eastern provinces, and also at most of the ports. Much of former dignity and power are left to the chiefs, and are conditioned on the performance of a specified amount of government service, and acknowledgment of the Hòva sovereignty. The prime minister is the husband of her majesty, Ràvàvalona III., as he was of her predecessor, and is virtually the king. Cultured ability and rare sagacity fit him for the office of principal adviser and administrator. To him is attributable the introduction of measures to modify the government, to improve the administration by weakening the oppressive feudal system, to remodel the army, appoint local magistrates and registrars, encourage education, and form a responsible ministry, with departments of justice, war, education, agriculture, commerce, and revenue. Such legislation is necessarily in advance of the conservative habits of the people. Formerly military service was demanded only of certain classes, and that for life, and without pay. Now it is compulsory on all, but for brief periods only. The Hòva army is computed at from 30,000 to 40,000 men, under officers whose military rank is graduated by the number of honors — from two to sixteen. English titles of military office are also used.

Justice hitherto has been administered by unpaid judges, appointed by the sovereign, and sitting in the open air. Crimes against the person are rare; against property — especially cattle-stealing raids among distant tribes — frequent. Revenue is derived from customs duties, first-fruits, fines, confiscations, money-offerings, called *hàsina*, to the queen and

her representatives, and levies upon the people for state necessities. Unpaid labor of all classes for all kinds of public work is also required by the government. English, French, and American consuls are accredited to the Malagasy sovereign, who has a consul in Great Britain and a consular agent in Mauritius.

The chief obstacle to the development and greatness of Madagascar is the hostility of the French. The understanding between their government and that of Great Britain, effected by Lord Clarendon, that each should respect the independence of the island, has not been observed by them. The Jesuits—those busy agents of mischief every-where—instigated France to refuse proffered indemnity for alleged losses of her citizens, and to demand submission to French protectorate, and governance by French officers. Prompt but courteous refusal was answered by the bombardment of Tamatave and other ports in June, 1883. For the injury that British subjects suffered thereby France was subsequently obliged to apologize and pay. The Jesuit missionaries and other French subjects were ordered to leave Antanànarivo, allowed five days for the disposal or removal of their effects, and provided with sustenance and transportation to the French lines. This magnanimity was in striking contrast with the ruthless violence of the French, who drove the Hòva out of Tamatave at an hour's warning, and then seized all their goods.

Every effort that Christian good sense could devise had previously been made to come to an amicable understanding with the French Republic. In 1882 Queen Ràvavàlona II. sent embassadors of the highest rank to the governments of France, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States of America to protest against the proceedings of the French officers, and to ask for treaties with and protection from French aggression. In this they were largely successful. The treaty with the United States was ratified in March, 1883. By its terms the Hòva is recognized as the only *de facto* organized government upon the island. Provision is made for the protection of our commerce there and of the rights of the Malagasy here.

On the 13th of July, 1883, Queen Ràvavàlona II. died in the faith and hope of the Gospel, and was immediately succeeded by Ràvavàlona III., an equally excellent Christian lady. The

prime minister conducted public affairs until the following November, when the new queen, niece to her predecessor, was crowned. Espousing her, he still governs under her name. Former promise of the national future is not only undimmed, but shines with increasing luster. The extinction of all forms of slavery, the establishment of a regular parliament, and the consolidation of all the tribes in one Christian nationality, are included in the near prospect. The French aggressors, under Admiral Miot, make little or no progress. Re-enforcements are loudly called for. The sacrifice of life and treasure, without any compensation in glory or material results, condemns the invasion in the minds of the French people. The moral convictions of modern civilization are arrayed against it. Madagascar is, and of right ought to be, wholly independent. Black but comely, rejoicing in the light, instinct with Christian forces, and clothing herself with the brightest vesture of modern civilization, she is a welcome addition to the sisterhood of nations.

ART. IV.—THE FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE;

OR, THE STORY OF THE FOURTH CRUSADE.

The Fall of Constantinople. Being the Story of the Fourth Crusade. By EDWIN PEARS, LL.B. Pp. 422. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

THE continued interest manifested by the whole civilized world in the so-called Eastern Question always insures a fair proportion of readers to any book bearing more or less directly upon that subject and having any thing new to say. To the average reader the term Eastern Question calls up simply the Turk and the Russian, and goes no farther back into history than the Crimean War of thirty years ago. There are those, however, who realize that to thoroughly understand the Eastern Question one must go back in the history of the coveted capital of the East, even to a period of at least five centuries before that calamity by which that fair capital fell into the hands of its present rulers.

Such students of history understand that it is not a question alone of "the sick man" of the East. It has a wider scope

and range than even Ottoman imbecility and Muscovite greed. It is a question of Asia and Europe, a question of cults, of barbarism and civilization, of Moslem sensuality and fanaticism, against Christian purity and philanthropy.

To those who wish to study in its widest range this Eastern Question, the present volume will prove very valuable, inasmuch as it covers a period not so fully treated by any English writer, and brings into a concise form materials which have been widely scattered in many libraries, and in different languages. The author, who is a barrister, and who was formerly editor of the "Law Magazine" of London, secretary of the Social Science Congress, and other kindred organizations, has resided for a number of years in Constantinople, and having been appointed by the British government Lecturer on Ancient Roman Law to the student *attachés* of Her Britannic Majesty's Embassy, has made a very complete study of what are technically termed the capitulations, as well as of the various anomalous legal and illegal usages of modern Constantinople, based upon ancient Roman law as modified by Byzantine cunning and Moslem fanaticism. In his study of Byzantine history he became impressed with the conviction that the destruction of the empire of New Rome was virtually accomplished by the Fourth Crusade, that being the event which caused the introduction of the Turks into Europe. "The Fall of Constantinople," therefore, which he has chosen as the title of his book, refers not to the capture of the city by the Turks in the memorable year 1453, but to that capture by the Latin Crusaders in 1204 through which the final subjugation to the Moslem power was rendered possible. His views upon the political aspect of that conquest of Constantinople, and its bearing upon the Eastern Question of to-day, may be clearly understood from the closing sentences of the preface:

> The conquest of Constantinople was the first great blunder committed by the West in dealing with the Eastern Question. That question really means whether Asiatic influences and an Asiatic religion are to be tolerated in Europe. "Europe for the Europeans" might at all times have been its battle-cry. Constantinople had been for centuries the strongest bulwark of defense against Asia. The men of the West had every interest to maintain and strengthen it. Instead of doing so they virtually let loose Asia upon Europe.—Pp. xiii, xiv.

It may at first sight surprise the reader to find that so large a portion—about one half in fact—of the work is taken up with prefatory matter; first we have a full description of the extent of the empire in the twelfth century; then the events which had weakened the empire, such as the attacks by the Seljukian Turks, and attacks from the North, also the internal or dynastic troubles, as well as the attacks from the West by the Normans and others. It will be found, however, that this first half of the book, although rather a long introduction, is nevertheless quite necessary to a thorough understanding of the subject by the general reader. Just as the student is wholly unprepared to comprehend the fall of Constantinople into Moslem hands in 1453 unless he be acquainted with the facts of its fall in 1204, so to comprehend that calamity in all its bearings due attention must be paid to the previous adverse influences which made such a conquest possible.

Our author goes back, indeed, to the period of the Basils, the first of whom came to the throne in 867, and he considers the period from 867 to 1057 as the most flourishing period of the empire of the New Rome, during which the empire gave everywhere signs of good government and great prosperity. The organization of the government of the empire was built upon the solid foundations of Roman administration and of Greek municipal government. From the selection of Byzantium as his capital by Constantine down to 1057 the machine of government had worked steadily and well.

> There had been security for life and property, and a good administration of law under a system of jurisprudence brought, indeed, from Rome, but developed in Constantinople—a system the most complete which the human mind has ever formulated, a system which has been directly copied or adapted by the whole of modern Europe, and which is the foundation of every body of jurisprudence now in use throughout the civilized world.—P. 4.

This very success, in the author's opinion, brought about centralization, which became the bane of the empire by weakening the spirit of municipal life. In the absence of representative institutions, the only government possible over a widely extended territory was absolutism. The rulers looked unfavorably on the municipalities, and tried in various ways, such as the employment of foreign mercenary troops and foreigners

in various offices of the administration, to become more independent of their own subjects. Absolutism thus gradually undermined the municipal spirit, although it was always kept somewhat in check through fear of the masses in the capital. The position of the emperor, associated as he was in the popular mind with divine authority, was somewhat analogous to that of the czar of to-day in the minds of the Russian peasantry. The difference between that idea and the idea of western Europe concerning the divine right of kings was, that in the latter it was claimed that certain families had been divinely chosen as rulers, and that their right was based upon this choice, while the eastern idea was rather that an inspiration or divine authority was granted them upon their appointment. The ruler was called "the Lord's anointed" by the Greek writers of the twelfth century, but not until after he had been anointed; and the people of Constantinople never lost sight of the fact that they had a right to appoint an emperor when there was a vacancy. The author does not attempt to conceal the fact that he is more favorably inclined to the Greeks than some such distinguished writers as Gibbon, Fallmerayer, and Finlay, who have preceded him. In this he follows, we think, the tendency of modern scholarship to give the Greek people more credit than they have hitherto received at the hands of European writers for the preservation of the language and the nobler qualities of their ancestors, as well as the tenets of the Christian faith.

European scholars are beginning to appreciate the fact that the language of Greece to-day is Greek, and the impress of ancient Greece is plainly visible upon the national types to be found among the Greeks of to-day.*

Fallmerayer says:

> In Christian Greece it was not, as in the West, that the spiritual power became *worldly*, but the *worldly* power became *spiritual*. Greece became one vast cloister, and herein lies the secret of the triumph of the crescent over oriental Christendom. The Greek had, in the cultivation of the religious idea, entirely lost the art of war, so that when the brutal Turk, with drawn sword, claimed the heritage of the Palæologi and the Comneni, he found only trembling cowards hoping for some miraculous deliverance. Such was the change wrought in the lapse of time, that the

* Tuckerman's "Greeks of To-day;" Jebb's "Greek Literature."

descendants of those men who at Platæa and Salamis had fought for the freedom of the human race came to think themselves contaminated by the touch of weapons of war, and betook themselves to church ceremonies in order to defend their fatherland against the barbarians.*

Finlay, in his monumental work, says:

Nothing could tend more to give us a correct idea of the real position of the Greek nation at the commencement of the eighth century than a view of the moral condition of the lower orders of the people, but unfortunately all materials, even for a cursory inquiry into this subject, are wanting. The few casual notices which can be gleaned from the Lives of the Saints afford the only authentic evidence of popular feeling. It cannot, however, escape notice that even the shock which the Mohammedan conquests gave to the orthodox Church failed to recall its ministers back to the pure principles of the Christian religion. They continued their old practice of confounding the intellects of their congregations by propagating a belief in false miracles and by discussing the unintelligible distinctions of scholastic theology. From the manner in which religion was treated by the eastern clergy, the people could profit little from the histories of imaginary saints and understand nothing of the doctrines which they were instructed to consider as the essence of their religion. The consequence was, that they began to fall back upon the idle traditions of their ancestors, and to blend the last recollections of paganism with new superstitions derived from a perverted application of the consolations of Christianity.†

To this picture may, perhaps, be added another quotation from Finlay:

The Byzantine Greeks always rejected the idea of progress; the Papal Church gave a progressive impulse to the Christian mind which it did not think of arresting until a century or two later. The Greeks prided themselves on their conservative, or, as they called it, their Roman, spirit. By clinging superstitiously to antiquated formulas they rejected the means of repairing a ruinous political fabric, and refused to better their condition by entering on paths of reform indicated by the western nations, who were already emerging from their social degradation. While the rest of Europe was actively striving to attain a happier future, the Greeks were gazing backward on what they considered a more glorious past. This habit of appropriating to themselves the vanished glories of the Roman Empire, or of ancient Greece, created a feeling of self-sufficiency which repudiated reform in the latter days of the Byzantine Empire, and which has ever since

* Fallmerayer, "Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt."

† Finlay's "History of Greece from its Conquest by the Romans to the Present Time. B. C. 146 to A. D. 1864." 7 vols. Oxford. Vol. i, p. 423.

retarded the progress of the modern Greeks in the career of European civilization.*

The Fourth Crusade took place under the reign of Alexius, brother of Isaac Angelos. Its story is narrated in detail by Nicetas Choniates, who speaks of it as an eye-witness, and whose work is to be considered, perhaps, the most trustworthy of all the historic sources on this subject. It is the Third Book of Nicetas ("De Alex. Comn.," § 8) which treats especially of these facts.

For the narrative of the period immediately preceding the Fourth Crusade perhaps the best original authority is the writer known as William of Tyre, who wrote about 1180. He was a native of Palestine, educated somewhere in Europe, probably in Paris. He himself states that he quitted Syria about the year 1163, in order to pursue his studies. He became afterward an archdeacon, and was tutor to the prince who became King Baldwin IV. He was employed in some important diplomatic affairs, and in 1174 took the title of Archbishop of Tyre. He undertook to write a complete history of Palestine, and, although his work was never completed, breaking off in the twenty-third volume, and cannot be said to be free from error, yet in the vast amount of material employed, and the intimate knowledge of Saracenic life which it displays, it ranks deservedly among the greatest historical works of the age to which it belongs.

The magnificent folio volumes of the collection of oriental and occidental writers upon the Crusades, published in 1875 by the Institute of France,† is of course the great repertory of original authorities upon this prolific subject. Although these same materials have been used to a greater or less extent by Mills in English, by Wilken in German, and by Michaud in French, in their respective histories of the Crusades, and by the smaller popular works of later days, yet the grouping of these facts in the volume before us will be found to be new, and the volume (of 422 pages) will, we doubt not, be welcomed by the critical student as a valuable contribution to the literature of this subject.

The chapter on Christianity and Islam, or rather the one

* Finlay, "History of Greece," vol. iii, p. 280.

† "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades." 1875.

which treats of the weakening of the empire by the attacks of the Seljukian Turks, is well wrought out. It is especially of interest to the Christian reader to note the impression made upon the mind of an experienced jurist, by contact with the highest and most cultivated forms of Mohammedanism, during his residence in the Mohammedan capital. It has come to be the fashion for a certain class of writers to disparage Christianity by writing up Mohammedanism and Buddhism. The ignorance and superstitions, the weaknesses and the vices, of the eastern Christians have been dwelt upon, and even exaggerated, as a means of attack upon Christianity itself. The most unsuspecting reader cannot fail to detect, for example, in Gibbon's most brilliant descriptions, a most bitter animus against the Christian religion. So also Fallmerayer in his "History of the Trebizond Empire" ("Geschichte des Kaiserthums von Trapezunt") is constantly sneering at the unwarlike character of Christianity, and its consequent inadaptability to be the religion of a brave and successful people, ready to resist tyranny and throw off the yoke of an oppressor.*

In the use of such sad examples as are unfortunately too frequent in the history of the East, even down to the present day, by those who are not in sympathy with Christianity in any form, a certain glamour has been thrown about Mohammedanism which needs to be dispelled. There are those who, under the influence of these modern fallacies concerning the utter and hopeless apostasy of the oriental Christians and the superiority of Mohammedanism over oriental Christianity, allow their sympathies in the struggles still going on in the Turkish Empire to be with the Crescent instead of the Cross, and with the oppressor instead of with the oppressed. To such the deliber-

*"Wer nicht mit Rousseau annimt stupide Barbarei sey der vollkommenste Zustand der Menscheit oder nicht mit vielen neuren den Grundsatz vertheidigt Heranbildung zur politischen und geistigen Freiheitführe zum Aufstande gegen göttliche und menschliche Autorität; und ascetisch zu werden an Denk und Handels weise sey die letzte Aufgabe der Nationen; der muss eingestehen der schmähliche Fall der Griechen sey ein Wink durch welchen der Urheber der Natur die Sterblichen belehren wollte, dass es eine Thorheit sey, mit Vernachlässigung oder Verachtung irdischer Anstalten die Menschen gleichsam zu entsinnlichen, und in die Traümereien einer metaphysischen Glückseligkeit zu versenken ohne dabei die Hoffnung zu verlieren dem Drucke irdischer Uebermacht zur zeit der Prüfung und Gefahr Widerstand leisten zu könuen."—FALLMERAYER, *Gesch. des Kais. von Trapezunt, Vorrede.*

ate expression of opinion from one who knows as to the debasing influence of Mohammedanism may not be agreeable, but it is none the less true. The great fact is brought out plainly by him, that in Mohammedanism we have a system claiming to be a religion which is based upon and built up of sensualism. This sensualism is sometimes disguised in euphemistic garb, and given forth by western admirers as the soul ecstasies of the rapt spiritual mystic, while the voluptuous oriental sees through the thin, gauzy covering of polite terminology, and is thrilled thereby with the basest passions of a depraved nature. There are forms of sensuality also which cannot be described, and can only be alluded to by the writer of a work for general circulation. This is what makes the oriental Christian father look with abhorrence upon the association of his son with his Moslem neighbors. The barrier so well known to exist between Moslem and Christian in eastern lands is especially caused by the grosser forms of sensuality existing among the former, and which have in all ages of the Christian Church been regarded by her adherents with horror. There is no doubt but this sensuality, while it gave to a barbarous people their first warlike and progressive impulse, yet in time worked as a poison to eat out the life of the race, causing its physical as well as moral decay.

The modern Turks have diminished in numbers, have been incapable of advancing in civilization, have lost ground and become weaker through their sensuality, and especially through that form of it which is least known where Christianity prevails. The inevitable and invariable history of Moslem races, after the first spurt has been spent which Monotheism had given them, has been the same—decay in family life; spasmodic attempts to bring about a revival of religious and political life; steady but sure decay.—Pp. 22, 23.

W. Gifford Palgrave, a good authority with all those acquainted with his remarkable and eccentric career, says: "Convulsive fanaticism alternating with lethargic torpor—transient vigor followed by long and irremediable decay—such is the general history of Mohammedan governments and races."

Where family life is impossible, where the grosser forms of sensualism are practiced and talked of, and where the sensualistic ideas have so permeated the language of the people that

the common language of vituperation among the common people, even in the case of children and women, is untranslatably vile, the student of history is compelled, upon ethnological grounds alone, to conclude that the race is doomed to extinction. To attempt to place it above the Christian races in social qualities and manly vigor is an insult to the intelligence of the age. The deliberate judgment of the author is this:

> I am willing to admit that thousands of Moslems are better than their creed. But, judging such creed historically, looking over the centuries and avoiding individual cases, if the practical rule, "By their fruits shall ye know them," be applied, the conclusion cannot be evaded that Moslemism is a mischievous creed, and, except on its first adoption, is a direct hinderance to progress in a nation.—P. 24.

As to his opinion of the comparison between Islamism and Christianity we make the following quotation:

> Weighed in the balance against the lowest and most degrading form of Christianity it is found wanting. No matter how completely even an Abyssinian or Chaldean Christianity has forgotten the body of principles which western Churches have treasured, it has yet never invented a theory by which it becomes degrading for a man to live as an equal with his wife and children. It has never tolerated polygamy, or recognized the sinlessness of concubinage. It has never allowed marriages for a limited time, or an almost unchecked power of divorce and exchange, or allowed the husband to repudiate his wife without any reason being assigned and without warning. It has never made rules as to intercourse with slaves which make the abolition of slavery impossible in Moslem states. Lastly, no form of Christianity, or any other great religious system, has ever offered to its followers a heaven whose enjoyments are purely sensual. The advance made under certain forms of Christianity has been often slow, but the fault cannot fairly be laid to the charge of Christianity itself.—P. 23.

During the darkest period of the last Russo-Turkish war the European friends of Turkey—and they were many in number—who sympathized with her in her misfortunes, were disappointed and mortified by certain police orders which, it was understood, emanated from high authority. These announcements rehearsed the sad reverses which had overtaken the empire whose name had once been a terror to all Europe. The depletion of the imperial treasury, the ruin of the public credit, the revolt of valuable provinces, and the serious reverses to the Ottoman arms, were all alluded to, and then the cause of

all these disasters was gravely alleged to be the shameless conduct of the Turkish women in wearing French high-heeled boots, and in wearing veils of too thin a texture. The degree of fineness which was to be the limit for the texture of the veils was then officially given, expressed in numbers as known to the trade, and the police were directed to remove forcibly, on the public promenades of the capital, any boots of the obnoxious style found on the dainty feet of Mohammedan belles. No more striking proof of the hopeless imbecility of the Ottoman government could probably be found than that supplied by the above incident. It may safely be predicted that no nation whose martial spirit and national energy depend upon the thickness of the women's veils can ever hope to maintain itself among the nations of the earth in the struggle for life. The general effect of such ideas with regard to woman is well described by the author as follows:

> Woman has every-where held under the Moslem rule an inferior position, and the inevitable result ensues after a few generations that the whole race has become less moral, less manly, and less intelligent. To regard her as existing for the purposes of pleasure or of propagation, and as necessarily degraded in thought, and therefore requiring to be watched lest she should be unfaithful, is to degrade her, and implies keeping her in ignorance and shutting her off from the education obtained by contact with the world. To degrade generations of mothers is to degrade the race itself.—P. 207.

One of the saddest evidences of moral degeneracy in the Byzantine people in the period under consideration is a certain visible Asiatic taint in their social life from the proximity of those corrupting forces. Women began to be regarded something in the Asiatic way, and, although without polygamy, a kind of harem life was kept up by some of the fast-living nobles. Worst of all, one of the worst institutions of Asiatic social life, that of *eunuchs*, had been introduced. Only five years before the Latin conquest a eunuch had been prefect of Constantinople. It is no secret among residents of that city at the present day that one of the most influential personages of the empire is a Negro, the chief eunuch of the imperial palace, the so-called Keeper of the Gate of Felicity.

With the death of the Emperor Manuel in the year 1180 commenced a series of fierce dynastic disputes and partisan

wars which, perhaps more than any other cause, weakened the empire and prepared its downfall. Manuel's son, a mere boy, reigned less than three years, and was bowstrung when only fifteen years old. From the accession of his murderer, Andronicus, as his successor, there followed a long and sad succession of dynastic wars, in which the sword of the Turk was employed sometimes upon the one side and sometimes upon the other, but every time for the weakening of the Christian empire and for the strengthening of Islam. The Saladin of Michaud the historian, and of Scott the novelist, with his chivalric qualities which proved him a foeman worthy of the steel of the proudest plumed knight of western chivalry, belonged to this period, and did much for the extension of Islam and the gradual tightening of its hold upon the empire. The expenses of maintaining the struggle with these contending forces were so enormous that the empire was forced to make suicidal exactions from its people to meet these demands until they became insupportable. The imperial treasury was not only drained, but the resources of the people as well. Whole towns and villages became a waste and disappeared from the map, and extensive fertile tracts which formerly supported a large population were allowed to pass out of cultivation. A number of the ancient towns of classic interest in Asia Minor, whose sites are with difficulty identified by the archæologist, disappeared from view, and became lost to geography during this period. It is a noteworthy fact that many of the subjects of the empire voluntarily expatriated themselves, and emigrated from the territories thus burdened with taxation into those where some politic sultan had been shrewd enough to hold out more attractive inducements to cultivators of the soil. The spectacle is indeed a sad one which is presented before the eye of the thoughtful student—the ever-increasing stream of Moslem tribes, in spite of all their numerous defeats, sweeping on from the East like an army of locusts, filling up the places of their slaughtered thousands with fresh hordes of recruits drawn together by fanaticism and the hope of plunder, closing in upon the doomed empire, draining its resources, wasting its strength, terrorizing over the people, and demoralizing its leaders.

During the century and a half preceding the Latin conquest of Constantinople, in 1204, constant inroads were being made

also upon the empire by Hungarians, Wallachians, Bulgarians, and Servians, as well as by others who have gone down in the subsequent struggles, and their names have disappeared from the pages of modern history. Probably no other such example can be found in history of a combination of adverse forces against a state as that which was gathering against the New Rome. The empire at one time had shown a remarkable capacity for assimilating the various races which had been flowing into it, and had fairly succeeded in that which is so necessary to the conservation of every great state, namely, the binding together the different elements of the population by a common bond of sympathy and interest; but at this period these heterogeneous and antagonistic elements had come in so rapidly, and in such vast numbers, as to overtask the powers of assimilation, and to clog the machinery of government at a time when every nerve had to be strained in the struggle for life. When in the story, so well told in the book before us, we see in addition to the above difficulties the two broad streams of Asiatic barbarians—one to the north and the other to the south of the Black Sea—flowing in upon Europe, and we behold the Eastern Empire compelled alone to bear the part of a breakwater for western Europe, we realize more fully the position of that empire, and sympathize more readily with it in its struggles against such fearful odds. The author, in reminding the reader of the late example furnished by the war in the Soudan of the fanatical zeal of newly made Mohammedan converts, says:

> The hordes of Asia which hurled themselves on the imperial armies of New Rome were filled with the like new-born zeal for their faith, but they had the advantage of an almost boundless reserve of men behind them and the richest spoils of the world open for them to plunder in case of success. As the magnificent German army of the Third Crusade fought and defeated every attack of the Turks between Marmora and Syria with the result only that it had itself melted away by the time it reached its destination, so the imperial armies had again and again, by virtue of their superior discipline, defeated the armies of the same enemy only to find that after a few months another army had come into existence, and that new battles had again to be fought.—P. 177.

The contrast between the results of the struggle in western Europe with the Moslem power and that sustained in the East

with the same power, and the advantages possessed by the former, are well set forth, and the causes of the more speedy victory of the West explained. The victory of Charles Martel at Tours is considered by all the historians to have been the decisive event which saved all western Europe from an overwhelming African Moslem invasion, but the almost contemporaneous defeat of the Arabs before Constantinople our author considers an equally great victory for the cause of civilization. The difference was, that in the West the enemy was so far away from his base of supplies that a crushing defeat was decisive, and ended the struggle, while in the East these victories had to be repeated over and over again, and whole generations of men from the Eastern Empire had to be sacrificed in saving European civilization.

It is of course useless to speculate what might have been if certain of those events which go to make up the web of history had not happened; but in this case the temptation is unusually strong to reconstruct the chart of history as well as the map of the world in accordance with the altered conditions. On the Bosphorus would have remained the capital of an empire which, with its record of twelve centuries of Greek letters and commercial prosperity, of literary and artistic development, at least furnished the nucleus from which might have been expected the regeneration of the regions beyond. That imperial city which had "bridged over the dark centuries of turmoil" which intervened between the pagan civilizations and those of Christianity, and which had been simply "continuing history" while the nations of the West had been passing through their formative and embryonic stage, might have become an important factor in those grand reforms which have occupied the pens and tongues of patriots and philanthopists of the past six centuries. When we remember the quarter whence proceeded so much of that intellectual activity and that independence of religious thought which culminated in the work of Luther and Melanchthon, we cannot help thinking of the still greater result which might have been reached had that empire been permitted to stand. As the author says:

We who have seen an Italy resurgent, and Greece and Bulgaria re-entered among civilized nations, may well refuse to believe that an intelligent people who were at that time the first

in civilization would not have shaken off their religious and political apathy, would not have had recovered the strength which they had expended in resisting external attacks, and would not have had their reformation in religion and their democratic revolution in politics.—P. 225.

To the critical student, perhaps, the greatest service rendered by the learned author of the work before us is, the excellent analysis given by him of a deeply interesting historical problem which is still occupying the attention of European scholars, and upon which considerable light has been thrown by the recent investigations of Count Riant, Charles Hopf, and others given in communications made to various learned societies.* Many of these materials have never appeared, so far as we know, in an English dress, and the summary of them here given, and worked up with the author's legal acumen and skill, is especially valuable.

The problem involves what may be called "the true inwardness" of the Fourth Crusade, and the trustworthiness of Villehardouin and other official sources of information which have been followed by Gibbon and Finlay, and most writers on the subject down to a period of not more than fifteen or twenty years ago.

The fact being generally accepted, that the original plan of the Crusade was to strike first at Egypt and thence proceed to attack Babylon, or Bagdad, as the most vital point at which to deal a death-blow to the Saracenic power, many explanations have been proposed to account for the disastrous change of plan fraught with such calamities to Christendom. What occult influence turned aside that mighty stream of chivalric warriors rushing with fiery zeal to save the Holy Land and to remove "the shame of Christ," and caused them, instead of attacking the infidel, to attack and ravage the inoffensive Christian town of Zara, whose inhabitants had done them no harm? What spell was thrown over these knightly warriors to make them forget their vows to use their swords against the enemies of the Cross, and for the protection of helpless women and innocent maidens, and lead them into such horrible scenes

* Comte Riant, "Innocent III., Philippe de Souabe, et Boniface." Paris, 1875. Also, "Revue des Questions Historique," and "Exuviæ Sacræ Constantinop[illegible] tanæ." Geneva, 1867.

of rapine and plunder as characterized the perpetration of the great crime against Christendom which was committed in the capture and sacking of the Christian city of Constantinople? The question involves many nice points in the study of human action and motives, and is all the more interesting to the student from the care taken by interested parties to conceal or suppress the truth. It has been suspected that the fiery preacher Fulk, whose burning eloquence had aroused so many rich men to contribute of their wealth and so many knights to give their swords to the sacred cause, and who died in 1202, not long after he had affixed the cross to the shoulder of Boniface, Marquis of Montferrat, as the leader of the Crusaders, if he had chosen to leave to the world a private journal, might have revealed more than any other man could have done of the secret springs of this strange and inconsistent action.

Some have thought that the whole scheme was the product of the covetous mind of Philip of Suabia, with whom Boniface is known to have had an interview soon after his investment of the leadership of the expedition. As shown in the work entitled "Acts of Innocent III.,"* Boniface went from Philip's court with an embassy to Rome, asking Pope Innocent III. to espouse the cause of the young Alexis, the claimant to the Byzantine throne, who had made his escape from prison in Constantinople, and had found his way to Sicily, and according to some to Germany to the court of his brother-in-law Philip. This Alexis being the son and heir of Isaac Angelos, who had been deposed, blinded, and kept prisoner in the city of Constantinople, and whose daughter Philip had married, a magnificent opportunity was afforded Philip of advancing the interests of his own house (he was the head of the Ghibellines) in making use of the claims of poor Alexis. It seems, at least, tolerably well established that some time before the expedition started, its leader, Boniface, had promised Philip to aid him in carrying out his little dynastic scheme, in which were mingled visions of imperial power, in which "poor Alexis" bore only a subordinate part.

Boniface was a man well suited to Philip's purpose, being himself of a family six of whose members had contracted marriages with the imperial family of Constantinople. He had family

* "Gesta Innoc. III."

grievances and personal claims which made him cherish any thing but kindly sentiments toward the Eastern Empire, and disposed him to enter heartily into the proposal of Philip.

The most difficult task of all to be accomplished was to bring over Pope Innocent III. to the plan without publicity, which would have proved fatal to success. The Pope's well-known desire for some basis of compromise or reunion between the Eastern Church and the Western was seized upon by the crafty conspirators, and "poor Alexis" had a solemn audience with the Pope and Cardinals. As an inducement for the Pope to aid and support him in obtaining his rights, in which he averred that he had the sympathy of the whole people, he promised to aid in bringing about a union of the Churches. Boniface himself came on to Rome a few days after and repeated the tempting offer, but the grand old Pontiff refused to accept the bribe. Whatever may have been his other defects, in this matter he seems, from the historic evidence here adduced, to have been true to his high office, and to have refused to be a party to the great fraud proposed to be played upon the Christian zeal of Western Europe.

The conspirators, baffled but not discouraged, turned to Venice, and found there in the crafty and unscrupulous "Bride of the Sea" the means of accomplishing their design without the concurrence, and in spite of the protest, of the incorruptible Pontiff. Venice, in entering into the scheme, did so upon her own account, and, as is shown by the author, had already of her own accord betrayed all Christendom most shamefully by making with the Sultan of Egypt, in July, 1202, a secret treaty by which she had bound herself to divert the expedition from its intended attack upon Egypt in consideration of certain valuable concessions and advantages of trade over her other Italian rivals. Having begun to make her own selfish use of the advantage which her maritime position afforded her for the transportation of the Crusaders, and having them at her mercy, she was ready to enter upon any filibustering scheme which would promise a good share of plunder. The veteran Doge Dandolo was therefore put forward as the representative of Venice in the unhallowed copartnership, to look after the interests of the Republic, and at the same time to advance some of his own personal interests, and to avenge some of his own private

wrongs suffered at the hands of the Byzantine Greeks, which injuries, whether they were physical, such as the blinding of his eyes by order of the Emperor Manuel, as claimed by some, or were simply political and personal insults, at any rate had filled him with an implacable hatred against the Eastern Empire. The white-haired and almost, if not quite, blind old Henry Dandolo coming before the high altar in the great cathedral of St. Mark, being invested with the insignia of the Cross, and assuming the vows of a Crusader, becoming not only the leader of the Venetian contingent, but, by virtue of his venerable mien and his transcendent genius, the head and brain of this vast army to lead it at his will to the accomplishment of his own selfish aims, is one of the saddest spectacles of perverted genius afforded in history. The author, in speaking of the conduct of Venice, says:

> Enough might have been gathered from a careful search of the authorities known to exist even in the time of Gibbon to raise a strong presumption against the good faith of Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip of Suabia. But it has been reserved to our own time to complete the evidence against them; to prove, almost to demonstration, that the expedition was diverted from its purpose through the cupidity and treason of Venice, and that from this cause the army was converted into a band of robbers, who were to commit the great crime of the Middle Ages by the destruction of the citadel against which the hitherto irresistible wave of Moslem invasion had beaten and had been broken.—P. 268.

The parts performed respectively by Philip of Suabia, by Boniface the Marquis of Montferrat, and by Henry Dandolo, doge and representative of Venice, in this conspiracy are set forth with clearness and with convincing proofs. The reader is led on from step to step in the investigation, and there is very graphically portrayed before him the attack upon Zara, the council of barons and chiefs held there, their grumbling and discontent on finding themselves led into fighting against the Christian enemies of their Venetian allies instead of against the common enemy of Christendom; the illusive promises by which these murmurings were quieted; the gradual unfolding of the plot while at Corfu, and the appearance of "poor Alexis" in the camp of the Crusaders as "the rightful heir" whom they were called upon in the name of justice to put in possession of his rights, and the process of working over the

consciences of the leaders by the intimations of the imperial recompense naturally to be expected for such services, until at length the Holy Land appears so far away, and the imperial city with its palaces and treasures is so near at hand, that the postponement of the Palestine campaign until another season is at length accepted, and their cross-bearing zeal melts away at the sight of material treasures so close to them.

In 1878, when the victorious Russians had fought their way through from the Danube across the Balkans to the Marmora, and halted at San Stefano, on the shore of the Marmora, and gazed upon the glittering domes and graceful minarets not more than a dozen miles away, doubtless many a Cossack wondered why they should stop out there and not be permitted to enter the coveted city, save as peaceful visitors under the strictest orders of good conduct, after a treaty of peace had been signed. They would have said that the treaty should have been signed in the great mosque of St. Sophia, followed by a grand Te Deum and the solemn reconsecration of that noble temple to be forever after used as a Christian church. Had a popular vote of the army been taken such would have undoubtedly been the decision. But the leaders of that army knew that the solemn word of the czar had been pledged that no hostile entrance of Constantinople should be attempted. They knew, also, that this word was backed up by England's iron-clad fleet and Germany's mighty army, and that although the prize could be grasped it could never be held. The crusading hosts from the same spot viewed the same prize in the full possession of many beauties of which she has since been robbed. They had no reckoning with their neighbors to fear. The prize was so lovely that really we cannot wonder that the temptation was too strong for men like Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip, and the men who surrounded them.

The subsequent story of that eventful year, from the arrival of the fleet on the eve of St. John the Baptist, June 23, 1203—a year so fraught with results in Christian history—is well told, and the stirring events set forth in their order with sufficient fullness of detail, yet concisely and attractively. The arrival of the fleet at San Stefano, on the Marmora—the preparations of the city for defense—the attacks and repulses—the ignominious flight of the Emperor Alexis—the baffling of the

plans of the Crusaders by the restoration of Isaac Angelos, father of young Alexis, to the throne—negotiations with the Crusaders as to the payments promised by the young man—the discontent of the Greeks with the young Alexis, their new emperor—his dethronement and the elevation of Murtzouphlos to the throne—the siege of the city, the murder of the young Alexis, and the flight of Murtzouphlos, the storming of the citadel, and the capture of the city with its scenes of horror and brutality, and, finally, the seating of Baldwin, the Count of Flanders, upon the throne of the Cesars—follow like the scenes of a panorama, and are all comprised in the story of that one eventful year.

Such are the facilities of modern travel, and the consequent multiplication of books of travel, that the topography of Constantinople and its vicinity is pretty nearly as well known to the average English or American reader as is that of Vienna or St. Petersburgh, or any other European capital. To those in any degree familiar with the condition of the capital of the Turkish Empire to-day, the chapter on the condition of Constantinople in 1200, and its comparison with the present, will be found deeply interesting. No lover of ancient art can read without a pang the description of the treasures which were still standing at that time, but which have disappeared forever, and of which the bronze horses now adorning the Church of St. Mark in Venice serve as most tantalizing samples. Had all the works of art now missing been carried off like those famous horses, and preserved for modern study, one might to a certain extent excuse the spoilers; but the barbaric greed which melted down for the sake of the bronze those masterpieces of statuary excites one's indignant contempt. The colossal Samian Juno, which adorned the Forum of Constantine, Paris presenting the apple to Venus, the colossal Hercules of Lysippus brought from Tarentum to Rome and thence to Constantinople, and many other priceless treasures of ancient skill, were melted down by the barbarians and coined into money for the more ready distribution of the plunder among the soldiery. Their taste in the matter of sacred relics was much more appreciative. Here was something which, unlike the matchless products of ancient genius, could be counterfeited without great risk of detection. It was even claimed

for some kinds of relics that they possessed some miraculous kind of self-multiplying power, or rather, a kind of "leavening" agency, by which from a minute portion of some genuine relic a large mass of similar but modern material might become entirely "leavened," made sacred, and possessed of the same miraculous power as the original fragment. Something analogous to this is found in the East at the present day in the popular superstition among the lower classes concerning the value of antique coins. It is supposed by very many, that the reason why Europeans interest themselves in old coins, and sometimes pay enormous prices for them, is, that these coins possess this "leavening" property, and can thus be used in the process of transmuting the baser metals into silver or gold.

The shrewd Crusaders were not slow in availing themselves of the tremendous power which the possession of coveted relics, whether genuine or spurious, would give them in the countries from which they had come. They well knew that a relic would purchase for them, more readily than gold, absolution for the violation of their most sacred vows. It is quite possible, also, that their credulity was imposed upon by the crafty Orientals, who in this way took their revenge for the plunder of their choicest treasures. This whole subject of relics, genuine and pretended, and their influence upon the Western Church, is one of very great interest to the student of ecclesiastical history; and although its full consideration is beyond the scope of the book which is the subject of this article, yet the student will find in it some valuable suggestions.*

As to the genuineness of sacred relics, every one must admit the possibility of some such objects of veneration having been preserved even down to that period. Objects belonging to an undoubtedly more remote period of antiquity fill our museums and art collections. It is therefore quite possible that certain objects of a durable nature connected with the life history of Christ or of his apostles should have been preserved by the early Christians. It is when the relic mongers, however, talk of the relic of the "sacred tear" or the "drop of blood" or the "thorn from the crown," the "sleeveless garment," or the "girdle," the

* A comparatively recent work quoted freely by the author, "Exuviæ Sacræ Constantinopolitanæ," Riant, 1867, will be found to be a complete repertory of curious information upon the subject.

"sponge," the "reed," the "bloody sweat," etc., that we turn away with wonder and disgust from the silly attempt at imposition. It is, indeed, very difficult for us to conceive how the people of Europe, in the thirteenth century, could be persuaded in any way to regard such objects as genuine. We can hardly conceive of any thing more directly calculated to emasculate the intellectual life of a people, and to sap the foundation of all true spiritual life as well, than the forcing upon them, by the sanction of the highest spiritual authority, such palpable absurdities and such gross frauds. The great wrong committed by the Christians of the West against those of the East has been thus terribly avenged upon the Western Church in furnishing them with the material and the opportunity for these "pious frauds," and keeping back for centuries the cause of spiritual reform and progress in Europe. Along with the literary treasures of classic wealth there came from the East to the Western Church this Centaur gift which is still clinging to the Church of Rome, shocking the reason and straining severely the faith of the best men among her adherents.

It is quite probable, as the author suggests, that relic worship never attained such proportions in the Eastern as in the Western Church, and that the eastern spirit was less gross or more spiritual than that of the West, whose people, from the earnestness of their character, were more prone to carry the veneration of relics into a kind of fetich worship than were the easy-going Christians of the East. It has been claimed for the Greeks of classic times, as well as of the times of the apostles, that their idolatry was rather a system of *symbolism* than a worshiping of stone and bronze, "the works of men's hands." It is claimed that the actual worship of statues or images, in the modern sense of the term, was essentially an Asiatic idea, and not the pure Greek idea. There may be something in this, although we are not prepared to admit the full extent of the claim in palliation of Greek idolatry. There is no question, however, that from a Protestant point of view the Greek Church has always had a certain amount of advantage over the Roman Church in the matter of image worship. However unsatisfactory to a western mind may seem the argument for the rigid rule which excludes all *images* but permits of *paintings* being used in churches as aids to devotion, yet it cannot

be denied that this distinction, thus enforced and perpetuated in the usage of the Greek Church, is a standing protest against pagan idolatry, or the substitution in the devotions of the people of the image instead of the object which it represents.* It will be admitted, also, that while the ignorant masses of the eastern Christians have been in the habit of using pictures and relics as talismanic charms, yet the Eastern Church has never been committed quite so positively to the official indorsement of the miraculous virtues attributed to them as the Church of Rome continues to do, even in the light of the present century.

The richest treasures of ancient art and the most venerated relics of Christian antiquity were not sufficient in themselves to satisfy the ambition or satiate the thirst of the victors for power. The Church party kept steadily in view the great scheme of the unification of the Church—the bringing of all Christians into "one fold under one shepherd"—while the secular party had also its own plans for the restoration of the great Roman Empire. As might have been expected from the individual characters of the different participators in the great plot by which the fair eastern capital was given over to plunder, dissensions very soon arose over the distribution of the rich spoils. Rival factions were, however, sufficiently appeased and opposing interests blended as to agree upon the final grand prize of all, that of the sovereignty. The Earl Baldwin of Flanders was elected Emperor on the 9th of May, by the midnight conclave of the twelve electors (six Venetian nobles and six ecclesiastics chosen by the Crusaders), and his election was by vote made unanimous. On the 16th of the same month, which was Sunday, took place the magnificent coronation ceremony. The emperor elect, according to the ancient custom, was raised up on a shield supported on the shoulders of the nobles, and conducted in solemn procession to the great Church of Saint Sophia, and there invested with the cloth of gold and

* Archbishop Platon, Metropolitan of Moscow, in his "Pravoslavnoye Utchenye" (Orthodox Doctrine), in commenting upon the second commandment (I quote from memory), says, that they sin against this commandment who in any way make the picture the object of devotion instead of the being whom the picture represents; and they also sin against this commandment who venerate more highly a picture executed by some skillful artist than one less skillfully executed; that it is the object thus brought before the mind to which the devotion should be paid, not the picture nor the artist nor art itself as shown in some masterpiece.

with the imperial sword. The imperial crown was placed upon his head by the papal legate, and the customary ἄξιος! ἄξιος!—"He is worthy!"—which is still perpetuated in the installation ceremonies of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople—was repeated by the bishops and taken up by the multitude until the air resounded with the cry. Thus was Baldwin of Flanders crowned, and a Frank emperor seated upon the throne of Constantine. The concluding part of the story, as told by our author, consists mainly of a discussion of the effect produced in Europe by the news of the capture of Constantinople and the overthrow of the Eastern Empire by the Crusaders. The student is especially interested in the discussion of the attitude of Pope Innocent with respect to these events, because Innocent's relation to them has been the subject of no little difference of opinion among historians. The controversy over Innocent's part in the transactions which resulted in the capture of Constantinople is still going on, but much information bearing upon the subject has been brought out during the last fifteen or twenty years by continental writers, and the same is here ably summarized and made available for the reader who may desire to form his own judgments.

There seems to be no room for doubt that the attack by the Crusaders upon Zara, in aid of the Venetians, had been directly contrary to the Pope's instructions. His absolution for the crime of attacking a Christian city in violation of their vows had been granted them under the most solemn stipulations that no other such attack was to be made by them upon any Christian nation; and it was stated that this absolution would be rendered void if those receiving it were guilty of any further violations of this condition.

In the present days of rapid transit, not to speak of telegraphs and telephones, it is hard for us to realize the difficulties of communication which prevented the news of important events in Constantinople reaching Rome until months after their occurrence. The old Roman system of couriers had passed away, and a letter started from Constantinople for Rome had to be carried through by the same hand, and so had very many chances against its ever reaching its destination. An instance of this is related in the case of the letter addressed by the newly crowned Emperor Baldwin to the Pope.

The letter was conveyed by a messenger and accompanied by some very valuable presents, such as crosses, holy relics, chalices, priestly robes, etc., adorned with pearls and precious stones. The ship conveying the messenger and the presents was captured by the Genoese, who were the great rivals of the Venetians. After a long delay the messenger was released to go on with the letter which was at length received by the Pope, but the presents were quietly appropriated by the captors, and it was only by threatening the extreme pontifical displeasure in the form of the much-dreaded "Interdict" that the Genoese government were frightened into yielding to the Pope's summons and restoring the stolen property. There is no doubt that if better facilities for communication had existed Innocent would have prevented the Crusaders from carrying out their plan. He seems to have sincerely grieved over the failure of the great expedition as a Crusade, and to have been filled with indignation at the disgrace which had been brought upon the Christian name by the iniquities perpetrated by Christian armies in the sack and pillage of the capital of Christendom. The letter written by him under these circumstances concerning the conquest of Constantinople is referred to by our author as a work which "will ever remain as a monument of just scorn and the lofty statesmanship of the greatest man of his time." This remarkable letter is a masterpiece of pungent rebuke. We give here some extracts from it:

Since, in your obedience to the Crucified One, you took upon yourselves the vow to deliver the Holy Land from the power of the pagans, and since you were forbidden under pain of excommunication to attack any Christian land, or to do damage to it, unless its inhabitants opposed your passage or refused you what was necessary (and in such a case you were to undertake nothing against the will of the legate), and since you had neither right nor pretense of right over Greece, you have slighted your vow; you have not drawn your sword against Saracens, but against Christians; you have not conquered Jerusalem, but Constantinople; you have preferred earthly to heavenly riches. But that which weighs more heavily upon you than all this is, that you have spared nothing that is sacred, neither age nor sex; you have given yourselves up to prostitution, to adultery, and to debauchery in the face of all the world. You have glutted your guilty passions not only on married women or widows, but upon women and virgins dedicated to the Saviour; you have not been content with the imperial treasures and the goods of rich

and poor, but you have seized even the wealth of the Church and what belongs to it; you have pillaged the silver tables of the altars; you have broken into the sacristies, stolen the crosses, the images, the relics, in such a fashion that the Greek Church, although borne down by persecution, refuses obedience to the Apostolical See, because it sees in the Latins only treason and the works of darkness, and loaths them like dogs.--P. 391.

Although there are some passages in the correspondence of Innocent indicating that he regarded the misfortunes fallen upon the Eastern Empire as a retribution at the hand of Providence for its heresy and schism, yet the whole tenor of it shows that he felt very keenly the failure of his own great scheme, which was by means of the Fourth Crusade to strike a fatal blow at the Moslem power. So he writes to the Cardinal Peter, who had absolved the Crusaders from their vow:

When the Crusaders, after having consecrated themselves to the Saviour have abandoned their route, drawn away by earthly attractions, were you free to change so holy and so solemn a vow, and to permit them to take another destination? Think on it yourself. Disappointment, shame, and anxiety weaken us when we ask whether the Greek Church can enter into union with the Apostolic See when that Church has seen only the works of darkness among the Latins.—P. 394.

The truth was, that Innocent saw all his long, careful, and expensive preparations for striking the deadly blow at Islam brought to naught by the selfish schemes of Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip. All of these preparations and all of this expenditure had only resulted in a war upon Christians and in the capture of Constantinople instead of Jerusalem, and the golden opportunity of striking at Islam through Egypt had passed, perhaps, never to return. He saw, also, that with the combinations of intrigue against him he could not hope ever to be able to raise another such an expedition for a holy war. His personal disappointment was therefore very great. The only source of comfort left to him was in the fact that some kind of a union had been effected between the two Churches, although he felt the almost utter hopelessness of reconciling the outraged feelings of the Eastern Church to communion and fellowship with the perpetrators of the great wrong.

In the light of the facts here collated, one cannot agree with Ffoulkes in his accusation against Innocent as having delib-

erately planned, as a crowning act to complete his authority over the whole world, this conquest of Constantinople, "one of the foulest acts ever perpetrated under the garb of religion in Christian times: a sorry connection, unquestionably, for one of his high position and commanding abilities." * Innocent III. was unquestionably one of the most ambitious men ever invested with the pontifical power, and he was one of the most successful of pontiffs in making his power felt and acknowledged, but he was too much of a statesman ever to have sanctioned taking a step so disastrous to the cause which he and the whole of Christendom had so dearly at heart, the rescuing of the Holy Land from the hands of the Moslem. In fact he alone, of all the statesmen of his times, seems to have had a mind broad enough to grasp the situation, and to see the necessity of all Christendom uniting in one supreme effort to avert the threatened danger to Europe from the continued advance of Asiatic Islamism.

It is not within the scope of the book, nor have we space in this article, to follow up the subsequent history of the Latins in their short-lived possession of the eastern capital. As was to be expected, the leaders soon quarreled over the distribution of their ill-gotten gains, and it was not long before the arch-conspirators, Dandolo, Boniface, and Philip, were at work again each upon his own line and in his own individual interest. Within eighteen months after the capture of the city three of the principal actors, and a crowd of those only second to them in rank, were dead, and most of them, as it appears, by violent hands. The new Emperor Baldwin did not long enjoy his imperial dignity. The Bulgarians made a strong combination against him, and were joined by the Greeks—one of the rare instances of Bulgarian and Greek co-operation—and, drawing the emperor into an ambuscade, captured him after killing some three hundred of his knights, and carried him a prisoner to Tirnova, where, according to some, he is said to have died a miserable death. He was succeeded by his brother. The old Doge Dandolo died in 1205. Boniface was caught in the Rhodope Mountains by the Bulgarians and killed. The Crusaders found themselves unequal to the task of governing the country, and so it turned out that instead of the possession of the East-

*Ffoulkes, "Christendom's Divisions," ii, 226.

ern Empire enabling them to act more powerfully against the Saracens, as the apologists for the conquest had argued would be the case, they on the contrary found themselves obliged to appeal piteously to Europe for help in retaining that which they had forcibly seized.

Many of the Crusaders, also, from different places in the East—places which they had wrested from the Saracens and were holding by sheer force—came to Constantinople attracted by the stories of wealth and plunder which had reached them. General laxity of vigilance over those territories was the result. Important strategic points were left unguarded. The Moslem took advantage, and pushing up his line took possession of much Christian territory. After nearly sixty years of strife of factions, confusion, misgovernment, and at times almost anarchy, the Latin Empire of the East came to an inglorious end, and the Byzantine Empire was restored. The injury inflicted by this sixty years was irremediable. Constantinople was no longer the impregnable capital of the East. The Moslem cimeters were gleaming in the sunlight across the plains of Asia Minor, and slowly but surely the Asiatic hordes were pushing their way toward the gates of the doomed city.

The author, in commenting upon the injury thus inflicted upon the Eastern Empire in weakening its power of defense against the common foe of Christendom, makes some excellent points which cannot fail to interest the student of history. He alludes to the fact that the traditional feeling in the West against those of the East has affected more or less all the western historians who have written of this period. It is natural that we, who may be said to be the sons of the Crusaders, should take our ideas and our prejudices from them, and that we should be too ready to find evidence of the corruption and effeminacy of the great eastern capital, and the Asiatic influences which had deprived it of its manly vigor. He thinks that in this way we have failed to estimate at its true value that unceasing struggle carried on during at least a century and a half previous to 1204 by the Greek-speaking people of the Eastern Empire and by the Christians of Armenia and Georgia, fighting so long single-handed and alone what were really the battles of Europe. In the history of those times we have only remembered that the Eastern Church had refused to

accept the supremacy of the Pope; that Constantinople was captured by the Crusaders, and that her degenerate population were unable to prevent their city, in 1453, from falling into the hands of the Turks. These are the facts which we remember; but there are others which we forget. We forget that this gallant resistance of one hundred and fifty years before 1204 was the cause of the Turks being unable to obtain a footing in Europe for a like period after 1204. We forget, also, that notwithstanding the fatal blow received by the Fourth Crusade this Eastern Empire was still able to prolong the struggle for some time alone, and at the same time to pour forth a stream of learning and literature upon the western world. We forget, also, that the time during which she kept back the Turks was valuable time gained for Europe; time during which the Turkish power was weakened and their arrival in Europe delayed, while at the same time Europe was becoming better prepared to grapple with them.

That John Sobieski was able to drive back the Turks who were besieging Vienna in 1683 was really due to the fact that the Eastern Empire had sacrificed itself as the vanguard of Europe.

The results of the Fourth Crusade upon European civilization were altogether disastrous. The light of Greek civilization which Byzantium had kept burning for nearly nine centuries after Constantine had chosen it as his capital was suddenly extinguished. . . . If the dispersion of a few Greeks, members of a conquered and therefore despised race, but yet carrying their precious manuscripts and knowledge among hostile peoples, could produce so important results as followed, what effect might not reasonably have been hoped for if the great crime against which Innocent protested had not been committed? Western Europe saw the sparks of learning dispersed among its people. The light which had been continuously burning in a never-forgotten and, among the literary class, a scarcely changed language, had been put out. The crime of the Fourth Crusade handed over Constantinople and the Balkan peninsula to six centuries of barbarism, and rendered futile the attempts of Innocent and subsequent statesmen to recover Syria and Asia Minor to Christendom and civilization. If we would understand the full significance of the Latin conquest of Constantinople we must try to realize what might now be the civilization of western Europe if the Romania of six centuries ago had not been destroyed. One may picture not only the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Marmora surrounded by progressive and civilized nations, but even the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean given back to good government and a religion which is not a barrier to civilization.—P. 412.

Art. V. — AUGUST GLADISCH'S PRE-SOCRATIC PHILOSOPHY.*

Any one who has from original sources made himself intimate with the pre-Socratic philosophy of the Hellenes, must have observed how little in harmony with historical truth are the statements concerning the same in our text-books on the history of philosophy. Especially is this the fact in reference to the most highly esteemed of them. To point this out, and thereby to break ground for the correction of false statements, is the object of the present discussion. Upon Hegel must rest no small share of the blame for this distortion; and yet to him must be conceded the high merit of having furnished the ground for an apprehension and a treatment of the history of philosophy more completely spiritual than that which up to that time was dominant. Still, from the fact that he transferred his own philosophical methods to the pre-Socratic doctrine, he has by so doing produced a sophistication of it. As Hegel in the development of his system expands from pure, abstract *being*, he conceived very correctly, undoubtedly, that the same had been grasped in perfect clearness and had been presented by Parmenides, the Eleatic. But he glaringly erred in reference to this, in that he caused his remarkable dialectics to stand for the logic of history, and supposed that, as in his hand-book abstract *being* passes over into *nothing*, and then the two unite to form *becoming*, so also after the abstract *being* of Parmenides, *becoming* may have been posited by Heraclitus as the *absolute*. In this he supports himself by an expression, supposed to be Heraclitean, which clearly expresses this unity of *being* and *nothing*: τὸ ὂν οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἔστι τοῦ μὴ ὄντος. But Hegel does not say whence he knows that Heraclitus has uttered this. According to Aristotle (Metaphysics, i, 4) it was an expression of the atomists, Leucippus and Democritus; but these were exactly the philosophers that denied *becoming* to that which is determined. These taught that *non-being* [das nichtseiende], the void, *is*, just as much as *being* [das seiende], the full — the atoms. Whereat they permitted the

* Translated from the "Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik" for 1879, vol. 119, No. 99, pp. 721–733.

two to stand separated, the one beside the other, but did not allow them to be united in a third, *becoming*. Consequently *becoming*, which Hegel has elevated to a principle of the philosophy of Heraclitus, has actually no support in tradition, but floats purely in fancy. But it happens still worse for our philosopher in consequence of the transmission of his dialectic into history. He has omitted to anticipate the question and to procure certainty about it, whether the abstract *being* of Parmenides is in fact the earlier, and the *becoming* of Heraclitus the later.

This question is answered in the negative by the most trustworthy tradition; while Parmenides himself, as Bernays (Rhein. Museum, vii, p. 114, *ff.*) has pointed out, in various verses of his philosophical poems sharply criticises and censures the doctrine of his senior, Heraclitus. So much for Hegel's apprehension of the philosophy of Heraclitus.

Nevertheless Zeller, in his "Philosophy of the Greeks" (i, p. 585, *ff.*), continues not, in accordance with historical truth, to state the significance of πῦρ ἀείζωον (by which is meant the self-intelligible and not the flame), but to declare the metaphysical tenet of the flux of all things (thus he mentions the *becoming* of Hegel) as the principle of the philosophy of the Ephesians. So intimate is he with the soul-life of the philosopher, that he knows that the metaphysical tenet in the soul has been framed along with the fire through the immediate activity of the power of the imagination; and, in fact, the metaphysical tenet should not anticipate (p. 586, Rem. i) in the consciousness of Heraclitus the conception, every thing is fire, but has happened simultaneously with it. Consequently, it is especially worthy of notice that Zeller has plainly posited the metaphysical tenet invented by Hegel, and not the authentic πῦρ ἀείζωον (fr. 25 Mullach). Naturally, then, the proof presented by Bernays, and the more extended confirmation of it by A. Schuster, are combated by him (p. 670, *ff.*) with all his energy.

No less has Hegel given occasion, in the case of Anaxagoras, for the perversion of historical accuracy. That is to say, as he apprehends very incorrectly the doctrine of Anaxagoras concerning νόος, and ascribes to it the philosopheme of his own system, that thinking or implicit thought is the essence of

things, he permits this by means of his dialectic to pass over into subjective thinking, and the entire crowd of sophists arise and spread their corrupting doctrines throughout Greece and Hellas. According to tradition the sophistic has little connection with Anaxagoras, but under Gorgias, the father of sophistic, it takes root much after the manner of the μὴ ὄν of Parmenides in the Eleatic philosophy (Plato's Soph., 241[d], and Arist. Meta., v, 2). Except that Protagoras has established his denial of knowledge upon the teaching of Heraclitus, Hegel does not trouble himself about this tradition. In agreement with the Hegelian dialectic, Zeller in this case also connects sophistic immediately with Anaxagoras; unconsciously he himself (on page 937) makes room for this as follows: "We are told by no sophist that he began designedly with the doctrine of Anaxagoras."

Most of the text-books on the history of philosophy follow the example of Zeller. Indeed, in the outline of Ueberweg it is no longer Socrates that has established a new epoch, but the sophists; the pre-Socratic philosophy has become the pre-sophistic, and Socrates stands in the rear of the sophists as second in the line of descent.

Indeed it may come difficult for philosophers like Hegel, who are the founders of a complete spiritual system, in their treatment of the history of philosophy, to maintain the requisite impartiality of statement, and to resist the temptation to drag their own philosopheme into history. In this manner it is explicable how already in ancient times Aristotle, one far greater than our great philosopher, has led the way in the perversion of the historical. By Aristotle (Metaphysics, i, 3), we have presented to us the first attempt to grasp the history of philosophy as an orderly development of cognition. In it, entirely in agreement with Hegel, he undertakes to point out his four metaphysical principles in the earlier philosophy. He permits the material principle to make its appearance in the following gradation:—

First, Thales posits *water* as the primitive material out of which all things are made; then, Anaximenes and Diogenes of Apollonia present a more refined conception, *air;* then Heraclitus, that most delicate, *fire;* thereupon Empedocles posits four elements wherein he adds *earth* to those mentioned;

finally, Anaxagoras, who completes the development, innumerable primitive materials.

It does not seem to be known by Aristotle that Thales in any way determined the ground of his conception. Aristotle merely surmised how possibly he might have reached the conception: *λαβὼν ἴσως τὴν ὑπόληψιν ἐκ τοῦ πάντων ὁρᾶν τὴν τροφὴν ὑγρὰν οὖσαν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ θερμὸν ἐκ τούτου γιγνόμενον καὶ τούτῳ ζῶν· τὸ δ'ἐξ οὗ γίγνεται, τοῦτ' ἐστὶν ἀρχὴ πάντων, κ. τ. ε.* [probably having taken up the opinion from general observation that food is moist, and that heat is generated by this moisture, and that by it is life; therefore that from which there is *becoming*, is the beginning of all things, etc.]. What Aristotle here expresses as his own personal conjecture is then given by those who followed him as the reflection of Thales himself. The only certain statement that we are acquainted with from the philosophy of Thales is the expression, *ἀρχὴ πάντων ὕδωρ*, and that which Aristotle has joined to this expression: *διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι* [because it appeared that the land was on the water]. This brief statement, however, is amply sufficient to gain a correct understanding of his conception. When Thales made use of the expression *ἀρχή*, in his mind, unquestionably, this had not yet the significance that Aristotle assigned to it, but simply the customary significance, *beginning* [*anfang*]. The philosophical signification was first given to the word by Aristotle in his philosophical terminology. Consequently, then, Cicero ("De Nat. Deorum," i, 10, 25) very correctly has restored the conception of Thales: *aquam dixit esse initium rerum;* that which he added, however, *deum autem eam mentem, quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret*, is the work of Cicero.

That the conception of Thales had this import, in the beginning every thing was under water, is confirmed through this expression with its accompanying specification. He has said *διό* [on this account] that the earth floats on the water; but the assumption that water is the primitive essence of all things could not be established from this condition. But it has been well verified, whatever he meant, that it would, when immersed, arise from the water. As evident corroboration of this, there comes at the same time from Aristotle the information that many thought the opinion that made Oceanus and Tethys the

primitive agents in creation was exactly the point of view of Thales, for that Oceanus was the primitive essence of all things no one would be willing to declare as the import of the Homeric verse,

Ὠκεανοῦ, ὅσπερ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται.

In short, Thales appears as the most learned of the seven wise men; therefore, he united with much of the practical wisdom of his contemporaries a worthy knowledge of astronomy and physics; but he does not belong in the development of Aristotle. Indeed, he would not belong there were it conclusively proved that he had used the expression *ἀρχή* with its Aristotelian import. What would become of the history of philosophy, if we were willing to grant a place in it to every one who has made such an expression without establishing it?

We turn now to Anaximenes, and to the one associated with him by Aristotle, Diogenes of Apollonia, and also to Heraclitus. Undoubtedly the first two have declared *air*, and Heraclitus has announced *fire*, as the primitive essence of all things. But it is not true that they meant by *air* and *fire* the so-called elements. It is not true that Heraclitus conceived *fire* in contrast with *air* a more delicate conception, and therefore set it forth as a principle. The truth is, rather, that they (searching not for the original material, but for God) conceived the primitive essence to be spiritual. Not yet were they able to grasp it as pure, incorporeal spirit, as did Anaxagoras; but simply to present it as the most delicate ethereal essence, which in its supreme purity has its throne in the lofty apartments of heaven, in the *περιέχον*. It guides the world, and through condensation produces all things, and by rarefaction it brings them again to naught. This is a notion common to the philosophers mentioned, not first of Diogenes of Apollonia and Heraclitus, but also already of Anaximenes, as the following fragment from his writings makes evident (Pseudo-Plutarch de Plac. Phil. i, 3, 6; Stobæus, Ecl. Phys. i, p. 296): *οἷον ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἡμετέρα ἀὴρ οὖσα συγκρατεῖ ἡμᾶς, καὶ ὅλον τὸν κόσμον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀὴρ περιέχει* [how the soul, as our own vital air, holds us together, and how breath and air surround the entire *cosmos*].

Since Anaximenes identified the primitive essence with the rational soul, he must of necessity already have con-

ceived it as endowed with reason. By his follower, Diogenes of Apollonia, this contrast with Anaxagoras becomes only more vividly conspicuous. Especially does it occur in the fragment assigned by Simplicius to Aristotle (Physics, fol. 33[a]): *καί μοι δοκέει τὸ τὴν νόησιν ἔχον εἶναι ὁ ἀὴρ καλεόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ ὑπὸ τούτου πάντα κυβερνᾶσθαι καὶ πάντων κρατέειν· ἀπὸ γάρ μοι τούτου δοκέει νόος εἶναι καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ἀφῖχθαι καὶ πάντα διατιθέναι καὶ ἐν παντὶ ἐνεῖναι* [that which possesses intelligence I regard as that which men call *air*, and this is that by which every thing is directed, and that which controls all things. Therefore, in consequence of this, I regard mind (*νόος*) as existing, reaching out over the whole creation, positing every thing, permeating every thing]. Also the primitive essence of Heraclitus is nothing else but this *περιέχον φρενῆρες* [all-embracing master-mind], this throne of the ethereal Zeus (fr. 35), the *γνώμη ἥτε οἰακίζει πάντα διὰ πάντων* (fr. 55) [the purpose that manages every thing through all things]. That he designated his primitive essence so plainly intelligent as *πῦρ*, does not allow of explanation after the significance of the word in the Greek language, but indeed after that in the religion of Zoroaster, in which realm it originated. To make this clear we may interpolate here the following little episode, which, while not germane to our inquiry, has point, and also will aid in attaining a better understanding of the Heraclitean doctrine and its historical position.

The most important and the most accurate record upon the religion of Zoroaster is the *holy chariot*, drawn by eight white Nisæan horses, the chariot which the Persian kings Xerxes and Darius Codomannus brought with them, the former in his campaign against the Hellenes (Herod., vii, 40), the latter in his campaign against Alexander (Curtius, iii, 7). The commentary upon this Schliemann has lately unearthed on the site of ancient Troy, which was for a long time under Persian dominion. According to this, in the *holy chariot* was illustrated the doctrine that, in a manner similar to that in which the lower part of the wheel becomes the top, and the upper part the bottom, in the continual change of the advancing wheel, so are all things in the world in a perpetual movement, in a constant evolution. (Comp. Dion. Chrysost., 36, p. 92, *ff.*, ed. Reiske.) Consequently the playing of dice

furnishes a fitting illustration, and the narrative of Diogenes Laertius (ix, 3), therefore, seems to be worthy of attention; according to this Heraclitus played dice (*ἠστραγάλιζε*) with the boys in the temple of Artemis of Ephesus, and to those of the Ephesians standing about him he said: *τί, ὦ κάκιστοι, θαυμάζετε; ἢ οὐ κρεῖττον τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἢ μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτεύεσθαι* [O, worst of men, why do you wonder? Is it not better to do this than to rule among you?] However, the Ephesians conceived flowing water as the best illustration of the perpetual movement of all things; as Plato says (Cratylus, 402[a]): *λέγει που Ἡράκλειτος, ὅτι πάντα χωρεῖ καὶ οὐδὲν μένει, καὶ ποταμοῦ ῥοῇ ἀπεικάζων τὰ ὄντα λέγει, ὡς δὶς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν ποταμὸν οὐκ ἂν ἐμβαίης* [somewhere Heraclitus says that all things flow, and nothing remains. He says also that things that exist are likened to the current of a stream, which is of such character that you cannot bathe twice in the same stream].

Nevertheless, it is very manifest that the Zoroastrian theologians chose, through the chariot or the chariot-wheel, to present the sense-symbol of their religion, because they could present this before the eyes of believers every-where. Among the Trojan antiquities that Schliemann has brought to light, and has presented to us by means of photographic views, there is a large number of symbolic wheels wrought from *terra cotta*. Upon these the swiftness of the perpetual evolution of all things is indicated by the primitive diagram for antelopes, which in the Rig-Veda are the team for the chariot of the hurricane. This swiftness is also symbolized by stags (Nos. 34–36, 245). The eternal fire producing this evolution, which in the procession of Darius Codomannus was represented by the flaming altars drawn in front of the *holy chariot*, is indicated on the Trojan wheels partly in this manner (Nos. 272, 273, 275, 279, 289, 292), partly by two pieces of wood through the friction of which the priests produced the fire before which, as the eternal fire, they offered up their songs of praise (Nos. 237, 284, 291, 361); and partly it is represented by the lightning, or by the lightning accompanied with thunder (Nos. 107, 124, 125, 160, 356). The representation of the eternal fire, with or without the thunder, is especially worthy of attention, because it harmonizes in an evident manner with a fragment from Heraclitus which Hip-

polytus has brought forward (Refut. Hær., ix, 10), where he says: Heraclitus teaches that every thing in the world is produced by fire, *λέγων οὕτως "τὰ δὲ πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός," τοῦτέστι κατευθύνει· κεραυνὸν τὸ πῦρ λέγων τὸ αἰώνιον* [therefore declaring that the thunder-bolt (thunder and lightning) directs all things; that is, that it sets them right; declaring further that the thunder-bolt is that fire which is eternal]. Thus Heraclitus, in the designation of his primitive essence as similar to that of the Zoroastrian religion, appears to have been intimately acquainted with that system.

Although from what has been presented it is clear how little the statement of Aristotle happens to be in harmony with the actual teaching of the philosophers mentioned, yet the contradiction is displayed still more pointedly in the fact that Heraclitus, in his deeper and more acute thought, conceived the transmutation of the primitive essence into things, not after the manner of Anaximenes and Diogenes of Apollonia, as a mere condensation, but as a tearing apart of self from itself. Therefore he mentioned war as the father of all things, and taught *πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι* (fr. 37, 39). And such a primitive essence is set forth as the mere element *fire!*

With the two philosophers whom Aristotle permits to follow Heraclitus it fares no better. For it is not true that Empedocles regarded the four elements in their separation as the original beginning, as Aristotle sets forth; but, according to his plain statement, it is *Sphairos*, the supreme divinity, that which at the creation of the world was first separated into the four elements, which had been held in perfect neutrality in it (fr. 175, *f.*; also Panzerbieter's "Contributions to the Criticism and Explanation of Empedocles," p. 27; and Philop. in Aristot. de Gen. et Corr., fol. 5ᵇ). Nevertheless Aristotle—and in this Zeller follows him—ascribes to Empedocles the remarkable notion that this *divided divinity*—which, assuredly, already presupposes an earlier one, the *dividing divinity*—is the original beginning. However, Aristotle corrects his improper arrangement of Empedocles in his development by that which he ascribes to him as his merit, that he has not merely set forth, as did Anaxagoras, the second of his metaphysical principles, *ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως* and *ἅμα τοῦ καλῶς τὴν αἰτίαν*; but in his two forces, *φιλία* and *νεῖκος*, actuating all things, he has also

set forth an explanation of the many imperfections in the world. And further, Aristotle (Meta., ii, 4) calls the *Sphairos* of Empedocles the supreme divinity (*τὸν εὐδαιμονέστατον θεόν*). On the contrary, Zeller, not questioning the complete correctness of the development, continues to hold, in accordance with this, that with Empedocles the four elements in their separation were the primitive source of being. Therefore he rejects (707, 708, Rem. 1) not only the testimony of Aristotle concerning *Sphairos*, so clearly presented above, but also the explanation of Empedocles himself.* On this account people naturally obtain from Zeller's book a false picture of the philosophy of Empedocles; a picture at least implicitly distorted in the manner mentioned, and in which the most important and the most characteristic marks are passed over.

We have here the remarkable fact that a very spiritually-minded man, highly gifted as a philosopher, a poet, and a physician, should acknowledge himself in favor of magic. This fact concerning Zeller is taken notice of simply in reference to his deliverances upon the life of the philosopher. In his statement of his conception of the world, however, it is passed over in silence, although it stands connected with this world-theory by the most intimate principles of relation. Of the transmigration of souls, and of whatever is related to this doctrine, Zeller remarks (p. 734) very properly: "Empedocles has borrowed this doctrine from the Orphic-Pythagorean tradition." But this was, according to Herodotus (ii, 81), no other than the Egyptian tradition; therefore Empedocles had no necessity first of going to Egypt to obtain his Egyptian doctrine.

Although Aristotle presents to us, after Empedocles, Anaxagoras as the summit of his scale of development, yet the contradiction in the chronology thereby presented, as we observed above in reference to Hegel, produces in him no con-

* Zeller says: "Moreover, Empedocles has not designated his *Sphairos the* Divinity, but simply divinity. Aristotle first called this *ὁ θεός*. But it does not follow on account of this fact that Empedocles had so named it." But the four elements into which the primitive essence, the *Sphairos*, is divided, were expressly mentioned by Empedocles as *γυια θεοιο* [members of God]. Whether, therefore, he made use of the word *θεοιο* with the article or without it, in either case, since he is treating of the primitive essence, the expression is equally complete. So much must be granted, that the entire ancient world also had no other conception of *Sphairos* than that it was the supreme divinity of Empedocles.

fusion; the rather, he himself remarks, with entire lack of prejudice: *Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ τὰ τέτταρα . . . Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ ὁ Κλαζομένιος, τῇ μὲν ἡλικίᾳ πρότερος ὢν τούτου, τοῖς δ' ἔργοις ὕστερος, ἀπείρους εἶναί φησι τὰς ἀρχάς* [now Empedocles says, that there are four first principles, but Anaxagoras of Clazomenae, although his senior in years yet junior in works, declares that the first principles are countless]. For that he did not mean by *τοῖς ἔργοις* the writing of Anaxagoras entitled *περὶ φύσεως*, the form of the expression shows (comp. Breier, Philos. of Anaxagoras, p. 85). Nevertheless we may say, as in reference to Empedocles so also in a much clearer manner in reference to Anaxagoras, that Aristotle makes good the point in which, in his development, he transgresses against history; since he, at once, upon the statement, sets him forth in his true significance and says of him that he, by his teaching in reference to *νόος*, appears, in comparison with his predecessors, as a sober man—as prudent in the midst of silly praters. Zeller, however, does not do the same; he holds Anaxagoras as well as Empedocles in the false position which he borrows from the Aristotelian scale of development. In accordance with this he desires to persuade us (p. 874, *ff.*) that the conception of numberless primitive elements forms the peculiar constitution of the doctrine of Anaxagoras, and furnishes the ground for his significance in the history of philosophy; since with him *νόος* has for its purpose simply the combination and the separation of the elements. Accordingly, we should have here before us a perplexing problem, if the elevating conception of the world, through which Anaxagoras and his pupil and protector, Pericles, are said to have conceived the nobility of mind and character ascribed to them (Plato, Phædrus, 270[a], Plutarch, Pericles, c. 4, 5, among others by Schaubach, Anaxag. fragm., p. 17, *f.*), were no other than the assumption of numberless primitive elements.

Whoever understands the general point of view of the Clazomenæan in its true form, knows that it is that undoubtedly elevating doctrine of *νόος* which lends to him his significance, and that, too, very high, not simply in pre-Socratic philosophy, but in the philosophy of all times; for he first distinguished fully mind and matter, the one from the other, and through this deprived nature—not excepting sun and moon (Plato,

Apol., 26[d])—of divinity, and reduced it to a oundle of merely natural elements. The assumption of numberless primitive elements into which nature must of necessity divide after it is deprived of divinity, had, indeed, *νόος* for its presupposition, but not, as Zeller states it, for its sequent. That Anaxagoras called the infinitely pure spirit simply *νόος* is very intelligible from his position in the midst of Grecian idolatry. No one would doubt that Euripides simply rendered the meaning of his teacher, when in one of his dramas he interwove the following dialogue:

Θεὸν δὲ ποῖον εἰπέ μοι νοητέον;
*Τὸν πάνθ' ὁρῶντα καὐτὸν οὐχ ὁράμενον.**

[Tell me what sort of God is the *Intelligible?*
He is the observer of every thing, while He himself is not seen.]

In fact there is wanting to *νόος* no one of the characteristic distinctions that the theist of the Old Testament ascribes to God. It is in the first place a pure incorporeal spirit, without relation of essence with any thing whatsoever, absolutely self-sustained.† It is *αὐτοκράτωρ*, that is to say, self-controlled with unrestricted power in reference to free inclination.‡ If Zeller (p. 889, *f.* 892, rem.) does not wish to acknowledge full personality as essential to *νόος*, from the fact that Anaxagoras teaches "that it inheres as living soul in all animals, great and small,"§ he must also deny this personality to the God of the Old Testament. For the Psalmist (civ, 29 *f.*) speaks in reference to all

* Schneither de Euripide philosopho, p. 27.

† Fr. 6; Aristot. de Anima, i, 2; iii, 4; Cic. de Nat. Deor., i, 11. It cannot surprise us that Anaxagoras, in the fragment mentioned, says also of *νόος*: *ἐστὶ γὰρ λεπτότατόν τε πάντων χρημάτων καὶ καθαρώτατον*; for, indeed, the God of the Old Testament and of the New, whose incorporeity no one doubts, is designated as *breath*, *πνεῦμα*. Also, the Book of Wisdom, vii, 22, speaks of *σοφία*, the immaterial, as *πνεῦμα νοερόν, λεπτόν*, etc.

‡ Plato calls *νόος* in Cratylus, 413[c], *αὐτοκράτωρ;* Anaxagoras designates it in fr. 6, as *αὐτοκρατές*. Carus, *de Anaxagoreæ cosmo-theologiæ fontibus*, p. 9, explains this expression as follows: "*Solis suis viribus et solo suo utitur arbitrio, suamque propriam potestatem habet, nec ulla causa nisi sua voluntate ductus decernit. Verbum illi aetati maxime proprium, Euripideum, Thucydideum. Apud Euripidem mentis solius est epitheton: Androm.* 482. *In Thucydide, ubi schol. αὐτεξούσιον explicare solet, vel de libertate ipsi τύχῃ imperante* (iv, 68), *vel de λογισμῷ, s. ratione sponte agente* (iv, 107), *vel sensu politico occurrit, e. c. τὸ πᾶν αὐτοκράτορσι διαθεῖναι* (i, 126, coll. vi, 8; v, 45); *huc quoque referam αὐτοκίνητον illud apud Lactantium Inst.*, i, 5, 18."

§ Aristot., de Anima, i, 2, *ἐν ἅπασι γὰρ ὑπάρχειν αὐτόν* (*sc. τὸν νόον*) *τοῖς ζώοις καὶ μεγάλοις καὶ μικροῖς*, etc. Comp. Anaxag. fr. 6.

the living, of which there are "creeping things without number, and animals great and small," as directly from God: "Thou takest away their breath, and they die and return to dust. Thou givest forth thy breath and they are created, and thou renewest the face of the earth." And the Book of Job says (xxxiv, 14, *f.*): "Whenever he gives attention to himself alone, when he draws his spirit and his life-breath back to himself, then all flesh perish and man returns to the dust." (Comp. Cölln Bibl. Theol., § 23, vol. i, p. 132.) In a manner worthy of note Tertullian (*de Anima*, 12) says also of Anaxagoras, that he considered νόος a point of revolution, upon which the collected life of the universe hung (*universitatis oscillum ex illius axe suspendens*). Further, νόος is not simply the creator of the system of the world, which it has brought forth from chaos through the separation of the elements, acting after the manner of a master workman (and, indeed, the entire physics of Anaxagoras is, even according to his peculiar declaration in fr. 12, this simple doctrine of chaos), but it is in general only the power actuating every thing; there is no other power, no other god beside it, no fate (Plutarch, Pericles, c. 4; Alex. Aphrod. de Fato 2, p. 4, *f.*, ed. Orelli), no chance (Plato, Philebus, 28*e*; Aristot. Metaph., i, 3); Zeus only *is*, and all the popular gods are not (Lucian, Timon, c. 10). It [he] is not simply all-powerful, because it [he] makes every thing, but also all-wise, as Anaxagoras says: "It [he] possessed all knowledge of every thing." Already at the creation of the system of the world from chaos it [he] had foreknowledge of every thing, and distinguished the same. "The commixture, the separation, and the distinction, νόος knew each; what ought to be, what was, what now is, what shall be, νόος directs all." It is, according to Cedrenus (Chron., p. 130) and Harpocration, "the guard of the world" (πάντων φρουρός); according to Plato, "the king of heaven and earth" (Plato, Philebus, 28^c, βασιλεὺς οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς; comp. Breier, Philos. de Anaxag., p. 82). Accordingly, Anaxagoras must of necessity have believed that every thing in the world was intelligible and admirable, and that nothing was unintelligible and ill-formed (Aristot., Metaph., i, 3, *f.*; Themist., in Aristot., Phys., fol. 58^b; Plato, Philebus, 28^c). Therefore there can be given scarcely a plainer proof of the spirit of this philosopher than the information of the ancients

that he pronounced it the highest satisfaction of life "to contemplate the heavens and the collective arrangement of the world" (Aristot., Eth. Eudem., i, 5; comp. Philo quod mundus sit incorr., p. 488, ed. Francof). This presentation of the starry heavens—for it signifies self-consciousness—is so much the more worthy of attention because in this symbol also the theist of the Old Testament perceives the clearest confirmation (Psalm xix, 2, *f.*).

The conception of Zeller (p. 894, *f.*), that no place was found by Anaxagoras for faith in providence * is contradicted, not only by the preceding remarks, but especially most thoroughly by the expression given from fr. 6; and still further Plutarch mentions (de Fortuna, c. 3) in plain words, that according to Anaxagoras through *εὐβουλία* (prudence) and *πρόνοια* (foreknowledge) man had received talent to make himself lord of all created things, and to have them do service at his wish. To a less extent can the tradition from Pseudo-Plutarch be doubted, that according to the statement of Anaxagoras *νόος* was concerned especially about man, and consequently made him the principal point of view of creation (Gen. i, 26, *f.*; ix, 2, *f.*; Psalms viii, 5, *f.*; de Plac. Phil., i, 7, 7; comp. Eusebius, Praep. Evang., xiv, 16; Rosenmüller Schol. on Gen. i, 26–31). The notion of Zeller that Anaxagoras in his writings developed physics exclusively, and treated of *νόος* only so far as he had need of the same, is also contradicted on the authority of Plato. In his Phædrus (270[a]) he says of Anaxagoras: *περὶ νοῦ τε καὶ ἀνοίας τὸν πολὺν λόγον ἐποιεῖτο* [concerning intelligence and nescience, he argued much].

Consequently Zeller states the doctrine of Anaxagoras in its most essential principle incorrectly throughout. How little his statement of the doctrine of Pythagoras and of the Pythag-

* If Zeller by this wishes especially to call attention to the criticism that Plato (Phædo, 97[b]) and Aristotle (Meta., i, 4) pass upon Anaxagoras, how that he made use of the *νόος* only where he knew not where to find the physical causes of an appearance, it may be said that the same had been sufficiently elucidated, both in ancient time and by modern teachers. This criticism, which seems perfectly intelligible from the Platonic and the Aristotelian point of view, ought not to be reiterated by a Christian teacher, who knows that the physical explanations of our science of nature neither exclude nor condition our faith in providence (Simplicius on Aristot. Phys., fol. 38[a]; Hemsen, Anaxag. Claz., p. 89, *f.*; H. Ritter, Hist. Phil., i, p. 317, *f.*; Hist. Ion. Phil., p. 246, *f.*).

oreans is in harmony with historical accuracy I have proved in my dissertation, "The Egyptian Perversion of Pythagoras" (Philol. xxxix). While in actuality each perception of the world is organically developed in an admirable manner from a positive basis of knowledge, by Zeller they are all regarded as a collection of thoughts and conceptions that can be brought in connection with a stated principle in part only artificially, in part not at all. Most significantly is this presented by Heraclitus. Since he understood πῦρ ἀείζωον to be that primitive essence which happens to be in ceaseless change, *the perpetual flux of all things* results from this naturally. The same is likewise the περιέχον φρενῆρες, the ethereal Zeus, the γνώμη ἥτε οἰακίζει πάντα διὰ πάντων, also the λόγος ξυνός (fr. 58), further, likewise, the rational soul and αὐγὴ ξηρὴ ψυχὴ σοφωτάτη καὶ ἀρίστη (fr. 73, 74). Since it dwells in every essence as its living soul, nothing is more horrible than that which is deprived of soul, that is, in want of divinity (godless), the mere dead body (fr. 58); consequently nothing is more foolish than to pray to that which is without soul, to images destitute of every sign of the divine essence. Darkness, or Hades, is set in opposition to the ethereal Zeus, or the pure light; hence the detestation of every gloomy impulse like magic and mysticism (fr. 81 Clem. Alex., Cohort., ii, p. 18, *f.*, ed. Potter; fr. 70 by Schleiermacher); hence, also, the detestation of falsehood skulking in the darkness (fr. 8 Schl.), and his positive emphasis in the treatment of truth and frankness,* and especially that no

* In Stobæus Floril, iii, 84, we find the following Heraclitean fragment: σωφρονεῖν ἀρετὴ μεγίστη, καὶ σοφίη ἀληθέα λέγειν καὶ ποιέειν κατὰ φύσιν ἐπαίοντας. Schleiermacher (n. 44) first called this fragment in question; for he, as he himself declares, relies on mere feeling. Now Mullach has permitted it to vanish entirely from the collection of Heraclitean fragments with a remark (under fr. 56) upon its want of intelligible connection with fr. 55, although the latter fragment just as little bears implicitly the impress of authenticity. For, in the first place, σωφροσύνη is the first of the four cardinal virtues of the Heraclitean Stoics, and in the second place there is scarcely an expression more thoroughly Heraclitean than ἀληθέα ποιέειν, since according to Sextus Empiricus (adv. Math., viii, 8), Heraclitus regarded τὸ αληθές etymologically as τὸ μὴ λῆθον; moreover, extravagance is attributed to me by Zeller (p. 677), that I rendered conspicuous in Heraclitus the expression "that he desired a knowledge of the truth" as a Zoroastrian phrase. The above-quoted ἀληθέα λέγειν καὶ ποιέειν it was indeed fitting to point out as an authentic Zoroastrian expression, and I have abundant evidence in Herodot., i, 136; Plato, Alcib., i, 121, *f.*; Strabo, xv, 3, 18, p. 733, ed. Casaubon; Stobæus, Floril, vol. ii, p. 227, ed. Gaisf.

one can continue to hide his deceit from that Light which never sets.*

Furthermore, the traditions that point to a Zoroastrian burial along with the cremation of the dead body are explained by the significance that fire and the corpse had in his conception.† How also the conception, war is the father of all things, had its ground in the nature of his primitive essence, has been already pointed out above. Thus all this is unfolded very simply from the authentic fundamental point of view of Heraclitus, while it does not permit of positive deduction from the substituted metaphysical proposition of the flux of all things.

It can escape the notice of no one that in the explanations of Zeller there is manifestly an effort to hold Orientalism at a distance, or to explain it away. In this effort, at bottom, no doubt, lies the belief which seems to prevail quite generally that these philosophers, by proof of the Oriental content of their doctrines, suffer a loss of the authority that up to this time has been assigned to them. In fact exactly the opposite is true. While Pythagoras and his school, Heraclitus, the Eleatics, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras, up to this time are esteemed simply as the foremost thinkers among the Hellenes, they became through these proofs the representatives, at the same time, of that great historical civilization of nations, the religious world-theories of which, some more and some less

* The beautiful fragment *τὸ μὴ δῦνόν ποτε (φῶς) πῶς ἂν τις λάθοι* has been entirely distorted by Mullach under n. 48, in that he has changed *τις* to *τινα*, and consequently has translated it *quomodo quemquem fugiat ignis numquam occidens?* He, as certain as Schleiermacher (n. 40), has forgotten to notice the connection in which the fragment from Clemens Alexandrinus, Paedag. (ii, 10, p. 229, ed. Potter), is brought forward. Clemens says, in the words of Isaiah xxix, 15, *οἱ ἐν κρυφῇ βουλὴν ποιοῦντες, καὶ ἔσται ἐν σκότει τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐροῦσι· τίς ἑώρακεν ἡμᾶς*, adding, *λήσεται μὲν γὰρ ἴσως τὸ αἰσθητὸν φῶς τις· τὸ δὲ νοητὸν* (without doubt God is meant) *ἀδύνατόν ἐστιν· ἤ, ὡς φησιν Ἡράκλειτος, τὸ μὴ δῦνόν ποτε πῶς ἂν τις λάθοι; μηδαμῶς τοίνυν ἐπικαλυπτώμεθα τὸ σκότος.* Therefore the change of Mullach is unintelligible, especially since we do not generally cover ourselves before the sun as the sensuous light, to forget it, but in order not to be seen by it. In the fragment there is nothing to warrant the change, not even *λήσεται* in the words of Clemens, for the *future middle*, *λήσομαι*, with the accusative is used for the *future active*, *λήσω*.

† Zeller, p. 677, states the case as though I would give credence to the saying, Heraclitus was torn in pieces alive by dogs, while I am of the opinion that in this we have merely a perversion of the fact of a Zoroastrian burial, for I expressly remark: "Why should we be surprised if he ordered a Zoroastrian burial for himself, if he thought and taught the Zoroastrian doctrine?"

sensuous, they give back in the clearness of philosophy, as in beautiful pictures of light, and thus unlock the door for a correct and deeper understanding of history.* Especially conspicuous does this become in the explanation of Egyptian philosophy by the light of Empedocles.

[NOTE BY THE EDITOR, ALFRED FLECKEISEN. I regret that the author of this article was not privileged to see it in print. On the 16th of November of the present year (1879) he died peacefully at Berlin. The Miscellany of the "Norddeutschen Allg. Ztg." for November 23 contains an obituary from the pen of the counselor of legation, Dr. R. Hepke, from which, largely *verbatim*, we borrow the following notice:

August Gladisch was born August 28, 1804, at Altenhof, in the province of Posen. He studied in Berlin, for the most part under Carl Ritter and Hegel, who at that time stood at the summit of their scientific activity. He was appointed, at the beginning of his thirtieth year, teacher of German literature and the elements of philosophy at the Catholic gymnasium in Posen. His instruction incited activity of a high grade among his pupils. His courtesy and integrity of character gained for him the confidence of his pupils—the greater part of whom were Poles—to such an extent that in their especial perplexities they took refuge in him, although he understood not a word of Polish, as though he were a paternal friend. After about

* In reference to this, of course, the argument is not that the philosophers named have drawn, directly, from the Oriental fountain-head, nor even that in a single instance they recited in a mechanical way the tradition handed down from that source; many a tradition must, *per se*, of necessity at the beginning be transformed into the Hellenic view (for example, the Egyptians thought of the moon, not as a goddess, but as a god); but the essential harmony of their conceptions is very evident. In a very plain way this can be shown by comparison of Parmenides and the acosmic Brahmins. Parmenides distinguished two points of view for reflection—that of truth in accordance with the knowledge of reflecting reason, that of mere opinion in accordance with the observation of sense; he taught of the first that it was simply being, τὸ ὄν, while he explained visible multiplicity and change of being, the entire world as presented to our vision, as μὴ ὄν —an empty delusion of sense. In like manner the Brahmins distinguish the point of *cognitio* and that of *ignorantia*, and teach in reference to the first very strictly that it is the Brahma or God: "he is the entity, *sat* (the common τὸ ὄν), while forms, being mere delusion, are nonentity, *asat* (the common τὸ μὴ ὄν); there is not here any multiplicity." (Colebrooke, "On the Vedas" in the "Researches in Asia," vol. viii, p. 404; "On the Philosophy of the Hindus," in the "Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society," vol. ii, p. 26.)

ten years' activity he was forced by pressure from the archiepiscopal see of the government to resign his position under penalty of the withdrawal of his salary. He went to Halle, there passed over to the Evangelical Church, and earnestly engaged himself with his scientific works, until he was again called into active service as director of the newly established gymnasium at Krotoschin. This position he has occupied until a few years since, when the disease which has now proved fatal compelled him to resign.

His scientific works were comparative researches in the realm of religion and philosophy. In a series of monographs he sought to prove, among other things, that the religious world-theories of the five ancient civilized nations of the Orient—the Chinese, the Indians, the Persians, the Egyptians, and the Israelites—return in Hellenic civilization as elements of religious and philosophical consciousness. His writings relating to this subject (now collected and published by Heinrichs, Leipsic) are: "The Ancient Chinese and the Pythagoreans" (1841); "The Eleatics and the Indians" (1844); "Heraclitus and Zoroaster" (1859); "Empedocles and the Egyptians" (1858); "Anaxagoras and the Israelites" (1864); "The Hyperboreans and the Ancient Chinese" (1866); "Religion and Philosophy in their General Historical Development and their Relation to Each Other" (1852).]

Art. VI.—THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE BODY FOR MENTAL ACTION.

One of the most obvious facts of experience is, that the mental life is profoundly dependent upon the physical organism, and more especially upon the brain and nervous system. From this many have concluded, with somewhat hasty logic, that the body itself is the sole source and seat of the mental life. The logic is hasty, for the facts are ambiguous, and may be explained by either of two hypotheses:

1. We may suppose that the organism produces the mental facts. This would explain the observed dependence.

2. We may suppose that the mind is distinct from the

organism, but is conditioned by it. This also would explain the observed dependence.

A careful logic would recognize this ambiguity, and would then seek for some ground of decision between the rival theories.

The first hypothesis is that of materialism. In this view the mind is only a collective term for thoughts and feelings, and these in turn are produced by the organism. This view is perfectly clear until we try to understand it, and then we forthwith begin to grope. In explanation of the production of thought by matter various suggestions are made, but they all prove treacherous, and commit us either to nonsense or to absurdity. Thus it is said:

1. The brain secretes thought as the liver does bile. But the secretory organs either eliminate their products from the blood, or make them from material furnished by the blood; and hence, if we are to take the suggested analogy in earnest, it would follow that thoughts either pre-exist in the blood, or are made out of blood, and in either case that they are material, and might conceivably be collected in a test tube and looked at.

2. Thought has been called a mode of motion, and as motion is something immaterial, this view seems less gross than the preceding. But motion is nothing apart from something that moves, and the moving thing is the reality. Hence this view, when made complete, becomes this: The motion of M from A to B with velocity v is a thought. That it should produce a thought is intelligible; that it is a thought is absurd. As well might we call the following line ——— a flash of insight or a heavenly aspiration.

3. It only remains that we say that matter produces thought, without too curiously specifying the nature of this production. But our previous trouble continues so long as we appeal only to the forces which physical science attributes to matter. These forces are without exception moving forces, that is, their effect consists in modifying the movements and groupings of matter. And all production in the physical realm consists not in making something else, but in producing new movements and groupings of given matter. The change of grouping and the new movement are the effect. If now the production of thought is to be assimilated to physical production we should

have to say that a certain material grouping is a thought. As *n* atoms grouped and moving in a certain way do not produce, but are, a chemical molecule; so *m* atoms grouped and moving in a certain way do not produce, but are, a thought. As in the preceding cases such thoughts might conceivably be collected and looked at, and essentially the same absurdity reappears.

4. There is no getting on so long as we use only those conceptions of matter which suffice for physical science. The more clearly we grasp those conceptions the clearer becomes the impossibility of bringing mental facts into line with them. But who shall assure us that we have not thought too meanly of matter? that it has not "promises and potencies" in it which physics has overlooked? This suggestion is so necessary to any system of materialism that it has been universally adopted, and matter has been hypothetically endowed with mystic possibilities, "inner faces," "subjective aspects," etc. Why may not a series of such elements produce thought as a function, or resultant, of their interaction?

This view in no way meets the purpose of its invention. Assume *n* elements, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, etc., endowed with sundry mystic possibilities and entering into a highly complex interaction. As a consequence they may all enter into the same inner state *m*, or into a series of states *m*, *n*, *o*, *p*, *r*, etc., different for each. These inner states, owing to the mysterious double-facedness of the elements, may be considered as having a mental nature. The only possible outcome of the elements' interaction is a modification of their space relations and the production of these inner states. But each of these states is inseparable from its own subject. There is no way whereby *m*, *n*, *o*, *r*, may leave their respective subjects and meet in the void to form a compound mental state which I call mine. Such a procedure would be like that of a series of motions which should break loose from their subjects and compound themselves in the void to form a new motion which should be the motion of nothing. So long as these hypothetical mental states are inseparable from their subjects, they are useless for explaining my mental life.

With this bare suggestion of some of the difficulties of materialism we return to the statement that our mental dependence on physical conditions is an ambiguous fact, and is as com-

patible with the spiritualistic as with the materialistic hypothesis. But a great many considerations make the latter untenable and shut us up to the former. But that view, though affirming a mind distinct from the organism, by no means annuls the fact that our mental action is physically conditioned. It is this significance of the body for the mental life which we propose to consider. There is all the more reason to do this from the fact, that while materialism has falsely concluded from the dependence, to the non-existence, of the soul, spiritualism, on the other hand, has often tended to ignore the dependence. The body has been spoken of as a cage, a prison, a defilement; and thus a spurious spiritualism has arisen as one-sided as materialism itself. It is desirable, if possible, to clear up the matter so that the facts shall be neither ignored nor materialistically interpreted.

That all mental action is attended by physical wear any one can easily satisfy himself by experiment. In much of our mental work there is a deal of physical labor directly involved, as in reading or speaking. The organism must be adjusted to the demands made upon it; and these are often great. Again, in much of our mental activity there is a continuous demand made upon some of the organs of sense. There is nothing strange in the nervous waste arising from such labor; for the organism is distinctly active. But apart from these cases there is a waste attendant upon thinking in general without any reference to the senses whatever. The abstract reflections of the philosopher and the unpicturable thinking of the theologian involve nervous wear and waste, although the objects dealt with are entirely supersensible. In like manner the prayer of the saint and the longing of the mystic take place only at nervous expense. Doubt at this point concerns not the facts but their interpretation.

Many have claimed that in such cases our thoughts are but the transformation of the nervous energy consumed. This claim rests upon a total misunderstanding of the general doctrine of energy in physics. The common fancy is, that energy is an ethereal something gliding from one thing to another, and assuming various forms in the passage. This is sheer mythology. Energy must always be the energy of something, and cannot exist in the void without a subject. In the

physical theory, the elements are the subjects of the physical energies. But these are in such relations to one another that a given element, *A*, may arouse energy in another element, *B*, at the cost of its own. This is the transference of energy; and as in the case of the transference of motion, there is no proper transference but a propagation.

Again, in this propagation the new state produced may be qualitatively unlike the antecedent. The antecedent, electricity, may have for consequent heat, light, motor-power, etc. This qualitative change is the transformation of energy. It consists simply in the qualitative unlikeness of antecedent and consequent.

Finally, if the antecedents and consequents are measured by some dynamic standard, they are found to be dynamically equivalent in spite of their qualitative differences. This is the conservation of energy.

How far this is from the rhetorical whim of a protean energy which passes from thing to thing and from form to form is evident. Except in a figurative sense, there is no transference and no transformation. If then the brain should expend energy in arousing the mind to activity, there would be no passage of physical energy into mental energy, but an expenditure of the former in inciting the mind to develop the latter. And here again it is possible that no physical energy is expended in arousing the mind, but only in setting up the physical changes which are accompanied by thought. It may be that thinking costs the brain something; and it may be that each nervous antecedent is fully accounted for in its nervous consequent.

The share of the brain in thinking may be conceived as follows: The interaction between mind and brain is mutual. A given nervous state tends to produce a specific sensation; and conversely the thought of that sensation tends to reproduce the corresponding physical state. This is seen in its most striking form in the sensations which arise from expectation and belief. In such cases the nervous system is so strongly affected that the sensation is really produced. In the representation of form also something of the same kind is probable in the visual tract. Hallucinations resulting in the vision of unrealities reveal such a tendency. Language also, when present in thought,

produces a nascent affection of the vocal organs. Finally, thought is very often attended by emotion; and this at once finds an echo in the physical system. There is then a mutual interaction between soul and body. The physical state tends to produce its mental effect; and the mental state echoes itself in the physical system. The intimate union of soul and body explains their mutual sympathy. This sympathy becomes all the more intelligible if we suppose that the soul itself, in its subconscious activities, is the builder and administrator of the organism.

Such an order of interaction of soul and body being given, the significance of physical health for mental health becomes apparent. To begin with, the body is the instrument whereby the soul gets all its impressions of the outer world; and in order to have a rational mental life, these impressions must constitute an orderly series or system of series. If they are disorderly or incoherent from the beginning, the soul has no manageable material to work upon; and the rational nature fails to develop. The result is idiocy, varying in depth with the physical imperfection from which it springs.

Or we may suppose the disorder to begin after the rational life has been developed into coherent forms, and sensations have become the signs of certain objects. If now the disorder result in producing sensations without the presence of their appropriate objects, there will be a series of hallucinations. If these sensations be of a strange and distressing nature, the mind will give them various interpretations according to its own past experience. The known laws of association working upon the sense-data would not fail to present manifold uncanny or terrific objects. These objects, again, by the same laws and by the automatic connection of mental states with the motor system, would not fail to call forth corresponding action. The result would be delirium or insanity. In this case the mental action would be normal or rational under the assumed circumstances. The fault would be in the sense-data; and to correct them would discharge the delusion.

Again, we know that a long-continued mental strain often makes it impossible for us to banish our objects. They haunt us to weariness and because of weariness. Such a fact is explained by an overwrought state of the nerves, whereby they

fail to return to their equilibrium of indifference. If, now, parts of the nervous tract should become permanently excited in this way, but to a still greater degree, we should have a tendency of certain forms of experience to take and maintain possession of consciousness; and these, working together with the past experience of the individual, would produce "fixed ideas" of one kind or another.

A certain amount of fixity in the elements of experience is necessary to rationality. Without it there can be no discrimination, reflection, or judgment. When the rapidity of change is too great, the mind fails to identify or retain any thing. This is seen in the flight of ideas in delirium. Nothing is fixed or stable enough to allow the mind to grasp its objects in rational comprehension. If now the nervous system should acquire abnormal mobility of its parts, so that the physical changes which are attended by mental states should succeed one another with undue rapidity, something of the same kind must happen. Rational reflection would be impeded, if not impossible; and the tendency would be toward obliteration of rationality altogether.

Mental work is greatly aided by physical helps in many ways. Compare, for example, the labor of solving a geometrical problem or of multiplying a long list of figures in the mind, with that of doing the same work when the diagrams are drawn or the figures written down. The physical symbol helps the mind to keep the problem steadily before it, and leaves it free for purely rational effort. Doubtless it will seem to us that there is nothing strange in this fact; for we see the things directly. But we must point out that seeing is simply a form of mental action which arises from certain forms of nervous action. The object stands before the mind, not because it exists objectively, but because a certain kind of nervous action incites the mind to create in itself the vision of the object. Such facts then prove that there are nervous states which can greatly assist the mind in some of its operations. But many facts make it very probable that something of the same kind exists in all thinking because of the connection of thought with language and with physical images. If this be so, then any disturbance of the brain whereby it should affect the mind only in a coarse and gross manner, or whereby it should become less sensitive

to mental states, would impede rational activity as much as it would embarrass a mathematician to take his pencil and paper away from him. More than this, it would tend to repress rational activity; for so long as the mind is subject to such an order of interaction with the body, a disturbance in either member must reflect itself in the other. If, in addition, this state of the nerves should be the ground of various vague and disturbing states of consciousness which should harass the mind and distract attention, the higher forms of mental action must be profoundly disturbed. We have constant illustration of such disturbance in the inability to think, to fix the attention, and to store up facts for recollection which attends the weariness of every day and ends in unconsciousness every night.

The previous suggestions are intended to remove some of the mystery which hangs around this subject in popular thought, and to show how unnecessary it is to have recourse to materialistic theories. The general laws of mind, and of the interaction of body and mind, make it perfectly plain that while the soul is connected with the body the physical condition must have the profoundest significance for the mental life. We believe, also, that they explain in principle all the mental disturbances and aberrations which arise from organic conditions. We say "in principle," because there is no theory which enables us to explain each fact in detail. The most thorough-going materialism is as completely unable to explain the detailed facts of our mental dependence on physical conditions—for example, peculiar losses of memory—as any other theory. But the same inability to follow our principles into details meets us every-where, even in the laws of mechanics. We may be perfectly sure that the simple laws of force and motion determine every movement in the physical universe, and yet we cannot trace any of them except in the simplest instances.

But this dependence of mental functions upon physical conditions cannot fail to suggest the question, whether the mental life can go on apart from the body. The question divides into two: 1) Can the mental life go on apart from the present body? 2) Can the mental life go on apart from a body? We begin with the former.

Taken by themselves, the facts admit of a threefold interpre-

tation. We may regard the body, 1) as producing mental functions, 2) as necessary to mental functions, and 3) as interfering with and repressing mental functions which it does not produce, and to which it is not necessary. The first interpretation is excluded by the untenability of materialism. Between the other two, we must observe that the facts are mainly negative. They do not show us the body as necessary to the performance of mental functions, but as interfering with mental functions. In any case the existing connection between physical and mental states is purely a factual one. Neither is seen to imply the other; and, so far as we can see, they could exist equally well apart. The nervous action does not do the mental work. It does not feel, nor think, nor remember, but merely furnishes the stimulus thereto. One of the elegant conceptions of the physiological psychologists is, that the brain itself does the mind's remembering; as if by any possibility one thing could remember for another. Doubtless the physical stimulus is adapted to the circumstances of our present life; but it is entirely conceivable that the same result should be reached in many other ways, and that in some other life a finer and subtler stimulus may lead to a higher and richer unfolding. Why a given form of vibration should produce the sensation red is quite unknown; and why red should not be produced by any other form whatever is equally unknown. The series of sensations and feelings is a not closed one, and the external stimulus to their development may be any thing the Creator chooses to appoint. Our mental experiences are not taken ready-made from the body; the body is only the appointed means in the present life for evoking them.

Concerning the second question, we remark, that when once a mental life has begun, and a store of ideas has been accumulated, it seems quite possible that a self-inclosed thought-life might go on thereafter in entire independence of any organism. No necessity for an organism appears except for communication with the outer world. Without it, the soul would be restricted to itself, having no experience of the world beyond, and no power to act upon and in that world. Such a life would be very bare and limited, and to escape it some system of interaction with the outer [objective] world is needed whereby the soul may receive impulses from without, and may

produce effects beyond itself. Indeed, that is probably all that the present organism is—an organized system of interaction for the reception and transmission of impulses. In this sense there can be no full mental life without a body. But in another life this system may be altogether unlike the present, on the one hand furnishing the stimulus to a far higher mental unfolding, and on the other receiving mental commands with a perfect and complete obedience. The Christian thought of the resurrection and of the spiritual body seems to involve [hypothetically] something of this sort.

The abstract possibility of our existing apart from the present body admits of no dispute; but this is far enough from proving that we shall so exist. Yet the fact that the soul cannot be identified with the body shows that the destruction of the body contains no assignable ground for the destruction of the soul. The indestructibility of substance, also, upon which physical science is based, would suggest that every real thing must be assumed to continue in existence until its annihilation has been proved. If, then, this subject is to be argued upon the basis of our customary ideas, the burden of proof would lie altogether upon the believer in annihilation. For the soul is real, and must be assumed to exist until its destruction has been shown. Of course, such a showing is impossible, and hence the presumption must remain in favor of continued existence.

To this it is urged in objection, that such a claim would imply the continued existence of brute souls; and that this would be absurd. In fact, the absurdity lies altogether in the unfamiliarity of the notion. That many forms of animal life should exist at all is as great an absurdity as can well be conceived. That they should continue to exist would be no greater. The question, Of what use would they be hereafter? is offset by the equally unanswerable one, Of what use are they here? We need not reflect long to see that our artificial and anthropomorphic conceptions of the fit and unfit cannot well be applied to cosmic problems.

In fact, however, none of our customary ideas will help us in this matter. Metaphysics convinces us that the entire system of finite things has its ground of existence not in itself, but in one Infinite Being, who is the fundamental reality of all existence. No finite thing, then, has any inalienable right to

exist by virtue of its title of substance or on any other metaphysical ground whatever. Every finite thing, whether material or spiritual, begins to exist because the nature or plan of the Infinite calls for it. If that nature or plan should no longer demand its existence, then that thing would cease to be. We can only lay down, then, this formal principle: Those things that have perennial significance for the universe will abide; those which have only temporary significance will pass away. But this principle admits of no specific conclusions on our part. We cannot tell what the plan of the Infinite may include and what it may exclude. It already includes so much that we should have rejected that we can hardly escape the conviction that the data of the problem lie beyond our grasp. The only thing to which we can attribute absolute worth is moral goodness or the moral personality; but this is a consideration drawn from [our conceptions of] the moral nature, and not from metaphysical speculation. In short, if the moral nature demands continued existence, or if any word of revelation affirms it, there is no fact or argument against it. On the other hand, apart from the moral nature and revelation, pure speculation must occupy a somewhat agnostic attitude upon this question of immortality.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

ABOUT REVIVALS.

It is becoming pretty generally recognized that in order to maintain the requisite spiritual interest in the Church, and to realize its best possibilities, there must be from time to time special efforts and incitements toward religious quickening. If the Church's highest aim is only the maintenance of itself in the fullness of its governmental powers, then perhaps only a steady course of administrative effectiveness is needed; but even for that end the zealous co-operation of its members is desirable, and therefore it is needful to seek the increase of their devotion to the Church. Accordingly, we see how effectually the Church of Rome touches every individual of its communion by the use of its so-called sacraments at every stage of his being, from his baptism in early infancy until he is passed

forward to the great future, with the anointing of the Church upon him as his passport into the Paradise of the faithful. This system, if accepted with the requisite credence, answers all possible requirements for the soul's future; and after a trustful compliance with the commands of the Church the individual needs nothing more.

And yet even the Church of Rome recognizes the great value of religious zeal and enthusiasm, and she has her well-ordered methods for its promotion. Earnest and inflammatory sermons are delivered to eager crowds at the great festivals, or on saints' days; pretended miracles are wrought in the sight of the people, as in the cases of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples, or the sacred waters of numerous miraculous fountains. In Protestant Churches and countries a similar need of spiritual quickening has been recognized; but in those in which the authority of the State has been dominant it has been found very difficult to provide for the necessity; and accordingly either the most lamentable decay of spirituality has occurred, as in the State Churches of the European continent, or else there has been a wide-spread dissent and separation of the more spiritual from the national Church, as in Great Britain. It has accordingly become the accepted conviction of nearly all our religious bodies, that for the maintenance of successful Church life and the power of religion among the people, there must be special efforts made specifically for that purpose.

It is to be noticed, that from the Roman Catholic "missioner" to the Protestant evangelist, the truths and doctrines chiefly relied upon to give pungency and force to their appeals are substantially the same. They remind the people that they are lost sinners, and as such they are exposed to perdition; that Christ died for them, and that they may be saved through him, and that their only way of escape is by taking hold upon him. It is agreed by common consent that Christ crucified is the burden of the Gospel to sinful men; but in respect to how that great theme shall be presented there is not so much unanimity; and yet, perhaps, the dissent is more in form than in substance. The Romanists use the outward sign of the cross—the crucifix—and pictures of the Man of sorrows, with his disfigured face, and of the "bleeding heart." Then they lead their devotees through their "stations," each a memorial of some event in the sad scenes of Christ's last sufferings. All this is entirely outward and realistic, addressed to the imagination, and ostensibly intended to bring the worshiper into communion with those sufferings. And some things not altogether unlike these may be detected in the imagery sometimes used by Protestant pietists and evangelists, especially in the language of subjective devotion, and more particularly in sacred poetry. The early Moravian hymns are conspicuous examples in point, in which are presented in painfully realistic forms Christ's "blood," and "nail-prints," and "wounds," and "bleeding side," with the manifest intent that these images shall be deeply wrought into the imagination. These things, if used only to a moderate extent, and very delicately, may, perhaps, be made to serve a good purpose, but their liability to abuse renders them on the whole of very doubtful utility.

And yet the fact that these things are laid hold of for a purpose by different classes of persons so widely separated, may suggest the thought that there must be something about them that commends them to the common religious consciousness. Since the religious element in man's nature responds to the thoughts and ideas thus presented, it ought to be possible to utilize them for religious persuasion and edification. They seem to prove that the motives and methods that distinguish modern revivals have their source in man's spiritual consciousness, and therefore the religion induced by their use is normal, and its development capable of being rendered wholesome.

The revival and the work of religious culture are complementary parts of the system of Christian edification—the former especially reaching out toward the unsaved, and the latter seeking to perfect them that are of the household of faith. But the work is substantially the same in both its parts, and therefore every Christian pastor should be a revivalist as well as a pastor. The church is militant, and should be equally prepared for defense and offense—for the preservation of those that are saved and the rescue of those still held in captivity by the enemy; and failing of this latter duty, being shut up in its own strong tower, the church itself will become demoralized, weak, and sickly, and ready to perish. Revivals, being the normal fruits of healthy and vigorous Christian life, are needful to the church's well-being, and essential to its tone and spirituality, and its growth and prosperity.

Revivals are of two kinds—ordinary and extraordinary—those within the church and prosecuted under its direction, and those beyond and outside of the organic churches and led on by so-called irregular agents. The former are the results of the ordinary ministries of particular churches, with their stated services of worship and teaching and Christian communion; and whenever these are used with zeal and fidelity, believers will be edified and sinners converted, and such churches will be favored with occasional seasons of special spiritual fruitfulness. A living church is perennially a revival church, and yet special seasons of revival are needful alike for bringing the unsaved to Christ and for maintaining the required religious tone of the members of the church, and of the associate body as a whole. It is the privilege of any church to be always in a state of revival, and where that is the case there will usually be occasional visitations of grace resulting in special displays of converting and sanctifying power. There are in the spiritual as in the natural world alternations of seasons, with the early and the latter rains, seed-times and harvest-times, times to labor and to wait, and times to enter upon the recompense.

Extraordinary revivals often seem to contradict all human calculations, in respect to both the times of their occurrence and the agencies by which they are brought about. Beyond almost any other events or happenings in the affairs of religion, these appear to be especially and eminently displays of God's sovereign pleasure, and of divine power operating quite independently of all ordinary methods. The Reformation, with which the name and the career of Luther are inseparably associated,

was of this kind, coming, as it did, unasked for, and not desired by those who represented the organic Church, and yet proceeding in its course in a way to indicate the presence of a power above that of man, or any human agency. It was manifestly of God, in respect to both its time and its processes. Those who like to trace the workings of occult causes in the affairs of society sometimes attempt to find in certain great historical movements in Europe the secret springs of that great event, but all these come entirely short of the results that were brought to pass.

The great revival of the eighteenth century in Great Britain and America, which has become historical, and is known as "the Methodist," was also an extraordinary manifestation of divine power, operating independently of organized church agencies and despite their opposition. The secular historians of that period unite in depicting the moral and spiritual desolation of the time of its advent, when the churches of the land, both the established and the dissenters, were alike sunk down into spiritual lethargy and worldliness; and out of that darkness none but God could command the light to appear. It was, as in another case, declared by the prophet, "not by might, nor by power, but by my Spirit, saith the Lord of hosts." In such cases God seems to delight to display his sovereignty, and so to demonstrate the feebleness of man's power and his own superiority over even his own ordained methods. Such cases of wide-spread spiritual revolutions are conspicuous by reason of their breadth and magnitude; and yet others of the same kind, but in smaller proportions, are doubtless constantly occurring, because the living Christ is with his Church "always." In the practical business of soul-saving, and the bringing in the kingdom of heaven, the work itself is of more account than any of its methods or conditions; and while the Church and its ordinances are, and must continue to be, the usual channel and instrument of saving grace among men, it is well to remember that the divine Spirit has not gone into commission to a this-world corporation.

A well known and able writer, in the "Presbyterian Review" (Dr. C. A. Briggs), discussing certain features of the subject in hand, presents some significant thoughts, both pertinent and truthful, which we venture to transcribe and heartily indorse—with only a slight modification:

> The course of religious history has shown more than once that, whenever the Church neglects to do the work of evangelization in a regular way, irregular and disorderly [that is, non-ecclesiastical] instruments are employed by the Holy Spirit, for the purpose, to humble the Church and expose its inconsistency. The Methodist movement [of the last century] was such an irregular movement. The New Light in America [disciples of Whitefield] shared in these irregularities. The Salvation Army and lay evangelists are such irregularities in our time. God has blessed them with marvelous success, notwithstanding their irregularities [perhaps because of them], because they have been doing the work which the Church neglected.

Our only modification to all this is, that we do not concede that only when the Church becomes flagrantly derelict will God make use of other and irregular agencies. The prophesying of Eldad and Medad was quite "irregular," and although the regular divine order was then in its

full activity their services were not condemned as either impertinent or uncalled for. It has always been the case that the Lord sends by whom he will; and probably such will still be the order of the divine administration.

The recent forward movements among us in revival work, in a quarter where such movements had formerly seemed to the last degree improbable, should be hailed as of good omen. It was perhaps too much to expect that the much despised name of "revival" should be accepted, and the more so as it had become an integral part of the vocabulary of the "sects;" and as mother Church (of Rome) had already rendered another word "canonical," it was quite natural to replace the malodorous term by one that had a more churchly odor; and so the revival meetings of "the Church" were styled "missions," and their evangelists "missioners." Nor will we be very greatly offended at what was written by an Episcopal clergyman, and printed in the "Independent," attempting to prove that the new "missions" are not at all the same with Methodist revivals; and in order to make that appear, these are utterly misrepresented and caricatured. Our charity inclines us to trust that this was the result of ignorance, though the evidence in that direction is not complete. We will not, however, complain of our churchly friends for their adoption and use, to a very limited extent, of methods that have been tried by others, less "regularly," perhaps, but to good purpose. Methodists have tested those methods and found them efficacious, but they have not patented them; and they do not complain that now they are adopted by some who have not before approved of them.

After all else, it is still a matter of the highest significance that the most effective agency for the promotion of revivals is the plain and earnest preaching of the great vital truths of Christianity. It was by the earnest proclamation of the doctrine of justification by faith *alone* that Luther and his coadjutors, under God, broke the death-spell that had so long rested on the Church of the Middle Ages. The same doctrine, with the additional item of the witness of the Spirit, contributed the talismanic power of the great Wesleyan revival. Jonathan Edwards was a most effective revivalist, not by virtue of his being a profound metaphysician, nor an earnest one-sided theologian, but because he told the people of their sins and of the fearful destiny of the unconverted. It is accordingly with great pleasure that we have noticed that those who have been among us, seeking to increase the religious convictions and lives of the people, have made very free use of the great central truths of the Gospel—sin, repentance, faith in Christ, and the renewing of the Holy Ghost. In these particulars, it may be that some others might learn a valuable lesson, and find an example deserving to be imitated. It may be about time to replace the ditties and doggerels by words of sound and substantial Christian truth, which may, indeed, be unpalatable to those whose spiritual tastes have become vitiated, but will prove, wherever accepted, powerful to save the soul.

SOME ASPECTS OF THE MISSIONARY CAUSE.

It is doubtless true that no other subject at this time excites so large a share of interest among evangelical Christians as the cause of missions to non-Christian peoples. It is also true that that interest is not always expressed in the form of approvals and words of cheer to those engaged in the promotion of that work, but often the case is quite the opposite. Nor is that fact either strange or any cause of discouragement, and were it even more earnest and pronounced than it is, it would still indicate a new interest that would, it might be hoped, eventuate in good. The missionary cause requires for its success that it shall be taken up and carried forward by the whole body of the members of the Church, and not wholly nor chiefly by those who hold certain official positions. Any awakening of a new interest, even if it expresses itself in criticisms, suggests the probability of an increased sense of duty and responsibility, which may lead to more earnest action.

The work of Christian missions has passed beyond the stage of mere experimenting, and its feasibility and effectiveness are demonstrated by its results; and now the question returns to the Church, and to the every Christian, What are the duties that are devolved upon each one by the existing and well ascertained facts of this case?

But all who understand the case very well know that what has thus far been accomplished has only served to open the way for further and greatly enlarged activities. In all evangelical Christendom the work of missions is still in its infancy. But it is cause for devout gratitude that it exists at all, and that because it is of God its growth and success are assured. And that it will, in the not remote future, attain to proportions very greatly in advance of any thing seen in the past, is not simply a dream of hope based on prophecies and aspirations, but the logical and assured outcome of the agencies already at work and of the progress already made.

The whole world's history, in all its departments, is made up of eras and epochs; for although the forces that fashion affairs may be always in action, matured results are by no means uniformly developed. There are times and tides in all the affairs of the world, and eminently so in those of the kingdom of God, and it is the part of wisdom to take advantage of these—to make hay when the sun shines, and to row when the tide favors. The latter half of the eighteenth century witnessed the great Methodist revival, which it is now conceded not only produced a wide-spread religious awakening, but also has permanently raised British Christianity to an unprecedented spiritual elevation. During the early years of the nineteenth century this new life began to manifest itself in increased thought and concern for the extension of Christ's kingdom throughout the world, and for the salvation of those who were without the preached Gospel; and each succeeding decade has intensified that interest, until now in these later years of the century the cause of missions has become

a broad and deep current of spiritual power. The whole Church has been brought face to face with this work; with its manifest claims upon the active sympathies of all who have any share of the spirit of Christ; so that not without the most flagrant unfaithfulness can the Christian world hesitate to engage in a work so obviously of God.

Men are accustomed to recognize those movements of society and of nations which, because of their magnitude, seem to be above and beyond human agencies, as especially providential; and to judge by their tendencies and results what may be the will of God in respect to things affected by them. It is a common remark that our times have been especially fruitful of changes; and it is safe to say, that those wrought in society and governments since the last decade of the fifteenth century have exceeded in their significance any that had occurred in the whole world previous to that date; and of these, in respect to manifested results, the present century has contributed more than all before, and by them the aspects and the conditions of the cause of missions have been largely modified, and its work rendered more practicable. A hundred years ago religious intolerance was the ruling policy among the nations of the whole earth. Each kingdom or country had its own religious system, and would grant very scant toleration to any other; and because each sovereign was accounted the guardian of the faith and worship of his subjects, all who might presume to hold, and still more to propagate, any other religion was accounted as offenders and treated accordingly. But all this is now past, for there is scarcely a nation under the sun into which the Gospel may not be brought without serious hinderance; or if some remote regions appear to be still shut up, it is quite certain that sooner than all the places that are now asking for the Gospel shall be occupied all others will have become accessible. It is not easy to fully appreciate the significance of these changes in respect to the work of universal evangelization. Christ's promised presence with his disciples, while they should go forth to "teach the heathen," is quite as clearly manifested in the secular affairs of the world as in the spiritual. The Head of the Church is also "the head of all principality and power;" and he is very evidently and effectively preparing the way for the preaching of the Gospel, by compelling even the wrath of man to praise him.

The divine authority which constituted Cyrus—the heathen—the anointed of the Lord for the benefit of God's people, and which raised up Constantine to bring the Roman world into subjection to Christ, is still active in the same kind of work. The promise given primarily to Solomon—which belongs pre-eminently to Christ, "great David's greater Son"—that all the kings of the earth shall bring presents, is being accomplished in our sight. So, too, all the vast appliances of modern civilization are working together to forward the will of God in the universal spread of the Gospel. Learning, the arts and sciences, travels and discoveries, commerce, diplomacy and war, even when most iniquitous, are all made to subserve the same great design. These things very clearly indicate that the great Leader of the Church in her work of conquest is pre-

paring the way that his people may go up and possess the whole world for Christ. This is, therefore, God's time for aggressive action by the Church, and happy will it be for her if she shall know her day of visitation.

Among the great facts of our times none is more remarkable than the unprecedented increase of wealth, especially in the two greatest Protestant nations of the world. This is also largely the property of Christian men, and as a whole it is subject to a considerable share of Christian influences. It is not necessary that a man shall be a model Christian before he can be used to forward God's purposes for the upbuilding of his kingdom, for then the work would fail for lack of laborers; nor is it necessary that the motives that actuate men in that service shall always be such as God can approve, for in all ages and dispensations he has been accustomed to employ the unrighteous in his service, and to overrule to his own glory and to the furtherance of his purposes not only the mixed and imperfect motives of good men, but also the designs and efforts of the selfish and ungodly. And in the use of such agencies the Divine Providence has been gathering the requisite stores for the prosecution of his work; and he has made those to whom he has intrusted property the custodians of his provisions, who should not forget that all they have belongs to the Lord.

The two apparently contradictory commands given by Christ, at different times and among different conditions—the one, that the disciples should, in going forth to proclaim the coming of the kingdom of heaven, "take nothing for their journey," and the other, that they should provide in advance the things needful for their mission, are still in force, and they are both as applicable as at first. The duty is, indeed, laid upon all to whom the Gospel is preached to provide for the temporal needs of God's ministers; but in the case of those to whom the Gospel is preached, but by whom it is not yet received, such provisions are of course not available. To meet this necessity, therefore, the Divine Providence has richly endowed his people and Churches with the wealth of this world; and now his command comes to them to bring of the abundance of the rich, and permitting even the children of poverty to share in the blessedness of giving, by accepting and glorifying the "two mites" of the poor widow. Among the requirements of our times for the promotion of Christ's cause among men, is a deeper and more constraining sense of the religious obligations that accompany the possession of property. Only by its devotion to that purpose can the great body of Christians do any thing directly for the Christianization of the heathen world; and yet in that great work, which fills the heart of the ascended and glorified Christ, all may and should rejoice to have a part.

THE MISSION OF METHODISM AND METHODIST MISSIONS.

These two phrases have a verbal and alliterative likeness, but they are wholly distinct in signification; and though in both couplets almost the same form of words is used, they are specifically dissimilar in sense. And yet the two things designated are much more nearly related than even their verbal similarity indicates. It will not be questioned by any who has any just appreciation of the subject, that Methodism began its course not as a purposeless impulse, but as an agency of Providence for the working out of a design, which was none the less real and also harmonious in its parts and purposes because it was but partially understood by even its chief agents, who evidently "builded better than they knew." Methodism, now recognized as one of the most remarkable facts in the progress of modern Christianity, began its career with its history enfolded in itself. It was a renewal in spirit of the apostolic commission to preach the Gospel to every creature, which came to its agents in the form of an authoritative impulse to labor for the promotion and diffusion of "scriptural holiness" to the largest practicable extent.

In itself, original and inorganic Methodism was simply the spiritual life in the regenerated soul manifesting itself in evangelistic activities, with its movements originating in its own appropriate agencies. In respect to its vitality it was of the Church—for in that is included all truly regenerate souls—and yet it could not be constrained within ecclesiastical limitations. The range of its commission reached out to all the race, and its methods were simply the results of spiritual impulses regulated by common sense, and not constrained in its activities by ecclesiastical "red tape." These, of course, would vary in their details according to outward conditions; and yet wherever the practical purposes are the same there will be a likeness of methods.

In this country organic Methodism came to occupy waste places, and so to develop itself with only the least outward constraint. It went forth in response to the calls made, in ignorance of their own souls' wants, of those who were pining and dying for lack of spiritual sustenance. Its organism increased with its spiritual development; and it grew into an ecclesiasticism because that is according to the natural tendencies of the religious life in individual souls; and thus it was that American Methodism, which at the beginning was scarcely at all organic and wholly non-ecclesiastical, grew into a complete and closely compacted system. It came into form, not as any man had designed it, but by a normal process of development, in which its providental designs became manifest, and at the same time its vast possibilities appeared. It was, first of all, a revival—a renewal into conscious spiritual life of individual souls—quickened and "strangely warmed" by the Holy Spirit; and as it thus began with the manifestation of the righteousness of faith, so its mission became also manifest—to promote "scriptural holiness" by the preaching of Christ crucified and the use of the appropriate means for religious

culture. This is the mission of Methodism; and out of this has been brought forth the missionary work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which is, in fact and substance, older than its own organized missionary agencies. Its whole ecclesiastical machinery was at first essentially missionary in character, and its operations were largely those of a home missionary society, projected for universal aggression, and designed to find its material sustenance in the fields that might be occupied. Like the Seventy sent out by Christ to preach the coming of the kingdom of God to none but "the lost sheep of the house of Israel," and therefore to go without "purse or scrip," so these went forth without any provision for their support, and, like them, they "wanted nothing."

But the mission of Methodism is to all men, and so should its arrangements contemplate and provide for the widest possible extension of the agencies of the Gospel. For a time the earliest preachers of the Gospel confined their operations to the chosen people, and not until the Gospel had been preached in all their land was its wider extension called for. So when the Methodist itinerancy had occupied the settled parts of the country, its spirit and mission called it to go forth to parts where the Gospel had not been preached—to penetrate to the remotest outposts, and to follow the emigrants to the distant frontier, and to seek out the spiritually destitute every-where. When, a little later, a migrating company went out to found a colony in Africa, that colony became a Methodist mission; and when the red men, beyond the Rocky Mountains, sent messengers to inquire after the white man's religion, it was accepted as a call to send them the Bible and the preacher. When immigrants from the nominally Christian and Protestant countries of Europe—Teutonic or Scandinavian—coming under the influence of the Spirit through the word preached by our ministers were converted, and afterward, revisiting their native lands, kindled among their kindred the fires that burned in their own hearts, and thence sent out the Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us," to comply with the invitation seemed to fall within the legitimate mission of Methodism. It may, however, be questionable whether the large gifts of money that have been made to the churches in these countries are in harmony with the Pauline methods of Christian propagandism. In such ways the divine hand has seemed to be enlarging the area in which the spirit of Methodism may operate to fulfill the mission given to it in the spirit in which it was begotten; and so has the mission of Methodism been forwarded by the establishment and maintenance of Methodist missions.

In another place we have referred to the wonderful changes that have, within the near past, taken place in the world's affairs, by which the opportunities for the preaching of the Gospel to every creature are greatly enlarged. These facts have a very manifest bearing on the question of the divine purposes, and also in respect to the duties of the Methodist Episcopal Church in relation to them. It was not by a merely happy coincidence, coming by chance, that the development of Methodism as a vast army of aggression, and the breaking down of the barriers by which

the nations had so long shut out the Gospel, should occur simultaneously; it is, on the contrary, very obvious that the divine providence, which always waits upon the outgoings of the Spirit, had in this case opened to the Church, in which the Spirit had awakened a holy zeal for the extension of Christ's kingdom and the salvation of souls, a way of access to the nations that sit in darkness and the shadow of death. And if God has so prepared the way, does he not also, by his promise, say to his people, as he on an important occasion said to Moses: "Speak to the children of Israel that they go forward?" It would seem to be very difficult to think of conditions that could more clearly indicate the will of God, or more forcibly suggest a present duty, than are seen in these arrangements, under the divine hand, of the affairs of the Church and the world respecting the work of Christian missions. The prophetic imagery of the seventy-second Psalm, which the Church with great unanimity interprets as applying to Christ and the progress of his kingdom, seems to be receiving its fulfillment in our day, in form as well as in substance. On the one hand the accomplishment of the promise of universal dominion appears to be at hand; and, as preparatory to this, we see on the other the kings of the earth bringing their gifts, and the rulers of the peoples worshiping before Him and proffering their gifts and services. These things are highly significant—telling us what our duty is, and giving assurance of the abundance of the recompense with which the Head of the Church will reward his faithful ones.

It is simply in working out its specific mission—to spread scriptural holiness through all lands—that the Methodist Episcopal Church has proceeded to its present stage in the founding of foreign missions. It could have done no less without coming short of its peculiar calling. Nor dare we claim that it has done all that should have been done; and yet it is not wise to fail to duly estimate what has been effected. To-day the sun in his circuit round the earth shines unceasingly on Methodist meeting-houses, where prayer and praise as daily offerings ascend to heaven. Broad and deep foundations for Christ's kingdom have been laid among those who have hitherto seemed to be farthest removed from the Gospel. In China, four central points have been entered and are occupied, with the institutions of Christianity largely operated by a native ministry, and thus the Church itself has become naturalized in the land. In Japan, where, contrary to the assumption of the prophet a great nation is seen actually changing its gods, our missionaries are earnestly co-operating in helping forward that marvelous transformation, and fashioning the new religious life of the people into the spirit and working methods of "Christianity in earnest." And now even Korea, the "Hermit Nation," opens its ports to our missionaries, apparently waiting to hear and receive the message of salvation. In India whole provinces, races, and castes have come under the influence of our missions, and Christian institutions have become naturalized among the millions of the land.

A fact of special interest in the affairs of these missions is their increased productiveness, within the recent past, over all former rates of progress.

The growth of the work, in manifest results, during the last ten years, has probably been quite equal to all that had before been gained, and the assured influences which cannot be reckoned up and written down have evidently been greatly multiplied, and are steadily maturing, and will soon be manifested in a still larger rate of increase. It is also significant that it is among heathen nations that the noblest victories have been won and the richest spoils gathered; and the promise of the outlook seems to be, that what has been achieved is but the beginnings of what will soon be witnessed—that these are only the first-fruits of an abundant harvest. The sight that is now presented to all who have eyes to see, of the onward march of the Gospel, each division moving under its own leader, and all led on by the common Captain of our salvation to possess the world for Christ, is indeed sublime and very full of promise. And in proportion to their denominational loyalty, all Methodists will rejoice that their own division of this grand army is rendering effective service.

Just now the whole world of evangelical Christendom, and our own Church especially, are waiting in earnest expectation—in faith and hope—not unmixed with solicitude, for the outcome of one of the grandest missionary enterprises of modern times—that which Bishop William Taylor is leading into the heart of the African continent. Whatever may be the results of that movement, its conception and its prosecution thus far have been not only sublimely heroic, but so conducted as to give increasing assurances of its ultimate success. Whether or not he who has undertaken that marvelous enterprise, and those who have become his co-workers, shall prove equal to the work, awaits the verdict of the future; but there is very little room for doubt that the theory upon which the enterprise is projected is the only one upon which missions to the "Dark Continent" can be successfully prosecuted. The theory on which the work proceeds is, that the Church at home must aid the outgoing missionaries to reach their fields of labor, and help in their sustentation while preparing for their work; but as was the New Testament rule at Corinth, so in all other cases, it is best for all parties that Christian missionaries and pastors shall find their temporal support among those for and among whom they labor.

But as was the case at first, so is it still—the chief field of our Church's aggressive activities is at home, and here have been won its largest fruits; and the resultant spiritual benefits of this work, in the increased robustness of its spirituality, is its richest recompense. It is only just to make due account of the work actually done, and the results achieved by the home missionary agencies of the Methodist Episcopal Church in its own field. During the life-time of the present generation, in addition to making good the depletion of its numbers by death, and the multiplication of its members fourfold, it has reconstructed or built anew its ten thousand houses of worship; established, at large expense, its hundreds of schools and colleges; and has begun to do something toward founding asylums and hospitals, and other purely charitable institutions. As a new body of Christians, without antecedents or inherited wealth or prestige, it had to begin

without material capital, and therefore all its possessions were to be created; and so whatever has been achieved has been its own work. And its accumulations have been made not by the aid of copious fountains and flowing rivers, but from the dews and the rain-falls of penny collections and small gifts; for it must be said—and the confession is made without any sense of self-depreciation—that, as in the Apostolic Church, so in Methodism, "God chose the poor as to the world to be rich in faith and heirs of the kingdom."

The financial record of the Methodist Missionary Society, though not as good as it might have been, is nevertheless an honorable one; and its recent advancements render its outlook altogether assuring. Its system of operations is at once simple and effective. Depending, as has always been the economy of the Church for the support of all its services, almost wholly upon the voluntary gifts of the people, it has found that resource at once moderately liberal and remarkably steady and reliable. So certain has its annual income become that it may be safely discounted from year to year. To do this has been the policy of its administration, and in nearly every case the Church has honored the drafts that have been made upon it. And what is still better, the increase from year to year has been uniform, and in a greater proportion than the numerical growth of Church members. Estimating by the past five years, during which time the annual income has been increased by about a quarter of a million of dollars, or nearly fifty per cent. over that of the like term next before it, and trusting, as we may, that a similar growth will continue—and it may be hoped that much more will be done—it is not difficult to see that the year which will reach the "million line" is not very far in advance. To hasten it somewhat by bringing the cause home to the convictions and the consciences of the people, not omitting also to appeal to their devout enthusiasm, is no doubt at once practicable and of wholesome tendency. But the "million line" is much less a goal than a mile-stone, which may mark the progress made, but not afford a resting-place; for still it must be remembered that "there is very much land to be possessed."

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

THE EDICT OF POTSDAM. — A great deal has been lately said by the French Huguenots, at the commemoration of the second centennial of the Edict of Nantes, concerning that great event. But the Germans have taken occasion to say at the same time not a little about its counterblast, the Edict of Potsdam.

Three weeks after the publication of the infamous revocation in Paris of an "irrevocable" edict, the great Elector of Prussia, Frederick William, issued his edict from Potsdam offering to all the French Protestants who proposed to emigrate to other lands a safe and free retreat to his prov-

inces. He also bids his agents in Hamburg and Frankfort-on-the-Main to assist all the fugitives coming by way of Holland and Switzerland, and offer them equal privileges with his own subjects as to churches, courts, and schools. The significance of this measure is evident when we consider the powerful position of Louis XIV. at that period, and his ability to aid the Romish propaganda of the last Stuart on the throne of England. As the Revocation of the Edict was the crowning work of the age of persecution from the Church, so was this decree from Potsdam the great measure that finally gave to the Protestant forces their superiority.

The Elector complimented the French monarch for his defense of his religion, and diplomatically remarked that his example would be a good one for him to follow as to his own. This neat piece of sarcasm broke the bands that had united the two rulers, when Frederick William became the soul of the league against Louis XIV., and at his death his mantle fell on the noble and valiant William of Orange.

A half a million of refugees left France—the very flower of the kingdom—and 20,000 of these went to the then Province of Prussia, and formed some fifty congregations in various places, by far the largest in Berlin itself. Nobody will deny that highly important influences resulted from this emigration, which was of very great advantage to Prussia in many respects. These French refugees became the virtual founders of German culture and intelligence, raising all its interests, such as skillful manufacture, general industry, gardening, and agriculture, to their highest development. But these exiles did the most for their adopted fatherland in teaching it stern discipline in matters of faith and loyalty to God and humanity. Through them the Protestant spirit was strengthened and the evangelical faith thoroughly grounded. For a time they maintained their individuality, while impressing their brand on the generation; but after a time all barriers fell, and natives and strangers coalesced. About the middle of the last century a still closer attachment led on to the new birth of Prussia and the abolition of all special privileges for their descendants. But there are still small French congregations both in Berlin and Hamburg that act as reminders of the great event.

The Anti-Semitic Conflict seems to have reached its culmination in Germany, and is now evidently waning. As we look back over the fierce struggles of the last four years, we are inclined to affirm that all the public and inflammatory meetings, all the violent collisions between Jews and Christians, have been of no avail for the purpose intended. At the present moment the Jews are really better off than they were at the opening of the conflict. One sign of dissolution among the antagonists of the Jews is found in the extinction of many of the violent sheets that were for a time issued against them, and the departure of their conductors. Most of these anti-Semitic leaders were men of no standing in the community, and were known as destructives, to whom any ruin offered the chance of some improvement. These men tried to use the influence gained in the turbid waters to raise them to political power. The one

man who, perhaps, with really good, patriotic, and Christian intent led in the movement, soon shrunk back from the elements that he had aroused, and turned toward the Christian social agitation.

But while this excitement is evidently a thing of the past in Germany, it appears to be for the nonce on the increase in Austria, most probably to go through the same course and have the same end. In Vienna a few antagonists of the Jews have been sent to the parliament, as have a few of the leaders against the Jews in Bohemia. The antipathy in Austria seems to have been greatest among the students, who have refused to the Jews admission to their fraternities. It was indeed so for awhile in Germany, but the antagonistic spirit in the universities of Germany is now dying out.

On the whole, therefore, the Jews are getting the better of their opponents, and are satisfied with the situation; for which reason their sheets are more moderate in their expressions as to the Germans. The result of the agitation was to cause a few faint-hearted Jews to go over to Christianity; but this move has been counteracted by the transition of about as many Christians, or so-called Christians, to Judaism. And the fact is apparent that the Jews are by no means humbled by their troubles, but are, on the contrary, more energetic in their self-assertion, and more compactly united among themselves than ever before.

They are now, therefore, having their turn in laying their claims to recognition and respect before the world. A learned rabbi, in a recent publication on "Woman among the Jewish People," declares that the world owes monogamy to the Jews; and further says, that the modern position of woman has been grounded by the Jewish woman, who has really emancipated the whole feminine world. "The Jewish woman is, without any romanticism, incomparably good and self-sacrificing; and any one of them who would, among other nations, pass as middling good, would be classed among the Jews as bad." All these facts will doubtless bring the Germans to the consciousness of the great fact of the existence of the Jewish question as a permanent one, and will teach them that it demands, and must have, a different treatment from that which has hitherto been accorded to it. The Christian Church must approach it in a Christian spirit, and must adopt methods very different from those of mere agitators.

LIBERALISM IN SWITZERLAND is giving rise to grave apprehensions. A few weeks ago, in Geneva, there was held a conference of pastors, numbering about two hundred. On that occasion Prof. Bouvier, of Geneva, delivered his much-discussed lecture on "Sin," in which he, with much talent and his peculiar eloquence, reproduced in a new form and defended the old Pelagian doctrine. But there was fortunately no one in the entire assembly who defended his brilliantly presented theories. On the contrary, Professors Godet of Neufchâtel, Bois of Montauban, and Pressensé of Paris came forward with thorough and exhaustively elaborated refutations.

Bouvier and two other professors at the National Theological School do obeisance to Liberalism, and much interest was for that reason elicited in the election of a successor to Louis Segond, the well-known Bible translator. And what many feared took place. Edward Montet, a young savant who rejects "all positive and supernatural revelation," was elected professor of Hebrew, and thus the theological faculty of Geneva has four Liberal professors out of five. The condition of the Free Church faculty of Lausanne is, however, more gratifying. There are fifty-four students in attendance, of whom thirty-four are from the Canton Vaud and the remainder belong to French Switzerland and France. There is also a faculty of the Free Church in Neufchâtel that began its winter semester with about thirty hearers. In these latter institutions, at least, sound gospel doctrine is taught.

Now the moral status of Switzerland seems not to gain by this inroad of so-called Liberal ideas, if figures tell the truth. According to statistics Switzerland, with a population of 2,900,000, consumes yearly not less than 27,000,000 quarts of alcoholic liquors, 100,000,000 quarts of beer, and 2,000,000 quarts of wine. In the last thirty years the consumption of foreign wines has largely increased, and from year to year all alcoholic liquors, as well as beer, are more and more consumed. But the worst feature is the fearful increase in the use of brandy, which in thirty years has increased from 7,500,000 to 27,000,000 quarts annually. The sad effects of this most immoderate use of spirituous liquors show themselves very clearly. In the three largest hospitals of the land the number of those who there die through strong drink wavers from fifteen to thirty-seven per cent. In six years, aside from suicides and murders, over fifteen hundred persons are reported as dying from the direct effect of alcohol. In 1883 forty per cent. of the men and twenty-three per cent. of the women in the prisons were recorded as hard drinkers by profession. In the draft for the army forty per cent. of the young men are rejected because of the effects of alcohol on their systems. With this fact staring them in the face we submit that the Swiss are a deal too liberal.

THE PONTIFF AS ARBITRATOR in diplomatic disputes is rather a unique event, and nowhere more than in Italy has there been much surprise at the fact that he should sit in judgment between Germany and Spain on the subject of the Caroline Islands. The Italian press is greatly exercised at the bearing of this new move. And every one acknowledges that since the "captivity" began no honor has been accorded to the present Pope so marked as is this. And this honor is so much the greater that it comes from that arch-enemy of the Vatican, the German Emperor. The question is sarcastically asked, "Whence comes to him the knowledge and judgment of certain questions of law or justice that concern the relation of nation to nation?" Certain Italian journals prophesy again, sarcastically, that the rule of peace is approaching, in which the arbitrator of the Vatican will settle all international questions, and when standing armies and fleets and armature will be superfluous. Other sheets say that Spain and

Germany, in thus applying to the Pope, have no special desire to offer him an honor, but rather to be served by him. They would avoid war, and therefore apply to the Pope. But why to him rather than to a worldly prince? They would never have come to Cardinal Pecci had he not become Leo XIII. The Vatican is, therefore, undoubtedly in the right when it sees in this event a special honor to the Pope and his position.

This high distinction from abroad to the chair of St. Peter came at an opportune period for the Vatican, which of late has been overmuch burdened with cares, for it is just now much in need of increased income, and would draw the funds from every church and altar that may, perhaps, more liberally contribute because of the prouder position of the holy Father. The organ of the Vatican exclaims, rejoicingly: "The events of preceding centuries are now renewed, when the popes were made arbitrators in international feuds; these popes, so mild toward the weak, so energetic against the strong, and so yielding toward those who yield."

And it seems that to Bismarck belongs all the honor of the initiative in this matter, and he doubtless did it with a well-outlined *arrière pensés.* He knew well that he would not lose his case without in some way gaining an equivalent for it. But just what this is the Germans do not yet see, though the case seems to be settled rather to the disadvantage of Germany. The German ultramontane organ thinks that Bismarck demanded the decision of the Pope as the basis of a new article on international laws; while the "Diritto" of Italy declares, that if the question of the Carolines has a political side, then it follows that Germany has accorded to the Pope a political and worldly character, which may induce him to renew certain ambitions in the line of ruling the world. The opinion of an earlier Italian minister, Signor Bonghi, is, that the event proves that Leo XIII. has in the entire civilized world that reputation for impartiality and knowledge which was also found in Benedict XIV. These various *pros* and *cons* in the two nations here represented clearly show that the *quid-nuncs* are muddled, and that the Chancellor alone knows his own heart.

BISMARCK AND THE POLES seem to be having quite a struggle, in which the Chancellor is inclined to banish a goodly number of these troublesome subjects. The trouble between the parties lies very deep, for it is a well-known fact that the famous *Kulturkampf* had its origin in the Prussian province of Posen, and mainly in the school question. The Germans want to introduce their own language into the schools and the courts, and this measure was bitterly contested by the famous Polish cardinal of that diocese, Ledochowski. The political mission of Germany seemed to be in danger, as the Poles are the irreconcilables every-where—even up to the parliament itself, where the Poles vote steadily against all government measures, with no apparent regard to the principles concerned. In order to cure this malady it was thought best to commence with the rising generation.

This has not always been done with tact and skill, and the result is greater irritation than before, so that the Teutonic and the Polish elements

are now in direct antagonism. The names of places were changed, and even of streets, into others of German origin—a measure which seems entirely too severe for the comparatively small number of the opposing forces. The result is, that the parents enforce the language on their children at home, and use it with intensity wherever they can. And then came the religious antagonism, which has now proceeded so far that Polish and Catholic are synonymous, as are German and Protestant; in this way the strife has become doubly embittered, being one both of religion and nationality. Now, for the Roman Catholic Poles the German language is not only a foreign one, but also is heretical, and the children are taught to believe that God will not hear the prayer of a Pole in the German tongue. It was quite natural that Polish priests should indorse this, to them, acceptable doctrine, and thus began the fierce struggle between Bismarck and the Polish Cardinal, which finally extended to the whole German land. It is questionable whether the results of the conflict compensate for its cost and labor.

THE BALTIC PROVINCES OF RUSSIA are in great consternation at what they consider an infringement on their treaty rights regarding language and religion, as well as general government. In Livonia and Courland the Russian police system has been introduced, as is feared with all its usual corruption and bribery, and especially with its language, by far the greater part of the inhabitants being Germans by origin and speech. But still greater is the alarm for their religion, which is also in danger. When the Germans settled in these provinces, at the request of the Russian government, it was with a distinct provision that they might retain their German tongue and their Lutheran religion. And this was reassured to them by a command of his majesty, Emperor Alexander II. in 1865 in the matter of marriages between Protestants and the orthodox Greeks.

But of late years great efforts have been made to entice the Germans over into the Russo-Greek Church by means of advantages offered to all those going over into the State Church. These enticements, in the line of lighter taxes and better school and church privileges, have been so effective that in one province some five thousand have left the Lutheran for the Greek Church. As a characteristic means of forwarding this propaganda, it is now announced that a Russian shrine which was nearly finished, in the form of a handsome cathedral, will not be completed because of the strong Protestant feeling in that district. This movement means the stoppage of all pilgrimages to that region, and the consequent decline in material prosperity; in short, the destruction of nearly all business interests in the place. In view of these encroachments on their rights, at a recent session of the local assembly of Livonia it was resolved to draw up a respectful petition to the emperor for the restoration and preservation of that liberty of conscience granted and guaranteed to their fathers. And also from Riga comes information of like excitement and movements. The peasantry there are quite alarmed at the situation, and present petitions, and beg a release from these encroachments on the liberty of conscience.

THE JEWS OF ROME are just now the objects of special interest because of a systematic effort of the city authorities to bring them out of their special quarters, so long their retreat, and cause them to commingle and live with the general community. Of all the cities of Europe, Rome was the first to offer a retreat to the Jews, where, from the period of Pompey down to the present day, they have found an asylum. For the last three hundred years they have resided in the particular quarter assigned to them, known as the Ghetto. Some time ago the authorities began to demolish certain sections of their retreat as a sanitary measure, because of the narrowness of the streets and the increase of filth and disease-breeding influences. In the immediate vicinity of the Tiber one entire street has disappeared, thus giving access to air and sunlight.

In a short time the Ghetto will be a thing of the past, and one of the most peculiar sights of Rome will be denied to the inquiring tourist, who will then be confined to a simple history of its past. The question has been raised, *apropos* of these changes, whether the Jews of to-day are to be regarded as the descendants of that colony which settled there under Pompey, and which Paul found there; and who saw the construction of the present arch of triumph raised by Titus in commemoration of the destruction of Jerusalem.

Most historians answer this question with a decided affirmative. The Jews of Rome have never mingled with its population, and have ever lived in the greatest isolation. And till this day they refuse to pass under the arch of Titus, which covers a noted thoroughfare, but studiedly make their way around it. Even in their most favored condition, during the period of the empire, the deep aversion against them, as well as their own law, made it impossible for them to contract marriage with the heathen of Rome. In the Middle Ages, and down to our own time, they have been held in the deepest abhorrence, and have frequently been treated with the greatest cruelty by the Christian population. Pius IX. was the first to open the gates of the Ghetto at night, and since that period their condition has been gradually improving, and with the disappearance of the Ghetto will go much of their sorrow.

THE WALDENSIAN SYNOD recently convened in Torre Pellice, the headquarters of that interesting people. More than one hundred members were present, besides the guests from various Protestant Churches from abroad who came to greet the highest body of this revered Church of Italy. After the opening exercises four new workers were ordained, and in the course of the proceedings a very interesting report of the status of the body was read. From this it appears that there are at present seventy-four active workers—twenty in the seventeen parishes of the valleys, three at the Theological School in Florence, six in the college proper, thirty-five in evangelizing work, two in Italy, and one in Switzerland, working in connection with the committee on evangelization, two in the Grisons under control of the board, and one in the Bassuto-land in southern Africa as missionary of the Paris society, together with the four recently

ordained. Only two emeritus or superannuated preachers are supported by the Church.

In their Latin school at Pomeret there are 22 students; in the college, 60; and in the girls' school, 38. To these are to be added in the valleys, 202 teachers, male and female; and 5,047 scholars in 196 elementary schools. There are 98 Sunday-school teachers, with 280 assistants of both sexes, and 3,371 scholars. The communicants number 13,153, and the Church assessment in the valleys amounted to 71,774 francs. In the thirty years of the existence of the Theological School there have been 120 graduates, of whom 50 are now in the service of the Church, and at the present time 13 students are attending the theological lectures.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCH IN RUSSIA seems to be quite a power, although it is oppressed in numberless ways by the State Church, which would gladly stamp it out. To aid in resisting these encroachments there was formed some twenty years ago a society for the support of Lutheran churches, whose first patron was Duke George of Mecklenburg. This fund has been generously aided, and has afforded great assistance to persecuted congregations. In some of the islands the numbers have been greatly reduced by the so-called conversions to the Russo-Greek Church. In Lithuania the Church has nearly disappeared under the combined opposition of the State Church, the Catholics, and the Jews. Some of the pastors who supply the outlying regions have the most exhausting labor; the one in Archangel takes with him prayer-books and catechisms in five different languages. In the Wolga district of 28 parishes, nine of these, with 84,000 souls, have no pastors. In Siberia there are but two Lutheran preachers, who virtually labor like galley slaves in order to do their work. And still, on the whole, their report is encouraging. There are in all Russia 457 dioceses, of which 214 receive aid from the source above mentioned. Pastors and teachers are thus sustained, and the Lutheran Church in the realm of the Czar thus holds its own against all the stamping-out process that is practiced against it.

MOABITE is the name of a settlement on the river Spree, below Berlin, whose appellation has been a mystery to many, and which has been lately solved by an historical investigator in a curious manner, as follows: It turns out that the original settlers of this colony were French refugees who came to this point after being driven from their own country at the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. This spot became to them a Land of Moab, as to those children of Israel who once sought that land as a safe retreat. This name shows how deeply were the Huguenots impressed with the old Bible story that they should thus draw consolation from its annals, and adopt a name that reminded them of some of the troubles of God's people. The situation is by no means a desirable one, and some have considered the name to mean rather an accursed land. But the memories of the present year of commemoration of the Revocation of the Edict have brought out the origin of the name.

CHRISTIAN ART has recently been enriched by some beautiful frescoes in the *aula* of the Princes Academy at Meissen, in Saxony, given to the institution by the king. Among these the most exquisite one is that of Luther and Melanchthon, which has lately been reproduced in an engraving. Luther and his friend are standing before their study table, on which is lying an open Bible, the right hand of Luther resting firmly on the book, and pointing to the device, "The Word shall stand." With the left hand he grasps a crucifix standing before him as if he would not let it go, while saying, "Let all else go, the kingdom of God must remain." The bearing of the man of God is free and bold. His mighty head, the most expressive of any produced by the modern school of art, is turned upward, while the portrait testifies of unbending courage and rock-like faith. In effective contrast to Luther are the wise and clear features of Melanchthon. Both figures are brought into clear relief.

THE LUTHER REVIVAL of the fourth centennial caused the good people of Berlin to declare that the capital of the German Empire should have a Luther monument to stand, as it were, under the protection of the first Protestant emperor of Germany. And they therefore bid all the artists of the Fatherland do their best and wisest for the production of a work worthy of the great reformer and the Protestant power of the period. Nearly fifty designs were handed in, and the number confused the jury, who know not how to decide. They give mild praise to all as testifying to the dignity of the man and the significance of the subject. But men ask one another in vain the question, "Which design has completely conquered you?" For the answer is: "*Not one.*" This is because the German people are looking for an ideal monument of Luther and the Reformation, which it is not easy for any artist to produce to perfect satisfaction. Above all, they are inclined to demand a man of God full of spirit and power rather than an excited orator.

THE SCATTERED JEWS have recently been brought together by a careful statistician of Marseilles, who thus enumerates them: The entire Jewish population of the earth amounts to 6,377,602. Of these, 5,407,602 are in Europe, 245,000 in Asia, 415,000 in Africa, 300,000 in America, 12,000 in Australia. In Germany there are 561,610; in England, 60,000; in Austro-Hungary, 1,643,708; in Belgium, 3,000; in Denmark, 3,946; in Spain, 1,900; in France, 70,000; in Greece, 2,652; in Switzerland, 7,373; in Holland, 81,693; in Italy, 36,289; in Luxemburg, 600; in Portugal, 200; in Roumania, 260,000; in Russia, 2,552,145; in Servia, 3,492; in Sweden and Norway, 3,000; in Turkey in Europe, 116,000. In Asia there are: in all Turkey, 150,000; in Persia, 15,000; in Asiatic Russia, 47,000; in Afghanistan, 14,000; in India and China, 19,000. In Africa: in Algiers, 35,000; Morocco, 100,000; Sahara, 8,000; Tunis, 55,000; Tripoli, 6,000; Abyssinia, 200,000; the Cape of Good Hope, 1,000; Egypt, 8,000. We spare our readers the subdivisions of this statistician's story. It certainly proves them to be pretty thoroughly "dispersed."

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

DEVELOPMENT IN JAPAN.—We lately wrote of the progress of the United Church of Christ in Japan. This Church, it will be remembered, was formed by a union of three missions: the American Presbyterian, the Scottish United Presbyterian, and the Reformed (Dutch). Each mission conducts its own work in its own way, drawing its support from its own Board; but missionaries, native ministers, and churches unite in presbytery, and the presbyteries in turn are united in a synod. This synod has just held its third meeting, under circumstances of a most favorable character. The meeting of the synod was held in Tokio, in a large hall (so sudden and startling are the changes in Japan) which was built for the purpose of opposing Christianity. Into this hall, in the capital of an empire which has been open to foreigners less than thirty years, was gathered more than a thousand persons at the opening session of a Christian organization. Many of them were probably not Christians, but they were all interested in this foreign religion, which, they are beginning to acknowledge, must ere long vanquish both Buddhism and Shintoism, and become the faith of the people. As spectators they preserved a quiet and respectful demeanor, having come, evidently, not to dispute or refute, but to listen and learn. There were none of the interruptions so common, two years ago, at the second meeting of the synod. This is an indication of change in public sentiment. The synod was in the hands of Japanese Christians. The missionaries were present and participated in the proceedings, but on the same footing as native ministers and elders. Last year a missionary, Dr. Verbeck, was moderator. This year he was succeeded by a native minister in that office, the Rev. Mr. Ogimi, a graduate of Rutgers College and of the New Brunswick Theological Seminary, in New Jersey. Mr. Ogimi presided with dignity and ability. The synod consisted of sixty-one ministers. It now represents 44 churches and 4,300 members. Two years ago there were 32 churches and 2,772 members. The largest church represented was the Kaigan Dori church of Yokohama, which has a membership of 287. This, we are told, was the first Christian Church organized in Japan, having been formed in March, 1872, with 12 members. At that time, however, it represented nearly all the active Christians in the empire. The synod received four new churches, and authorized the organization of a new presbytery in northern Japan, making four presbyteries in all. The synod listened to reports from the standing committee and to a narrative of religion from each of the presbyteries. Some of these reports and narratives were very interesting. One evening was set apart for the consideration of the best methods of promoting evangelistic work. On this question no one was heard with more attention than Rev. Mr. Oshikama, who is himself a successful evangelist. Three years ago, after having labored successfully in Nügata, he went to Sendai, on the eastern coast, and began to labor there without help and with little encouragement. Without even pecuniary assistance he prose-

cuted his work so successfully that four independent and self-supporting churches have been organized, with upward of 200 Christians. These churches were received by the presbytery, and constituted, together with the church at Hakodati, the presbytery of northern Japan. Other instances of successful native labor were given, notably the following:

About one year ago, Mr. Itagaki (the former President of the Liberal Party) invited the Rev. Dr. Verbeck and others to go to Tosa and teach the people Christianity. The invitation was accepted, and preaching established in the city of Kochi. The most influential and educated men in that region attended these meetings, and a large company of inquirers was formed at once. Buddhism had had but a small following and influence in that section, and the minds of the people were ready to receive the doctrines of the Gospel when once convinced of their importance and truth.

The growth of Christianity having attracted the attention of the Buddhists some priests were sent down from Koba and Osaka to counteract the influence. But they were met by the educated young men of the place, and their arguments so completely answered that no effort was needed on the part of the Christian preacher to overcome their teachings or power.

The United Church seems to have attained to a high degree of self-support. All of the churches pay at least their current expenses, and sixteen wholly support their pastors. For two years the contributions for church purposes aggregate $15,120, which is an average of about $2 50 per annum for each member, or about $12 as measured by American valuation. The missionaries have been very assiduous in educating the natives in the direction of self-dependence, and the native ministers and elders have caught the spirit, and are very earnest in endeavoring to bring the churches up to the standard.

The native Christians are also deeply concerned in the spread of the Gospel by native agency. One of the most important acts of the synod was the adoption, after a discussion occupying several hours of successive sessions, of a plan for a missionary board, to conduct evangelistic work in all parts of the empire, and also to take in charge the preparation of men for the ministry. It was decided that the Board should consist of ten native and ten foreign representatives, and the native churches are to contribute one fourth of the sum required for the purpose. The amount proposed to be expended is about $9,000; and this will necessitate a contribution of about fifty cents per annum from each church member.

But what say the missionaries to all this native activity? For it means that the missionaries must in the future play a subordinate part. They must become less and less influential as the native Church increases. They are already far outnumbered. They say, according to Dr. Geo. William Knox, of the Tokio Theological Seminary, that it is just what they desire and have been working for. "More than ever before," we are told, "do the missionaries see the end of their labors, namely, the establishment of an efficient, self-supporting, self-propagating, earnest, devoted Presbyterian Church in Japan." Their aim has been to profit by native knowledge and experience of native needs and conditions, and also gradually to transfer responsibility to native shoulders, turning foreign missions into

home missions. The means to this end are being rapidly provided. No fewer than 34 young men are being prepared for the ministry in the Tokio Theological School. Two other missions, the Reformed (German) and the Southern Presbyterian, and perhaps also the Cumberland Presbyterian, are to join the United Church, which, as Dr. Knox believes, will have at the close of the century a membership of 50,000. He also thinks there will be a Congregational body of equal size, and also large Methodist and Episcopal Churches. The American Board began its work in 1869, and has pushed its policy of self-support even more successfully than the missions of the United Church. Of its 33 churches, eight of which were organized in the past year, 25 are reported as self-supporting. It is growing very rapidly, no fewer than 1,046 persons having been received the past year on confession of faith, the gain being at the rate of 55 per cent. The total membership is 2,856. Seventeen ordained missionaries are connected with the mission, with 27 native pastors and preachers. A theological class in Tokio contains 13 students. The general survey of the American Board speaks of the present as being "preeminently the day of destiny for Japan," acknowledges the "rare fidelity and skill" with which native pastors and evangelists have wrought, and declares that the "quality of Christian life shows an advance as marked as the gain in numbers, and even more encouraging." It concludes with the general observation, the truth of which no one will deny, that the "ease with which thousands can be gathered in mass meetings for the discussion of Christian themes, and the readiness with which theaters in all the principal cities are let for this purpose, and the wide demand for the Scriptures, are among the signs of the time that show the progress which Japan is making and emphasize the need of pressing forward our Christian work as rapidly as may be." The Japanese churches sent a letter of greeting to the American Board on the occasion of its seventy-fifth anniversary, in which they acknowledge with gratitude the blessings which have come to them through the services and sacrifices of the missionaries. They also say that this is the "day of grace for our nation," an opportunity "to be met once in a thousand years, and not to be expected again."

The mission of our own Church, begun in 1872, has shared in the general prosperity which Christian missions have had in Japan. At the date of our last annual report we had 1,152 members and probationers in connection with our mission, which is well manned and well planned. The past year must have brought hundreds of converts, for reports of revivals have come from the missionaries, and we may expect a much larger increase than in the previous year, when the number of conversions was returned at 244. The mission is so laid out as to embrace Kiustiu, the southern island, part of Yezo, the northern island, and a large part of Hondo, or central Japan. It has eight districts, and at the beginning of last year there were ten ordained native preachers, of whom eight were elders, and also twelve unordained preachers. It may be hoped that this action of the several Presbyterian bodies, in uniting their churches so as

to form a single ecclesiastical organization, will be imitated by the several Methodist missions, so that there will be a united Methodism throughout the empire.

Dr. Knox, from whose suggestive article in the January "Presbyterian Review" we have already quoted at considerable length, expects a Church of not fewer than 50,000 members for the United (Presbyterian) missions in 1900, "a Congregational Church of at least equal size, and also large Methodist and Episcopal Churches." At the end of 1884, the date of our latest returns (our annual report for 1885 has not at this writing, January 12, appeared), our mission had 1,152 members and the American Board 1,877. The Protestant Episcopal Church entered Japan in 1859. Its first baptisms were in 1866, having no more until 1872. At the close of the missionary year, June 30, 1885, the mission reported a total of 152 communicants, of whom 131 were native. The baptisms for the year numbered 81, exclusive of foreigners, 55 being adults and 26 children. The confirmations were in all 50. The mission has not grown rapidly, nor has that of the Church Missionary Society, though it has much larger results to show than the American Episcopal mission.

The readiness, and even eagerness, with which the Japanese welcome foreign ideas and customs and a foreign religion might seem to indicate fickleness of character. If they held with greater tenacity to their own institutions, like the Chinese, we might expect them, when they had accepted Christianity, to show a very strong attachment to it. But if they so quickly give up their own religions and their own civilization to accept a foreign civilization and a foreign religion, will they not in turn reject Christianity for some other faith which happens to catch their fancy? Such questions naturally suggest themselves; but we are assured by such competent observers as Dr. Knox that the Japanese are not a fickle people. Their enormous strides from a state of oriental and insular exclusiveness toward a wise, broad, and generous policy may be accounted for by a quality of character which Matthew Arnold describes by the word "lucidity." It is that faculty which is swift to detect ideas and institutions which have outlived their usefulness, and to put them aside. When Japan was opened to the commerce of the world, much against her own will, a stream of light came with the American and European ships, and she saw that she was far behind in the march of nations, and must discard much of the old if she would receive the new. But Japan is not a mere imitator:

> Japan borrows, but does not surrender its independence. It stamps on its new possessions a character peculiarly its own, and often only diligent research reveals the foreign origin. Buddhism won final victory by accepting the native Shinto, and potent as is the influence of Chinese thought, it has found no servile imitator. The samurai, the knights, are the true exponents of Japanese character. To these men patriotism is the chief virtue; passionate love of country, complete devotion to their feudal lord, sums up their ethics. There is now no anti-foreign party in Japan, but still has Japan no thought of accepting a foreign yoke. She learns that she may rule. The foreigner is the employee, the counselor; he may teach, but must not command; and he has greatest influence and truest power who accepts this

fact. Japan will use the foreigner for a time, but will dispense with his services at her earliest convenience."

We have quoted from Dr. Knox at length because we believe his sentences give the key to the Japanese character, which cannot be too carefully studied by those who would find the quickest and best method of firmly establishing Christianity in Japan.

BURMAH AND THE BAPTISTS. — The opening of Burmah proper to commerce and missions, by the overthrow of King Thebaw's government and its annexation to the British empire, is one of the great events of the past year. The proclamation of annexation was published on the first day of the present year, and so cruel and despotic had been the rule of the king that no word of protest was uttered, either in Burmah or elsewhere, against the act of the British government. Fortunately the conquest cost but little comparatively, either in lives or money, and there is no organized force except of *Dacoits*, or robbers, to oppose British rule.

The Governor-General of India, under whose control the conquered State has been placed for the present, has the power to establish a stable government over the new Burmese subjects, and protect all who have occasion to visit or settle among them. To the Baptists it gives the opportunity, long coveted, to extend their missionary operations into northern Burmah; and other societies may also freely enter the new territory. Burmah, as is well known, is the oldest field of the American Baptist Missionary Union, and perhaps the most successful one. Since the days of Adoniram Judson, the founder of the Union's mission on Burmese soil, there has been a wonderful development of Christianity around the stations which he planted. Leaving out the stations of North Siam and Bhamo, the latter being in upper Burmah, the Baptists have twelve stations in the Burmese field, all in the narrow strip of land known as British Burmah. And connected with those stations are more than 500 out-stations, with 479 churches, 25,425 members, and 395 schools. The total of missionaries, including women and physicians, is only a hundred. Judson's policy, not to ask the natives for money for fear they might think he had come for their possessions and not their souls, has long been abandoned, and in no mission has the problem of self-dependence and self-support been more successfully worked out than in Burmah. Of the 479 churches, 308 are self-supporting, and there is a total of 514 native preachers, of whom 124 are ordained. There are besides no fewer than 707 active native workers in connection with the mission. The contributions for church, school, and general benevolent purposes aggregate nearly $37,200. The population of Burmah is not, as is generally known, a homogeneous population, and the mission is under the disadvantage of being compelled to carry on its work among several different tribes—the Burmans, who claim a celestial origin and are the rulers of the country; the Karens, who dislike the Burmans; the Shans, who resemble the Siamese, the Ka Chins, and others. The Burman, however, is the language spoken by the body of the people, and in this most of the literature issued by the mission has

been published. A mission was opened in Bhamo, upper Burmah, on the Chinese border, a few years ago, and in 1884, three Chinese Shans, the first of their race to accept Christianity, so far as known, were baptized; converts were also made among the Ka-Chins; but the mission has been greatly interrupted by political disturbances, and last year was broken up. The annexation of Thebaw's kingdom removes the chief obstacles which kept Baptist missionaries out of upper Burmah, and now the desire is to enter the large and rich territory in force.

The only hinderance is, of course, want of money. We trust the Baptist churches will furnish the necessary funds, and missionaries, both foreign and Burman, be sent into this new missionary field. The time is not far distant when the whole of south-eastern Asia, from the Chinese border to the Straits of Malacca, will have become Christianized. The Presbyterians are meeting with wonderful success in Siam, and the Baptists have a strong hold on Burmah.

Co-operation in Missions.—We have shown, in the article on "Development in Japan" in this issue, how a United Church of Christ in Japan has been organized by three Presbyterian bodies conducting missions in that empire, and how that native Church has grown in numbers, in self-dependence, and in aggressiveness. A similar movement was attempted in India some years ago, but without success so far. It is now about twenty-three years since an elder of the Church of Scotland advanced the idea that all the Presbyterian missions in India ought to unite to form a single Presbyterian Church for India. The missionaries had been thinking on the same subject, and eighteen months after the elder gave utterance to his views the Presbyterian Synod of Northern India, connected with the American Presbyterian Church, appointed a committee to correspond with the other Presbyterian missions in India. The correspondence proceeded slowly, but it led to a favorable expression from most of the missionaries, and to the holding of a conference in Allahabad in 1874. It had been decided that for the present no attempt would be made to form an organic union of the different missions, as it was supposed that the home Churches would not approve such a plan. Nothing more could be done than to constitute a voluntary alliance for fellowship and co-operation along practicable lines. The Presbyterian Alliance was, therefore, organized at Allahabad, and three meetings of the confederated council have since been held—in 1877, 1880, and 1883. These triennial conferences have, to some extent, been stimulating and healthful, but they were costly, and it was felt that so great an outlay in time and labor and expense ought to bring greater results than the unofficial character of the Alliance permitted; and the thirteen different missions represented resolved to petition the home Churches for authority to make the Alliance a court of appeal and supervision in matters relating exclusively to the native Church. The request was, however, granted by but few of the home Churches. The missionaries were disappointed, and, concluding that they had asked for too little, they resolved to ask for authority to

unite all the missions in one strong, homogeneous, self-governing "General Assembly of India." The Alliance is now waiting for the action on this proposition. The United, Free, Original Secession, and Established Churches of Scotland, the England Presbyterian, the Southern Presbyterian of this country, and the Reformed Dutch have signified their willingness that such an organic union should be formed in India, and it is believed that the rest of the Presbyterian Churches represented in India will give the required permission. The missions are ready, says Dr. Chamberlain, of the Reformed mission, and are "scanning the ground and planning for onward united action—evangelistic, educational, ecclesiastical—just so soon as the Church Assemblies at home shall grant permission to their missions in India to lock arms and form united presbyteries and synods—ready then with joy to merge the provisional Presbyterian Alliance of India into the Union Presbyterian General Assembly, that shall grow, as God shall lead it, into a strong, self-supporting, self-governing, self-propagating national Church of Christ in India."

Dr. Chamberlain proposes four synods—Bombay, Bengal, Madras, and North India—these uniting in a General Assembly of India. The Bombay synod would contain four presbyteries and two missions, representing six churches; that of Bengal would have two presbyteries and two missions, representing four churches; that of Madras three presbyteries, besides the churches in Ceylon, representing four churches; that of North India seven presbyteries, representing four churches. Dr. Chamberlain told the American branch of the Committee on Missionary Co-operation, appointed by the Belfast Council of the Alliance of Reformed Churches, at a hearing recently given in this city, that if such a union were formed the home Churches must loosen their hold on matters ecclesiastical in India, and simply control matters financial, through the missionaries as their agents. This committee has been busily at work gathering information for its report to the next council, which is to meet in London in 1888. It has communicated with missionary secretaries and missionaries, asking their views on a number of points like the following:

1. The urgent need of friendly co-operation by the Foreign Missionary Boards of all the Churches represented in the Alliance, in the location and conduct of missions in separate or contiguous fields, in order to avoid conflict, to save expense, to promote Christian and missionary unity, and to employ all the means and workers on each field to the best advantage.

2. The importance of having but one united ecclesiastical organization in each mission field of the family of Reformed Churches holding the Presbyterian system, and the best way of accomplishing this result.

3. The most effective means for promoting the self-support, self-extension, and self-government of native mission Churches.

4. The nature, extent, and working of the relation between the native Churches and the Churches at home. Should it be organic and permanent, or voluntary and temporary, existing only so long as may be required by the infancy and growth of Churches in the unevangelized nations, and until they can stand alone and take care of themselves?

5. The relation between the missionaries and the native Churches and ecclesiastical bodies. Should the missionaries be members of the local Church bodies, such as presbyteries, classes, and synods, on an equality with the native pas-

tors? Or should they retain their membership in the ecclesiastical bodies in the home Churches which sent them forth? Are the missionaries to be regarded and commissioned as apostolic evangelists, whose office is to occupy the opening fields, preach the word, evangelize the people, plant and train Christian churches, educate the young, prepare a native ministry, and do other foundation work which belongs chiefly to the formative stages of the Christian Church in Pagan, semi-Christian, and Moslem lands? It is evident that the decision of this question will practically decide that of the relation of missionaries to the native Churches, and the future growth and success of evangelistic work among the nations.

The chief difficulty, in the view of some of the missionaries, in forming a united Church in India is the lack of union among the Churches at home.

THE CONVERSION OF SAMOA.—The report of the annexation of Samoa by Germany, which has been denied by the government at Berlin, makes the story of the conversion and consequent civilization of that central Polynesian group. Samoa is under the control of a native king, and Germany's recent action seems to have been inspired with the desire to overthrow the reigning king, and install a rival claimant who is presumably more favorable to German interests. The Samoans are a vigorous, intellectual race, numbering now about thirty-five thousand, a gain of about eleven hundred in upward of forty years. They were originally a savage people, whom navigators were glad to avoid. They were not, however, a cannibal race, and very seldom did they indulge in human flesh. The missionaries of the London Society took up their residence in Samoa (1830) at an auspicious moment. The people had risen against a tyrant, and killed him, and were in a state of mind favorable to the purposes of the missionaries, who were accompanied by eight South Sea teachers. The new religion was welcomed, but it did not win its way without many a desperate conflict. The Samoan religion was a peculiar religion. Every one had to worship at least five gods, and there were no fewer than one hundred and twenty gods acknowledged by the islanders. The five gods claiming reverence from every person were the god individual, the family god, the village god, the district god, and the war god. The gods were generally incarnate in beast, or fish, or fowl; and the individual whose particular god was in fish, for example, could not eat fish. To break with his religion a Samoan had only to eat his god. In ten years heathenism was substantially overthrown, and Christianity had become the religion of the people. The London and Wesleyan Missionary Societies and the Roman Catholics are laboring in Samoa. Dr. George Turner says, that twenty-seven thousand of the Samoans are under the care of the London Society, under whose auspices he labored in Samoa for many years. He contributes to the January "Chronicle" of that society an extremely interesting article on the work of the missionaries, and on the character of the people and their language. He says of the language that it is "copious, expressive, euphonic," amply sufficient for the translation of the Scriptures. They have an extraordinary mythology, and rich traditional histories. They speak of the great god Tanga-

loa, the "unconditioned," who created all things. He resided in the eighth heaven, from which he rolled down a stone which became the island of Samoa. He then sent a messenger with earth and a creeping plant. The plant withered, and became a substance from which worms sprang, and from worms man was developed. Thus they had evolution; but sometimes this evolution took a backward turn, and men became cray-fish, and pigs sprang from the dissevered heads of human victims. Says Dr. Turner:

> You turn to Bible stories and speak about Jacob's ladder, and they tell you of a tree which reached to heaven, up and down which their ancestors used to go on their visits to the heavens, and which measured sixty miles when it fell. After a sermon at Eromanga, on the prophet Jonah, the missionary was told that was *their* man. He fell into the sea, was swallowed by a whale, but his ear ornaments pricked the inside of the fish so terribly to his discomfort that he was ejected, and walked up from the beach, pale and emaciated with fear and hunger. A Samoan Jonah deliberately went into "a great fish" for the purpose of killing it, which he did, and was praised as the deliverer from a great ocean enemy. You tell them of Samson and the Anakim, and they relate the doings of the giant Tafai, who could pick up and hurl a cocoanut-tree as if he were throwing a thin spear, and who left his foot-prints on the rocks, as if they had been soft sand. You speak moreover of Christ walking on the water, and they tell you of the god Raso, who walked a thousand miles on the ocean from Samoa westward, and scattered about a quantity of earth which became the island of Rotumah, one of the late annexations to British rule in the Pacific. You tell them of the heaven of heavens as a world of peace, and that at once suggests to a Samoan his own traditions, which say that the eighth heaven was one of peace, no clubs or spears to be seen about the houses, and war never permitted to enter. A volume or two might be filled with these traditionary stories, many of which are fragments of an old and long-lost theology, and throw not a little light on the grand unity of the human race.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE leading article in the "British Quarterly Review" for October considers the subject of union among Scottish Presbyterians. The three branches of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland do not seem to be separated by any sufficient barrier to warrant the distinct existence of the three denominations. Yet the writer sees that there are differences. The Established Church is more tolerant toward heresy, and approaches, in the order of its worship, the Anglican Church, and scarcely a remnant of the old Scotch Calvinism is to be heard from the lips of its younger clergy, while it is peculiarly vague on the subject of eschatology. The Free Church is characterized by a different spirit. It has great respect for traditions. Its theology is rigidly based on the Westminster standards. It has not altogether abandoned the harsher features of Calvinism, but this is much more true in the Highlands than in the Lowlands. The younger ministers of the Free Church are among the most highly educated of their order in Scotland. In the United Presbyterian Church a different type of preaching and thought prevails. This Church aims

at large popular effect. Its preaching is better fitted to produce an impression upon the great mass of hearers. Their ministers usually preach extemporaneously. It is less fettered by tradition than either the Established or the Free Church, and is not dominated in its annual meetings by relics of musty antiquity. The general tendency of the article is to show that there is nothing which ought to separate these several bodies.

There is a very thoughtful article in this number on the "Ethics of Pain" by Henry Hayman, D.D., in which the writer holds that man's capacity for pain exceeds his capacity for pleasure, and that as regards both intensity and duration man's capacity for pain has been increased by civilization. Pain is thought to have a disciplinal effect as stimulating reflection and sustaining virtue by suitable penalties. The unequal distribution of pain centers on a few the burden of suffering due to many, the few becoming, in effect, vicarious sufferers. It is this last hint which makes the author declare that the whole problem of pain and suffering becomes plainer on Christian grounds than it can ever be without them. Even from the stand-point of Natural Theology, pain cements brotherhood, provokes to love and to good works, exalts the sufferer to a place of honor, becomes a test of humility and patience, and turns to a pleasure what seemed a cross. Hence pain becomes an argument in favor of that moral system of the world's government into which it thus exactly fits, and of that Christian ideal into whose very focus its lines converge.

There is a powerful article by R. H. Patterson on "Pessimism and its Religions," too long to be analyzed here, but is to be strongly commended to all thoughtful readers. The final sentence deserves to be quoted: "If there were more Christianity in men's hearts at the present day, we should not hear cries of pessimism, or the despairing lamentations as of men walking in darkness."

We were affected by a peculiar sensation in taking up the "Indian Evangelical Review," a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort, edited by the Rev. K. S. MacDonald, M.A., and published in Calcutta, India. That such a magazine should be possible in India will be a surprise to many. The article of the highest interest is that by the editor on the "Secret of Buddha's Success as a Propagandist." Besides the ordinary methods, such as preaching and conversation, he made use of certain extraordinary methods, as expedients and mysteries which were substantially miracles and illustrations. A curious story is told that Buddha convinced the five ascetics in Benares when they threw doubt on the truthfulness of his statement that he had obtained enlightenment by projecting his tongue so far from his mouth that it reached both his ears and covered his whole face, and then withdrawing it, said: "Can a man guilty of lying perform such an act as this?" Buddha is also said to have convinced many by his power of suspending himself in the air, causing sparks of fire to issue from his body, rendering himself invisible, and many other such matters. The article is one of very great interest.

The "Unitarian Review" for October has a notable article by the Rev. Sam. J. Barrows on John Bellamy's Bible. This Bible was published in London in 1818, dedicated to the Prince Regent, afterward George IV. The occasion of its publication was, that when Bishop Watson of Llandaff had replied to "The Age of Reason," it appeared to Bellamy that the Bishop had given up the authority of the Scriptures. As no one else undertook the defense of the Bible, he attempted the task himself. The work was published in parts, and there are four of these parts in the Harvard library, bringing the translation down to the First Book of Samuel; though four other parts are said to be in existence. This translation of Bellamy has one unfailing resource; when it finds a difficulty it changes the translation. This spiral method of translation is never abandoned. He does not tunnel the mountain of difficulty; he goes around it, and when he has passed it he firmly believes it does not exist. To show the style of his translation, compare his version of Gen. ii, 21, with the common version: "Now Jehovah God caused an inactive state to fall upon the man and he slept: then he brought one to his side; whose flesh he had inclosed in her place." The whole article is full of quaint translations based upon an attempt to show that there are no difficulties whatever, moral or otherwise, in the Old Testament history. The other papers in this number are of very moderate interest.

Our intense opposition and dislike of the Roman elements in Papal Christianity does not blind us to the fact that there is a marked progress in the intellectual life of the priesthood and people of that body in this country; an intellectual life which will assuredly strengthen independence of thought and the priesthood of the believer. Catholicism can be intense only where the intellect is inactive or the Church suffers persecution. The specifically Roman elements disappear under liberty of thought and freedom of expression. Both the "Catholic World" and the "American Catholic Review" are periodicals of very considerable ability, the former especially is edited with much popular tact. The leading article in the October number has an interest for theologians by reason of its attempt to show that Buddhism at the point where it approximates the liturgy and teaching of Christianity is really an imitation. But we suspect that the question cannot be so easily disposed of. There is a wide field for inquiry and investigation respecting these resemblances between Buddhistic and Christian doctrine and government, which we commend to those who in the coming years propose to make comparative theology a chief study.

One of the most interesting of recent announcements is that relating to the "New Princeton Review." This is to be published six times a year by A. C. Armstrong & Son of New York, and Hodder & Stoughton of London, and is to be under the editorial management of William M. Sloane, Professor of History in Princeton College. A very noteworthy list of contributors has been secured, and the departments of fiction, travel, and

belles-lettres are to have particular prominence. The aim of this new review is to find a place not occupied by any other periodical. In attempting to do this it will be fresh and rich in its treatment of American subjects; in philosophy it will be realistic, as opposed to idealism and agnosticism; and if it fulfills its pledge to discuss the subject of physiological psychology it will certainly do more than most of the theological reviews have done. In politics it proposes to discuss whatever is important at home and abroad without belonging to any party. It will attempt to popularize science, especially in the department of investigation and discovery; *and it will not discuss theology*, but will strive as a principal aim to promote higher morality and religion. The first number under this promising programme was issued January 1, and certainly deserves the warmest welcome, both for its merit and for its fulfillment of its promise.

Charles Dudley Warner writes much of substantial value in his paper of "Society in the New South." It is a study of former life at the South as well as of life at present. Among the notable things said is this: that the South is not, and never has been, disturbed by *isms* of any sort. Spiritualism has absolutely no lodgment there, not even touching the excitable and superstitious colored race. The temperance question has reached a very high position, and is treated in a very common-sense way, and not as a matter of politics. While there is much said in favor of the new South, the writer has the courage of criticism. Mr. Warner says, that life in the South is still of a more simple form, and society not so complex, as in the North; a little more natural, more serious in manner, though not in fact; more frank or impulsive, and less calculating. The love of beauty in the South is marked. Yet with all its social accomplishments, its love of color, and its climatic tendency to the sensuous side of life, the South has been unexpectedly wanting in a fine art development—namely, in music and pictorial art.

This entertaining paper by Mr. Warner is followed by a study by Dr. M'Cosh of "What an American Philosophy Should Be." It is very interesting to find Dr. M'Cosh, who came under the American stars late in life, writing as if he were a thorough American, and asserting that our realistic philosophy will, in the end, secure attention and recognition. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst, whose pulpit style is marvelously crisp, shows that he can adapt himself to the necessities of a literary style in his paper on "The Christian Conception of Property." It is an article which is innocent of abstractions. This paper has admirable illustrations, is full of bright sayings, and says the many valuable things in a strong and telling way. But the article which will be most eagerly read is that by Professor Young on "Lunar Problems now under Debate," in which some very valuable and recent knowledge is laid down. "The Political Situation" is an anonymous article without large force. J. B. M'Master, the author of the "History of the People of the United States," has an interesting paper on a "Free Press in the Middle Colonies." It is quite a surprise to find the beginning of a story entitled "Monsieur Motte" in a heavy review. It is bright, but

has rather too much untranslated French for the average reader. This first number is so good that we shall eagerly look for the second.

The January "New Englander" and "Yale Review" opens with a review of the Life of Garrison by his sons, in which Leonard Woolsey Bacon writes appreciatively of the eminent abolitionist. We are glad to find that he points out, what we have pointed out in another place, that Mr. Garrison's character was by no means the simple and unworldly one which it has by many been thought to be. While it is the aim of his children to present him as a wholly faultless character, they afford the proof that he was not what they represented him to be—but was a master of Billingsgate. Mr. Bacon does not hesitate to quote expressions that show that he knew how to brag, and that if he was not passionate or vindictive he was something worse; he put on the appearance of passion or vindictiveness, or of mildness and inoffensiveness, as he deemed it for his own interest or the interest of his cause.

Professor Samuel Harris, of the Yale Theological Seminary, under the question "Have We a Theology?" combats the idea that theology is the foe of religion, and that it must be omitted as an element of pulpit success. Concerning this he says: "Whoever succeeds as an evangelist is a preacher of theology. Whoever has heard Mr. Moody, the greatest of them all, knows that his preaching is eminently theological; the same is true of successful evangelists generally." He holds that declamation against theology legitimately issues in irreligion and unbelief, or in what the Dean of Norwich called "maudlin sentimentalism," with its disparagement of any definite doctrine; a nerveless religion without the sinew and bone of doctrine. The article is not so much an answer to the question in the title as it is a setting forth of the importance of believing something and knowing how to state it.

Ex-Governor Chamberlain, in "Present Aspects of the Southern Question," looks at the fact that the right to vote is not freely exercised in several States of the South, or, if exercised, the true results of legal voting are overcome or suppressed by fraudulent votes or false counting. He admits that whatever influence or terror was exerted upon the voters of any locality did not take the form of preventing voters from reaching the polls. We do not find any very valuable suggestions as to the cure for this state of things in the South, though the author finds much hope for the peaceful adjustment of the controversies and antagonisms in the admitted loyalty and patriotism of the people of the South, and in the development of its industries.

Dr. W. W. Patton has a paper on the weak points of the Evangelical Faith as commonly stated. Among these the first mentioned is, "that it has divided itself into numerous sharply defined and not always friendly sects." He holds that these divisions and their perpetuation to the present day show that no formulated statement of evangelical doctrine commands general assent; that each attempt to make one with clearness and definiteness leads to dissent. The second

fact pointed out is, that "the rival evangelistic sects, after ages of discussion, have made but small impression upon their non-evangelistic but professionally Christian opposers, except in the limitation of the growth of the erring bodies by spiritual power." He holds as a third fact, that "a disintegration of the formulated evangelistic faith has set in." Dr. Patton asks in a very tentative manner the following questions: whether evangelical preaching has not presented a theory of the world as it is, in order to make its system hold together, adapting its idea of probation to a model New England village rather than to the general condition of the world. A second query is, whether we have not insisted too much on the necessity of a regulation piety in order to salvation, and thus failed to recognize that which was unusual or unprofessional in form and microscopic in amount. The other points of his article relate almost entirely to the Calvinistic ideas of evangelical religion, and the whole paper is thoroughly illustrative of what every Methodist knows, that only those demand a new theology who have accepted the old Calvinism. It is very interesting also to observe how, in the quotations made by the author from George Eliot, Dr. Oswald, Russell Lowell, and others, the criticisms are all turned against conceptions of preaching and of the relation of religion to life which have been relatively unknown to Methodists. The discussion as to Yale College and its interests is continued in this number by Henry C. Kingsley under the title "Yale College under President Porter's Administration." This article is chiefly a summary of the financial progress of the college under the administration of President Porter. There are some pleasant notices of Yale graduates from 1701 to 1745 by Rev. Dr. I. N. Tarbox.

The January Andover has a very thoughtful paper on "Revelation as a Factor in Evolution," by Rev. F. H. Johnson, which is very well worth reading as indicating a line of adjustment between things that have been supposed to be hopelessly unfriendly. Professor Ladd, in "Education, New and Old," criticises the Harvard plan and shows many facts favorable to the more conservative methods of Yale. There is a most interesting sketch of the life and work of Louis Agassiz by Professor Asa Gray. Professor L. F. Stearns has a very thoughtful paper on the data or the doctrine of the atonement. He notices the fact that the present condition of Christian thought with reference to that most important doctrine of Christian truth is peculiar. The atonement itself, as the great saving fact of the Gospel, was never more prominent; but, nevertheless, the doctrine lacks definite shape and statement. His article is intended to furnish some aids to reflection with regard to the fundamental conceptions involved in the doctrine of the atonement. He insists that the position of the atonement in the Christian system must be determined at the outset; the objects of the atonement must be definitely stated and distinguished; we must determine the meanings of salvation and punishment; we must come to some clear conception of the atonement itself; attention must be fixed upon the vicarious quality of the Saviour's work; the relation

or proportion of the death of Christ as an element in the atonement deserves closer consideration. From these suggestions it will be seen that Professor Stearns, who is of the Theological Seminary at Bangor, Maine, finds that there is a great deal of work to be done before the new theology is written. Dr. John E. Todd, of New Haven, has written a very strong letter to the "Andover Review" concerning its teaching with regard to probation, and the best part of the editorial in this January number is taken up with an answer to Dr. Todd's queries. A very pleasant feature of this number is a paper on Church architecture, in which a fine engraving of the exterior and interior of the Central Church at Worcester, Mass., is given, with a ground-plan.

It is evident from the discussions in the English Reviews that Disestablishment and Disendowment are in the air, and that the present strength of the Anglican Church will be spent in saving as much as possible of the conditions, social and financial, upon which so much of its power depends. Thus in the December number of the "Contemporary Review" the Dean of Wells lays down several propositions which he calls "A Plan of Church Reform; or, A Little Draft for a Church Reform Bill." Professor Sayce renews the discussion on the origin of the alphabet. Gamaliel Bradford discusses the government of the United States in a paper of great intelligence. Mr. Bradford attempts to expound for English readers the principles which underlie our government, especially in comparison with English methods. The article is very valuable as correcting some misapprehensions among English readers, and many an intelligent American will find his knowledge of his own land increased by this paper written with American force but English carefulness.

Professor Fairbairn returns to the well-worn subject of Reason and Religion, especially showing the want of self-consistency of Cardinal Newman. This is one of a series of articles which has attracted great attention abroad.

Professor Huxley, whose name has not of late appeared as frequently as in former times in contemporary literature, opens the December number of the "Nineteenth Century" with an article on the interpreters of Genesis and the interpreters of nature. This article is largely a reply to some criticisms by Mr. Gladstone on the work of Dr. Reville. A paper of timely interest is that by Fortescue Fox on "Stimulants and Narcotics—their Use and Abuse." This article is the freshest summary of what is known as to the distribution of narcotics and their use, and the conclusions of the author will not be accepted by many, as he says that the various substances considered are of use to man; that in no case is any one justified in saying, "This thing is without its proper use in the world; it is an agent of unmitigated evil." He holds that we have no sufficient ground to condemn the use of stimulant-narcotics; certain forms of indulgence he condemns; excesses must be deplored. The article is worth

reading for its information, if it be not followed for its logic. The other articles are of interest chiefly to Englishmen, with the exception of that on "Solar Myths," by Professor Max Müller.

"The Overland Monthly" maintains itself with increasing power. In the December number will be found a valuable account of the present condition of the Lick Observatory, from which it appears that the building is completed and endowed, and that the great object-glass, the rough casting for which has just been accomplished after twenty unsuccessful trials lasting six years, is in the hands of the polishers and finishers. In a comparatively short time Mr. Lick's gift to his fellow-citizens of California will begin to bear fruit. E. L. Huggins contributes a suggestion on the Indian question, which is, substantially, that the true policy is to segregate and isolate the small tribes from each other as far as possible, instead of herding them together. In other words, the suggestions are very much like those made by Major-Gen. Sheridan. There is also here a valuable study of the Chinese question, and it is pleasant to find a writer in this magazine taking the broad and humanitarian side. But the number is particularly notable for a very remarkable paper by George H. Howison on the question, "Is Modern Science Pantheistic?" This paper was presented at the Concord School of Philosophy, July 31, 1885, and was written as an introduction to a symposium on the question, "Is Pantheism the Legitimate Outcome of Modern Science?" The other contributors were Mr. John Fiske, Dr. F. E. Abbott, Dr. A. P. Peabody, Dr. W. T. Harris, and Dr. Edward Montgomery. The first part of Mr. Fiske's contribution has appeared in the book entitled "The Idea of God." We should be glad to quote from this paper if it were possible. We can only say that it defines Pantheism, shows its relation to Materialism and Idealism, exhibits the contrasts between Pantheism and Deism, and unfolds the permanent truth and the permanent defect in Pantheism; shows why it is to be deprecated, why it is very profoundly interesting, and asserts that modern science is strictly Non-pantheistic. This article is remarkable as showing the reaction which Christian scholars have expected for a long time, and is well worthy of being extracted and carefully studied by all who are acquainted with the problems suggested by scientific study. In the January number will be found other papers of great interest. The magazine is true to the soil on which it is printed, but is as broad as the whole world. A very pleasant article is that on "An Autumn Ramble in Washington Territory." "The Wyoming Anti-Chinese Riot" is discussed once more by A. A. Sargent. Mr. Sargent writes from the Pacific coast standpoint, and while careful not to uphold the riot, much that he says is in the line of palliation, if not justification.

A very notable feature of recent magazine work is the appearance in both Harper's and the Century of Studies of Persian Architecture, Scenery, and Life, by S. G. W. Benjamin. While, of course, much has been known of the history of Persia, its geographical situation is such as

to make its capital a city of important diplomatic residence; yet little is known popularly of its interior and the manners and customs of its people. Mr. Benjamin contributes much that is new, and more that is valuable, while the admirable illustrations throw light upon the physical characteristics and domestic life of one of the most enduring of cities. In the January Harper's the most notable article is that on "A Lamp Full of Oil," by Geo. R. Gibson, which studies petroleum from the first effort to sink a well to the construction of the pipe lines, and the various methods by which it is refined as well as transported. This article is a marvel of good writing, and he who reads it carefully will know all that needs to be known by a person of general intelligence on the development and importance of one of the great industries of America. There is also in this number a most remarkable story in the negro dialect, entitled "Unc' Edinboro's Drowndin'." It stands altogether at the head of such contributions to magazine literature. The dialect is not obtrusive, while the power of the story is very great; and as it is told in monologue, the artistic difficulty of creating such a story is largely increased. We commend also to our readers a very valuable paper on "The Militia," by Gen. George B. M'Clellan, the last contribution of a man whose organizing skill was probably not excelled in our Civil War, but whose ability to lead seemed not proportionate to his ability to form something worthy to lead.

The January Century, besides the article on Persia to which we have already referred, has some very valuable restorations of fossil birds or flying animals, midway between reptilian and bird forms. This article deserves attention not only for its intense interest, but for its importance scientifically. It puts beyond a question the existence of birds with teeth, and of birds whose vertebræ and other characteristics allied them very closely to reptilian forms. Especially we would call attention to the drawing of the fossil archæopteryx, and to the restoration on the opposite page, which seems amply justified by this creature as it is preserved in the fossil state; and yet it is so peculiar, not to say hideous, that if one were to see the restoration without having seen the fossil form, it would be numbered among the pranks of a scientific humorist, rather than a careful restoration from known data. It is quite evident from this number, also, that stories of southern life and of local character are to have a prominent place, for a long time to come, in our American literature. Slavery produced so many dramatic situations, and freedom has created so many new ones, that a double interest attaches both to the whites and blacks in respect of the dramatic possibilities of these relations. There is a pathos about the black race, and their past relations to the whites, which can never lose its power, and there is scarcely a better illustration in existence of this than in the sketch called "The Cloverfields' Carriage," by F. R. Stockton, in this January "Century." It is as true to the life as possible. The Rev. Ed. Hungerford has a paper on "Spiritual Preaching for Our Times," in which he says many bright and excellent things. Some will dispute the following: "Any one who comes much in contact with church-goers will observe that there has been among them in

the last ten or fifteen years an increasing demand for preaching which promotes a spiritual Sabbath and spiritual faith. If, especially here in America, church-goers at one period have been to a considerable extent captivated by a preaching which lowered its tone and thought to catch men with tricks and sensationalism, that day has gone by." Concerning spiritual preaching he says: "It is not preaching with what in many quarters passes for unction. The preacher must come as Jesus came from the Jordan, having the heart so transfused by a sense of the Spirit and spiritual relations that he will speak out of depths so profound that his words seem to touch the sources of being. This is unction. . . . What often goes current under the name is nothing more than an acquired manner and tone belonging to the department of elocution, and equally available for themes spiritual or secular. Spiritual preaching is not to be confounded with revival preaching. Revival preaching as a main dependence cannot answer the demand of any times. Spiritual preaching is reviving; it is not necessarily revivalistic." The article is well worth consideration.

Historically, one of the most important papers in the series on the Civil War is that in this number by Gen. John Pope on the second battle of Bull Run. Gen. Pope explicitly denies that he ever dated any dispatch from his "head-quarters in the saddle," and presents afresh in large part the evidence which seemed sufficient at the time for the condemnation of Major-Gen. Fitz John Porter.

Our welcome friend, Lippincott's Monthly, takes a new departure with the first of January. It has a new cover which is really tasteful, and has a broad page undivided into columns, print delightful, and paper equal to the best. It is intended to make it thoroughly alive, and it is to be sold at twenty-five cents per number, or two dollars per annum in advance. It is not illustrated, but is thoroughly interesting. There is a very notable series of extracts from the writings of George Eliot, giving criticisms of her contemporaries, these criticisms being extracted from various English reviews. We doubt if better critical work in short space can be found in any language than is here resuscitated from the anonymous work of their great author.

Gail Hamilton does not find her soul thrilled with the glories of Civil Service Reform. We are a little afraid that the political disappointment of her relative has added a shade of additional acidity to her views of American life. Her work is always interesting, and if, like others, she is sometimes "intoxicated by the exuberance of her own verbosity," she only falls under that subtle habit of nature which leads us to despise that which has proved the ruin of our ambitions. The country always is tottering to its ruin in the sight of those who are politically disappointed.

An excellent portrait of Sir Henry Thompson appears as the frontispiece of the January "English Illustrated Magazine," engraved from the picture by Millais, so spirited and life-like that it is difficult to believe that it is an engraving from a painting. There is also in this

number a very pleasant summary of life one hundred years ago. "A Month in Sicily" is well described and well illustrated, taking the traveler, as it does, out of the ordinary lines of European movement. Those who love the Essays of Elia will greatly enjoy the illustrations which accompany the paper on Charles Lamb in Hertfordshire, which breathe the true spirit of old English life.

We count "The Expositor," edited by the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A., published in this country by A. D. F. Randolph & Co., New York, among the very best and most scholarly of the aids to the modern minister. It is not so heavy as a review, and is not so trifling as a daily; but it is interesting, solid, timely, and thoroughly helpful. We have no American magazine which fills its place.

We gave a glad welcome to the "African Methodist Episcopal Church Review" on its first appearance, a welcome which is renewed with each successive number. It is edited by Dr. B. T. Tanner, and there are few American reviews which can show a better table of contents or better treatment. The first article is by T. T. Fortune, the editor of the "New York Freeman," on "Civil Rights and Social Privileges." Mr. Fortune writes with great vigor and with considerable learning, but with too much heat to make the best impression. Professor Scarboro, of Wilberforce University, has a very noteworthy paper on "Fatalism in Homer and Virgil," which will interest students. The breadth of this magazine may be seen from the fact that it treats not only American problems, but "The Congo Valley," "Science by Unscientific Methods," "The Commercial Position of the United States on the High Seas," "The Life of Lord Lawrence and its Lessons," and "The Development of Progress."

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Christ and Christianity: Studies on Christology, Creeds and Confessions, Protestantism and Romanism, Reformation Principles, Sunday Observance, Religious Freedom, and Christian Union. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 8vo, pp. 310. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

IT is a wonder how Dr. Schaff can perform the amount of literary labor required for the production of the books and other publications that appear with his name. He no doubt has an able corps of trained assistants who have acquired his methods of thinking and style of writing, but that fact only partially solves the mystery, for the evident originality of thought and manner of many of these productions precludes the idea that they are "'prentice work." His acquaintance with the course of the religious thought of the age seems to be very extensive, while his knowledge of ecclesiastical affairs, in all their departments, and during

all the ages of the Church, must be simply cyclopedic. And in addition to the results of his own original thinking, he has also, as a purveyor of other men's thoughts, greatly enlarged the religious literature of the times; and whatever he handles he also enriches with his own suggestions, and often with valuable additions of supplementary matter.

The latest born of his literary progeny (perhaps a later will have appeared before this shall be printed) is fittingly described by the title given above. It is not a compact treatise devoted to a single subject, but a set of "Studies," on somewhat related subjects, yet each sufficiently individualized, and complete in itself: "Chips," Max Müller would call them, not, however, castaways, but well wrought-out though hitherto unused pieces—oftentimes the most suggestive because the freest of the author's thinkings. The pieces that make up this volume, though they lie scattered along the most frequented and well-trodden paths, and seem designed to give out the writer's views only tentatively, and more as suggestions than conclusions, are nevertheless full of interest by reason of their felicitous groupings and apt intimations as to the proper solutions of not a few difficulties in theological and textual interpretations. Among these things are some of the "burning questions" which, in these days, are awakening not a little earnest thought, and at times are shadowed with misgivings.

The composite character of the volume is shown by its table of contents. First comes the author's "Inaugural Address," delivered in 1871, when he assumed his professorial chair in the Union Theological Seminary—simply a survey of the evangelical Protestant theology of that date. After this, constituting the most considerable "Part," follow a series of papers with the common title of "Christological Studies;" and then in succession a "Part" entitled "Polemical and Irenical," and another on "Moral and Social," subjects. His discussions of a variety of matters under the general heading "Christ in Theology" are especially significant. The subjects introduced are, for the most part, considered in their historical relations, but also somewhat dogmatically. They involve questions that violently agitated the early Church, about Christ's person and character, his divinity and his humanity, and the "hypostatical" union of the two complete natures in his one mysterious person. These questions, having first shaken the Church to its foundations, were determinatively settled by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople and Chalcedon, the last of which solemnly anathematized Nestorius, and so constituted the Nestorianism of ecclesiastical history, a heresy though it may be doubted whether any other of that age so happily conceived and stated the scriptural doctrine of Christ's person as now held and taught by the "orthodox" as did that proscribed and so-called heretic.

Dr. Schaff's summary of the accepted doctrines respecting Christ's person, which seems to comprise all that is of much importance, may be epitomized with some necessary repetitions, in these brief statements: 1. That there was a real incarnation of the divine Logos in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, so that he who was very and eternally God became

also man, and so was at once "very God and very man." 2. That the two natures in Christ's person were not blended together, but remained distinct and unchanged. 3. That the God-man, with two distinct and complete natures, was a single person—one and undivided. 4. That in Christ's dual person each nature retained its own proper attributes and affections, each having its own will and its distinctive consciousness. 5. That while each of the two natures that united in Christ's person possessed all the attributes essential to a completed personality, yet was he only one person, at once man with men and God with God. 6. That all Christ's properly Messianic work was performed in his complex person, whether dying upon the cross or rising again from the dead; and in that dual character he is now the Head of the militant Church, and the exalted High-priest of our profession. 7. That Christ's human nature was specifically prepared for him, and was not designed to form, at any time, a distinct personality, nor ever to be dissevered from his divinity. These points are set down as indicative of the substance of "Excumenical Christology"—the *consensus* of evangelical orthodoxy, which has been conserved through all the ages of the Church, and which now commands the consent of the most learned, and is also the joy and confidence of the penitent and believing.

It is often assumed that clear and sharp definitions of doctrines are necessarily polemical, and such they may sometimes be, but only incidentally; if studied in a spirit of reverent devotion, they will not fail to be "wholesome," and "full of comfort," and because we believe that such will be the effect of studying Dr. Schaff's book we heartily recommend its perusal.

Beyond the Grave. By Dr. HERMAN CREMER, Professor of Theology in the University of Griefswald. Translated from the German by Rev. SAMUEL T. LOWRIE, D.D., Pastor of the Ewing Presbyterian Church, near Trenton, N. J. With an Introduction by the Rev. A. A. HODGE, D.D., Professor of Didactic and Polemic Theology, Princeton Theological Seminary. 18mo, pp. 153. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The Doctrine of Endless Punishment. By WILLIAM G. T. SHEDD, D.D., Roosevelt Professor of Systematic Theology in Union Theological Seminary. Small 12mo, pp. 163. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Progressive Orthodoxy. A Contribution to the Christian Interpretation of Christian Doctrines. By the Editors of "The Andover Review," Professors in Andover Theological Seminary. 18mo, pp. 258. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

No two of the books whose titles we give above lie in precisely the same plane, or belong strictly to the same school of thought, and yet they are all included in a broader but still well-defined classification. There is manifestly an awakening of inquiry among Christian thinkers and teachers respecting the future life, which is leading to a re-examination and re-statement of the opinions that have prevailed concerning that subject and collateral ones, with a weighing anew of the evidence upon which those opinions rest—whether scriptural, ecclesiastical, or speculative. And although no ultimate conclusions have been reached, yet some

important intermediate ones have been made very evident. It is demonstrated that no one position is so well fortified that it may not be assailed with some show of reason; and also that large parts of nearly all theories of the future of the human race find but a feeble and uncertain support from the Bible; and also that the available evidence respecting men's relations to and expectation of the future state stand in great need of a thorough re-consideration and affirmation. And when this shall have been done, no doubt it will appear that the larger part of what we have been taught in hymns and liturgies—in mystical musings and imaginative speculations and dogmatic asseverations—about the details of the spirit-world, are sadly destitute of evidence. A learned writer of the present time, discussing some points of this general subject, closed his reflections with the remark: "The whole subject of eschatology needs to be restated;" and to him who may undertake that task we would suggest a proper consideration of the apostle's declaration, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be;" and that it is not best, on such a subject, to be wise above what is written.

Of the three books above named, the first is originally by a German theological professor, having been turned into English by a learned and highly conservative Presbyterian minister, and it comes forth in its new form with the broad indorsement (with only one slight exception) of an accepted representative of the old-school orthodoxy of our Calvinistic Churches. It is therefore a representative re-statement of the doctrines of "last things," as respects the human individual, as held and taught by average orthodox Calvinists; but while the old faith is re-asserted in its entirety, there are attempts—some of them plausible, and more of them fanciful, and nearly all of them chiefly conjectural—to answer a variety of curious rather than useful questions relating to various details of the subject. The book is likely to be about equally harmless and useless; but it marks a phase of the prevailing discussion.

The second is essentially of the same school of thought, but as the product of a master mind it handles its subjects with distinguished ability. Dr. Shedd contributed one of a set of papers on "Endless Punishment" which appeared in the "North American Review" for February, 1885, in which he discussed only the "Rational Argument," and that paper, somewhat re-written, with a brief *résumé* of the "History of the Doctrine," and an extended re-examination of the "Biblical Argument," makes up the present volume. That it is an able production the name of the writer is a sufficient pledge. But the fullness of the writer's own convictions largely unfits him for patiently hearing and considering the doubts of those less fully convinced. Perhaps it renders him a little too ready to find his own opinions sustained by portions of Scripture which to others are less clear and positive. And yet it must be said, that the usual method of evading his arguments, instead of answering them, is the more prudent, if less manly.

The third work named has the advantage of novelty, not, perhaps, in its teachings so much as in its methods, and in the fact that it demon-

strates the completeness of the doctrinal somersault performed by the teaching faculty of a venerable theological school that was established for the express purpose of maintaining and propagating the doctrines that it seems now especially intent on destroying. The volume is chiefly a reproduction of a series of editorial papers issued during the last year in the "Andover Review," which have been widely read, and quite naturally have elicited wide discussion. Of the nine different papers, the third is entitled "Eschatology;" but it considers very little else than the question of a future probation for those who die without having heard of Christ and his Gospel, which it answers in favor of the presumed "fair chance" in the future world which it is asserted they have not in this. The arguments presented are the same that have before done service in the same line, only the writers appear to be especially disinclined to rest their conclusions on the teachings of Holy Scripture, and especially the words of Christ, evidently because his words more than any others shut us up to despair of the "restoration" of the unsaved in this life. The newness of the matter that makes up this volume is not in its substance, but in its form and modes of statement, and in the newly applied title of orthodoxy. Much that is given as *new* may be found in almost any non-Calvinistic treatise on theology, and other less acceptable matters have long been known but only to be rejected.

Critical and Exegetical Hand-Book to the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. By JOHN ED. HUTHER, Th.D. Translated by DAVID HUNTER, B.A. And, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by Dr. GOTTLIEB LUNEMANN. Translated by Rev. MAURICE J. EVANS, B.A. With a Preface and Supplement to the American Edition, by TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 753. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Meyer's "Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the New Testament," as written by the author's own hand, extended only to the end of Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, his work being brought to a conclusion at that point by his death. After that event, which seemed to be so great a loss to biblical learning, the remaining books of the New Testament were taken in hand by two other scholars, whose personal and literary relations to the deceased writer seemed especially to qualify them for the work. Thessalonians and Hebrews were undertaken by Professor Lunemann, and the pastoral epistles, Peter and Jude, James and John, by Pastor Huther. Revelation is still unwritten. These assignments, and the work that has so resulted, have proved highly satisfactory; and the commentaries produced are unquestionably of the highest excellence. If something of Meyer's almost unequaled critical exactness is wanting, the deficiency is abundantly compensated by the breadth and the fullness of the substituted productions.

The volume in hand, which is a part of the first American edition (corresponding to two volumes of Clark's edition), has received the careful editorial inspection of Professor Dwight, who greatly enriched the exegetical notes by original matter, extending to more than a hundred and

twenty pages, made up of additional notes of considerable extent, and of great value. This new edition of Meyer is, no doubt, destined to wide use among American scholars, both because of its less price and its greater fullness of matter.

The People's Bible. Discourses upon Holy Scripture. By JOSEPH PARKER, D.D., Minister of the City Temple, Holburn Viaduct, London. Author of "Ecce Deus," etc. Volume I. The Book of Genesis. 8vo, pp. 368. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Dr. Joseph Parker has earned for himself a reputation that attracts readers to his writings as well as hearers to his temple; and although that reputation is not that of an astute biblical critic and learnèd exegete, still any defects in that direction is abundantly compensated for by his aptitude in detecting the spirit of the sacred narratives with which he deals, and by his artistic facility in grouping thoughts and in presenting realized pictures. A "People's Bible" prepared by him cannot fail to be at once acceptable and useful to those for whom it is designed. The undertaking, which, we take it, embraces the whole volume of God's word, is a gigantic one, which must extend through many years of diligent and laborious effort. May he live to write its "Finis!" The Book of Genesis offers some especially fine themes for the exercise of Dr. Parker's genius, notably the idyllic picture of "Abraham's Domestic Life," and "The Last Days of Jacob," while the whole story of Joseph is, though veritable, still a romance in the very best sense; and these, with others, the author has turned to good account. The book is valuable as a commentary, but its peculiar excellence is that of a picture gallery of sacred scenes.

Views of Religion. By THEODORE PARKER. With an Introduction by JAMES FREEMAN CLARKE. 8vo, pp. 466. Boston: American Unitarian Association. $1.

Theodore Parker was once a power, but rather after the fashion of a cyclone than of the steadily acting forces of nature; and like that of the cyclone his career was brief—perhaps, too, it should be added, it was also destructive. Though still remembered by many not yet old, yet is he practically forgotten; and his writings, once widely read, and surely not wanting in both strength and finish, are now obsolete. And this compilation of select pieces, although heralded by a favored name of the same school, but not the same, and offered at only a nominal price, will fail to bring a new life to the fame and the works of the renowned apostle of unbelief.

The Book of Daniel; or, the Second Volume of Prophecy. Translated and Expounded, with a Preliminary Sketch of Antecedent Prophecy. By JAMES G. MURPHY, D.D., LL.D., T.C.D., Professor of Hebrew. 12mo, pp. 203. Andover: Henry F. Draper.

Dr. Murphy has not to win a reputation, for that he has already done. But he here enters upon a specially difficult field, with a formidable rival in Dr. Pusey, whose elaborate and marvelously learned commentary on Daniel has just been republished. But even in this contest his reputation

is not likely to suffer loss. The "Preliminary Sketch," which makes up the first half of the book, is especially valuable.

God's Revelations of Himself to Men, as successively made in the Patriarchal, Jewish, and Christian Dispensations, and in the Messianic Kingdom. By SAMUEL J. ANDREWS, Author of "The Life of our Lord upon Earth." 12mo, pp. 391. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $2 50.

All who, long years ago, as we did, read Mr. Andrews's "Life of our Lord," will be likely to take up this volume with a predisposition in its favor, for that work is a model of learning without ostentation, of modesty of manners, and of reverent treatment, along with honest criticism and common-sense judgment. It was among the older of the numerous family of Lives of Christ, and few of the junior members have gone beyond it in real value. The present volume is a kindred one, and yet very unlike the former in many things, though written in a like spirit. With many things respecting God's dealings with men we might hesitate to agree, and especially in respect to the literal fulfillment of prophecy, and the materialistic nature of the Messianic kingdom; and yet we can commend the work as instructive, and wholesome in tone and spirit.

Studies in the Gospel according to St. John. By Rev. J. CYNDDYLAN JONES, Author of "Studies in Matthew," and "Acts." Edited by Rev. W. P. HARRISON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 337. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Mr. Jones, a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist, is somewhat known by his formerly published expository works. He is a writer of spirit and vivacity rather than of large erudition or profound thought, earnest and evangelical in respect to the character of his utterances, and notwithstanding some of his opinions against which his editor finds cause to caution the reader, his "Studies" may be perused with profit.

Studies Supplementary to the Studies in the Forty Days between Our Lord's Resurrection and Ascension. By ANDREW A. LIPSCOMB, D.D., LL.D., Emeritus Professor, Vanderbilt University. 12mo, pp. 300. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Our readers have had the opportunity to know something of Dr. Lipscomb's style, both of thinking and writing, which is very fully illustrated in this work, and in that to which it is designed to be a Supplement. The period covered is that devoted to the planting and establishing the Church in the earth, a period especially rich in evidential results which appeal to man's own spiritual consciousness. Among these things the author is at his best.

The Discipline of the Christian Character. By R. W. CHURCH, Dean of St. Paul's. 12mo, pp. 139. London: Macmillan & Co.

Five discourses delivered at St. Paul's (London) during the month of August, 1885. They are excellent in spirit, though not remarkably spiritual or spirited; but they have to a praiseworthy degree the negative excellence of not attempting to be sensational.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

The Consolations of Science; or, Contributions from Science to the Hope of Immortality, and Kindred Themes. By JACOB STRAUB. With an Introduction by HIRAM W. THOMAS, D.D., Pastor of the People's Church, Chicago, Ill. 8vo, pp. 435. Chicago: The Colgrove Book Company.

We are not of those who stand in mortal dread of the results of the growth of science upon the Christian faith, nor do we entirely sympathize with the spirit that prompts the efforts that some good people are making for the reconciliation of science and religion; nor are we solicitous to secure "aids to faith" from human learning. No doubt it is true, as we are so often reminded, that since both science and revelation are expressions of the truth, there can be no disagreement between them. But in order that the argument may be obvious, the truths of both science and revelation must be thoroughly understood. And since theology and secular learning are both very far from complete, as sciences, their harmonization cannot be expected to be perfect. In theology we must believe and practice in order that we may know; and having so learned Christ, there will usually be found the ability to give a reason for the hope that is in us. And having that hope, we may freely welcome all possible advancements in science.

The method of proof, in the book under notice, is that now commonly used: that is, to show that man is, as to his real self, a spiritual being, and therefore wholly exempt from the vicissitudes that belong to all material things, and, therefore, that he is not a subject of scientific determinations; and, also, that man's spiritual character and moral attributes clearly imply his immortality, with certain intimate relations between the present life and the hereafter. The speculations respecting the modes of existence in the future state, and also about the possible intercourse between the two worlds, are much more fanciful than real, and will no doubt prove to be more curious than useful.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant. In Two Volumes. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 584. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co.

General Grant has hitherto been recognized in the double character of soldier and statesman, and as to both sides of this character, as shown by his career, his friends are content that he shall be judged according to his works. His personal and private life has also arrested general attention, and secured for him a kind and degree of honor even more valuable than any so justly rendered to him for his conduct in public life, because of both the intrinsic excellence and the rarity of such qualities among renowned public men. And now, last of all, and chiefly as a posthumous award, he comes before the public to receive recognition as a man

of letters. Other great military leaders, ever since the time of Cesar, in Gaul and Britain, have occasionally written out their memoirs of battles and campaigns, but we scarcely know of any other who, after an exceptionally distinguished career in official life—military and civil—has been able deliberately to record his "personal memoirs" for the use of the great public. And these records of a busy life, which belong to the history of the country, are of incalculable value, because they are the solemn testimony of an exceptionally competent witness to transactions at once very important and much controverted; and prepared as they were, after life's ambitions and rivalries were ended, and also under the shadow of certain and nearly approaching death, they are in the highest degree trustworthy.

The style of writing is plain, clear, and direct, in good and forcible English, more suggestive of the Saxon than the classical fountains of our language, with something of the concise and comprehensive certainty of meaning that characterizes the best kind of military dispatches, and with fewest possible figures or illustrations for mere ornamentation. But any possible lack in these things is more than compensated by the writer's complete mastery of the matter in hand, and the consequent life-like reality of the narrations. As these memoirs are profoundly personal, so the writer presents what he has to tell us with all possible freedom. He tells of his early days with entire frankness, neither concealing nor ostentatiously parading the homely rusticity of his childhood's home and its conditions. His cadet life, as it was uneventful, is dispatched in a very few pages. The Mexican war presents a more fruitful theme, and is treated accordingly—the manifest and inexcusable iniquity of its inauguration on our side, without provocation, and almost solely for personal political designs, and for the extension of the area of slavery, is more than conceded; the bravery of our soldiers, and the well-earned successes of the commanding generals (Taylor and Scott), despite the lack of the sympathy and support of the government at Washington, are witnessed without ostentatious assertion, by the simple story of the war. The period from 1850 to 1860, as it was apparently alike uneventful and unpromising, is passed over rapidly, yet so as to maintain the completeness of the personal biography. With the outbreak of the Rebellion begins the history of that remarkable career which has made the name and fame of its subject the most illustrious of modern times. This first volume carries the narrative by Belmont, and Donelson, and Shiloh, and Corinth, to Vicksburg, ending with the account of the strange — not to use any stronger terms—scattering, by orders from Washington, of the army that had taken Vicksburg, to the great peril of the advantages of that achievement. In his accounts of his military movements, General Grant, though very sparing in the use of complaints or open censures, still leaves his readers in no doubt as to his estimate of men and measures; and the tone and manner of his speaking of certain of his generals, for whom, it is well known, he had a great partiality, evidently secured by their truthfulness and soldierly qualities, indicate also his less favorable opinions of those

not so commended. Nor is he at all indefinite or ambiguous in his references to the indefensible unrighteousness of the Rebellion itself, nor of the unpatriotic imbecility of the administration at Washington at the time of its inception, nor yet of the traitorous sympathy with the enemy by the Opposition party, which, to the extent of its ability, brought "aid and comfort" to the enemy. The country will await with earnest expectation the advent of the second volume, with its even more stirring details. Altogether it is an admirable and a wonderful work.

Chosön, The Land of the Morning Calm. A Sketch of Korea. By PERCIVAL LOWELL, "Late Foreign Secretary and Councilor to the Korean Special Mission to the United States of America." Illustrated by Photographs by the Author. Imperial octavo, pp. 412. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

Ever since the farthest East has been made known by Western adventurers, whether travelers, or missionaries, or traders, the existence of Korea has also been known, and a place on our maps has been assigned to the peninsula that, extending southward from the extreme north-east angle of the continent of Asia, separates the Yellow Sea on the west, toward China, from the Sea of Japan, on the east. But in respect to every thing about that strange country, beyond its existence, the great world has, till very recently, been strangely willing to be ignorant. But at length the spell that has so long kept out of sight this "Hermit Nation" has been broken, and Korea has now its place in the family of nations. And yet even now our knowledge of the country is but limited. Its external situation is easily determined, and its outer margins have been somewhat examined, but of its interior geography and topography, its cities and its towns, its government and its people, and their institutions, civilization, and religion, comparatively little is known.

The volume above named is a contribution to our small fund of information on this subject, and its value is to be estimated rather relatively than absolutely. By virtue of his official relations its author enjoyed exceptional opportunities for gaining a knowledge of the country, which he seems to have turned to good account; and as the result, our acquaintance with that strange land is considerably increased. But still the things yet to be ascertained very largely exceed all that we know. The accounts given of the face of the country, its lands and mountains, and rivers and lakes—the results largely of personal observation, though very partial—are valuable. What is told us of the political institutions of the country is good as far as it goes, but that is not far. Some little light is cast upon the social and religious condition of the people in the chapters on "The Position of Woman" and on "The Want of a Religion" (for properly the Koreans have none, though they are greatly addicted to "Demon Worship"), and what is given us in these chapters sufficiently indicates the low level of their characters and lives. The population of the country, of Tartar origin, but individualized by long isolation, is estimated at twelve millions, which seems a very large number for the extent of its territory. Söul, the capital, over three miles square,

is supposed to have within its walls about a million and a quarter, and as many more live in the extra-mural suburbs.

This volume is most luxurious in its material make-up. Its binding and paper are really fine; its large type and double-leaded lines are attractive for weak eyes; the illustrations have the advantages and the disadvantages of photographs—correctness and stiffness. Altogether the work is a valuable contribution to our relatively meager store of knowledge of a hitherto unknown country.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series. Vols. XXII, XXIII. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHÜRER, D.D., M.A., Professor at Giessen. Being a Second and Revised Edition of a "Manual of the History of New Testament Times" Second Division. The Internal Condition of Palestine and of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Two Volumes. Pp. 379, 327. New York: Scribner & Welford.

These volumes, as indicated in their titles, are a reproduction in part of a formerly published work by the same author. They are also the second part of that work, as far as they go, but a third volume is to be added, the first not having yet been issued. But though thus incomplete, and somewhat fragmentary, they give the various particulars taken in hand with all needful entireness; and the subjects discussed, as they all belong to the same time, have no certain order of temporal succession. The parts still wanting are promised for the near future.

The matters treated are precisely those with which readers of the New Testament are constantly brought into contact, and those without some knowledge of which, many things in that volume cannot possibly be understood. We have in the first place an account of the people and the state of their culture, population, language, the infusion of Hellenism, and the relation of the Jews to the heathenism of their times. Next, we have a geographical and topographical survey of the land, its Grecian and its strictly Jewish portion, with some account of the Sanhedrin and of the high-priests. After this comes an account of the priesthood and the temple worship; and lastly, the scribes and their functions. These occupy the first volume.

In the second volume we have accounts of the "Pharisees and Sadducees," the "School and Synagogue," "Life under the Law," "The Messianic Hope," "The Essenes," "The Dispersion," and "Proselytism." Respecting such a work it is sufficient to say, that it is scholarly—some may think that its array of authorities is formidable. But the text is plain and easy to be understood, and so arranged that while the learned have the authorities that are to be depended upon fully brought forward and discussed, those who read only the English will find the arguments fairly reproduced and the conclusions clearly stated, and all the statements brought within his condition. Those details of Jewish life and manners, the modes of thought prevalent among the people with whom the events of the New Testament transpired, and the setting of the whole story, are the needed and always available commentary upon the book

itself, without some acquaintance with which the reading must fail to lead to any clear conception of many important things in the Gospel.

A History of German Literature. By W. SCHERER. Translated from the Third German Edition, by Mrs. F. C. CONYBEARE. Edited by F. MAX MULLER, Two volumes. Crown 8vo, pp. 401, 425. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Nearly all formerly published histories of German literature are too voluminous for general readers, which fault this work avoids without falling into the opposite extreme of baldness and lack of the needed connection of the parts. It has been said that no less learning and much more painstaking discrimination are required to write a condensed history of a great subject than a fuller one, with larger details; and such it may be presumed has been the case in the preparation of these volumes. It is not unlike Green's "Shorter History of the English People" in its felicitous selection and arrangement of its matter, and especially in its omissions and its groupings of its chosen parts, so as every-where to preserve the continuous course of the story. It takes up the account at the earliest beginning of the history of the German race, and brings it down to the near past in an unbroken story. Just such a book has long been needed for the use of general readers; and the thanks of the public are due to all who have been engaged in its production.

Oceana; or, England and Her Colonies. By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE. 8vo, pp. 396. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The "Oceana" of which Mr. Froude here writes is made up of all the lands, chiefly insular or littoral, upon which the English-speaking nationalities of our times have become domiciliated, and to which they have carried their home-learned ideas and habits, making, as Sir Charles Dilke would say, a "Greater Britain" outside the original British Islands. But the book here given us is, after the first chapter, a narration of a voyage around the world, beginning and ending in England, and chiefly passed in the Southern Hemisphere, and among "our sisters of the southern deep." It mingles in strange proximities the adventures and escapades and the petty vexations of the traveler with scientific annotations of natural objects and observations upon scenery, and profound philosophical discussions about the social and political affairs of the people. Mr. Froude's speculations may need to be carefully reviewed and verified before being adopted; but without so much painstaking one may enjoy the lively sketches of men and things, and the stories of travels and observations which make up the main part of the book. On his homeward journey Mr. Froude passed over the route from San Francisco to New York, and of what he saw he gives slight intimation in a chapter of less than twenty pages. The book is somewhat instructive as to the facts detailed and the principles suggested; it is interesting and amusing as a tale; and, because it is well written, it is decidedly agreeable reading.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The New King Arthur: An Opera Without Music. By the Author of "The Buntling Ball." Demi-quarto, pp. 165. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

If, as has been said by a high authority, we are living in "the twilight of poetry," that fact is not witnessed by any diminution of the quantity produced; for at scarcely any former time have new volumes of what purports to be poetry been poured into the trade in such abundance, of all forms and varieties, but evidently all destined to survive only for a brief day. "The New King Arthur," though not altogether outside of this class, is certainly a larger fish among minnows. It is artistic and sprightly, and not destitute of signs of cleverness—sarcastic and mirth-provoking by turns. The mystery that gathers about the authorship of "The Buntling Ball," and which now also covers that of "The New King Arthur," will not fail to add to the public interest in the poem.

How to be Happy though Married. Being a Handbook to Marriage. By a Graduate in the University of Matrimony. 12mo, pp. 285. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

In his "dedication" the author of this volume asserts by implication a great and pestilent untruth—to wit, that matrimony, while it is "a blessing to a few, is also a curse to many;" nor can we agree with him that it must or ought to be especially "a great uncertainty;" nor do we agree with him that to enter that state, however thoughtfully, requires any unusual amount of courage. But after this unpromising beginning, which seems to indicate a sad lack of appreciation in the writer of his subject, he proceeds to give some wholesome suggestions, as well as some not so good. The breeziness of the writer's spirit, and the excellence of his style and methods, render his book very readable.

A Digest of Methodist Law; or, Helps in the Administration of the Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By Bishop S. M. MERRILL, D.D. 18mo, pp. 277. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Treatises on Methodist law and administration are becoming abundant; they are of widely different sizes, and also of degrees of merit. This one, within comparatively moderate limits, combines a practical exposition of the constitution—the make-up, or working orders—of the Church and a guide in "Judicial Administration." It is good and useful matter, but like the Apocrypha, as declared by the ancient Church, it is to be read for *instruction*, but it is not itself *law*.

The Homiletic Review. Edited by I. K. FUNK, D.D. Vol. X, from July to December, 1885. 8vo, pp. 558. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The monthly issues of the "Homiletic Review" have earned for it a reputation which no kindred publication can at all equal, and but few rival. The six numbers here bound in one volume make a rich collection of homiletical material, put up in an attractive form.

Vick's Illustrated Monthly for December 1885, closing the eighth annual volume of the publication, is of course a Christmas number, and though its date is not in the season of flowers, still the editor succeeds in making it radiant with blossoms, and brilliant with amusing and instructive reading matter of both prose and poetry. The January, 1886, number, with the name changed to the *Floral Guide*—volume ix, number 1—takes on larger proportions, extending to 112 pages, and is copiously illustrated with colored and uncolored engravings of flowers and plants, both ornamental and economical, interspersed through the descriptive letter-press matter, and other reading appropriate for its department. This number may be accepted as indicating the high-water mark of horticultural and floral literature, and it shows that while gardening and floriculture have become a science, their delineation has been raised to the status of a fine art.

Epochs of Ancient History: Spartan and Theban Supremacies. By CHARLES SANKEY, M.A., Joint Editor of the Series; Assistant Master in Marlborough College. With Five Maps. 18mo, pp. 231. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Epochs of Modern History: The Early Hanoverians. By EDWARD E. MORRIS, Professor in the English University of Melbourne. With Maps and Plans. 18mo, pp. 235. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The plan of writing history by epochs, rather than continuously through a nation's life-time, has some obvious advantages: it individualizes the epoch, and renders the subject more easy to be grasped and retained in the memory. The periods selected in both of these books are especially well defined and segregated from both what precedes and what follows. They are well written, and the mechanical work is good; and they have to an eminent degree the advantage that is ascribed to books that may be held in the hand and carried to one's place of sitting.

The Greek Islands and Turkey after the War. By HENRY M. FIELD, D.D. 12mo, pp. 228. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Dr. Field appears to have traveled, not as most Americans do, to see as many places as possible in the least time, but leisurely, taking sufficient time to study the places through which he passed. Much in the same spirit he has written out the stories of his travels, of which we have "From the Lakes of Killarney to the Golden Horn," "From Egypt to Japan," "On the Desert," and "Among the Holy Hills;" and now that above-named, which certainly possesses some special excellences. It is gossipy, and yet full of valuable information, and especially abounding in lively and graphic sketches of persons and places, and in speculations on political and social affairs.

The Recreations of a Presiding Elder. By Rev. PAUL WHITEHEAD, D.D. 18mo, pp. 222. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

A reprint of sketches first printed in the "Richmond Christian Advocate." They purport to be real narratives of facts, and are quaint and breezy.

Over the Sea, and What I Saw. A Monograph. By Rev. WILBUR L. DAVIDSON. Square 16mo, pp. 158. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1.

"Bits of description," says the author, "selected at random from the observations of a well-filled summer," chiefly in the British Islands and in Switzerland. Decidedly readable.

Hand-Book for Bible Classes. The Acts of the Apostles. With Introduction, Maps, and Notes. By THOMAS M. LINDSAY, D.D., Professor at Glasgow. Volume ii, chapters xiii–xxviii. 12mo, pp. 165. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Evangelical, scholarly, readable.

Sunrise on the Soul. A Series of Suggestions. By HUGH SMITH CARPENTER, D.D., Author of "Here and Beyond," etc. 12mo, pp. 329. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 25.

A selection of choice thoughts made by a distinguished evangelical minister. Wholesome, and very full of comfort.

My Study, and Other Essays. By AUSTIN PHELPS, D.D., Professor Emeritus of Andover Theological Seminary. 12mo, pp. 319. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. $1 50.

In the leisure of a ripe old age, Professor Phelps quietly revises and edits his productions of other days, for the benefit of a later generation than that for which they were originally prepared; and they are worthy of the new lease of life thus given them.

Thirty Thousand Thoughts. Being Extracts Covering a Comprehensive Circle of Religious and Allied Topics, Gathered from the Best Available Sources, of all Ages and all Schools of Thought, with Suggestive and Seminal Headings; and Homiletical and Illuminative Framework: the Whole Arranged upon a Scientific Basis. With Classified and Thought-Multiplying Lists, Comparative Tables, and Elaborate Indices, Alphabetical, Topical, Textual, and Scriptural. Edited by the Rev. Canon H. D. M. SPENCE, M.A., Rev. JOSEPH EXELL, M.A., Rev. CHARLES NEIL, M.A. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This is a common-place book only in its form, being made up of select passages from a multitude of authors. The matter, however, is of a very high order, and the selection has been made with a happy combination of wide reading and consummate taste and judgment, and the arrangement indicates a good share of editorial tact. The work, as a whole, constitutes a vast store-house—a perfect *thesaurus* of the best thoughts. The high reputation earned by the preceding volumes will be fully sustained by this one. The publishers are doing a good work for the readers of the best kind of literature.

The Mormon Problem. An Appeal to the American People. With an Appendix, containing Four Original Stories of Mormon Life, Founded upon Fact, and a Graphic and Thrilling Account of the Mountain Meadow Massacre. By Rev. C. P. LYFORD, Four Years Missionary in Utah, Author of "Tithing," etc. 12mo, pp. 323. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

A book well worth the reading.

Under the Apple Trees. By SOPHIE WORTHINGTON. 12mo, pp. 320. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)— *Mrs. Hollyer.* A Novel. By G. M. CRAIK. — *Babylon.* By CECIL POWER. — *My Wife's Niece.* — *White Heather.* By WILLIAM BLACK. — *The Unforeseen.* By ALICE O'HANLON. — *What 's His Offense?* By the Author of "The Two Miss Flemings." — *The Mistletoe Bough, Christmas,* 1885. Edited by M. E. BRADDON. With an Illustration. — *Cradle and Spade.* By WILLIAM SIME. — *The Golden Flood.* By R. E. FRANCILLON and W. SENIOR. — "*Self or Bearer.*" By WALTER BESANT. —*First Person Singular.* A Novel. By DAVID CHRISTIE MURRAY. Illustrated. —*Unfairly Won.* By NANNIE POWER O'DONOGHUE. — *England under Gladstone,* 1880–1885. By JUSTIN H. M'CARTHY, M.P. — *Original Comic Operas.* By W. S. GILBERT — *A Country Gentleman.* By Mrs. OLIPHANT. — *War and Peace.* An Historical Novel. By Count LEON TOLSTOI.

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UP-THE-LADDER CLUB SERIES: *The School in the Light-House.* By EDWARD A. RAND. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 25.

How It All Came Round. By L. T. MEADE, Author of "Water Gipsies." With Illustrations by Robert Barnes. 12mo, pp. 362. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

The Lost Silver of Briffault. By AMELIA A. BARR. 12mo, pp. 318. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 25.

Three story-books of the "regulation pattern" for modern Sunday-schools, fairly good of the kind.

The Sixth and Seventh Books of Thucydides. With an Introductory Essay, Explanatory Notes, and Indexes. By W. A. LAMBERTON, A.M., Professor of Greek in the Lehigh University, Bethlehem, Pa. 12mo, pp. 324. New York: Harper & Brothers.

"Harper's Classical Series for Schools and Colleges" comprises an unusually valuable selection of both Greek and Latin authors. Like all its predecessors in the series, this selection from Thucydides is in the highest degree of excellence.

Wakulla. A Story of Adventure in Florida. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 255. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Stirring and amusing.

Andrews' Nutshells. A Woman's Triumph: A True Story of Western Life. 16mo, paper, pp. 86. Chicago: A. H. Andrews & Co.

The Garroters. A Farce. By W. D. HOWELLS. 24mo, pp 90. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Upland and Meadow. A Poaetquissings Chronicle. By CHARLES C. ABBOTT, M.D., Author of "A Naturalist's Rambles about Home," etc. 12mo, pp. 397. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Dr. Abbott and John Burrows are both disciples of Thoreau, in his own specialty (as men, in other relations, they are no doubt much his betters), for to them Nature seems to be teacher and genial friend. It has been well said that in the presence of Nature every one finds what he looks for, but that is only half the truth; for in that presence he whose eyes have been opened sees an entire world that others fail to detect. The book in hand is a record of such an apocalypse. The locality here indicated by an unpronounceable name, lies somewhere half-way up the Delaware, on the left—the eastern or the New Jersey—side, and an old writer described it as having "every thing that a man can desire;" and, though very great changes have taken place in the land and its inhabitants since that saying was written, it remains abundantly true, provided the man shall be such as evidently is Dr. Abbott. First he tells of its winter aspects, and next of the coming of the spring-time, and after this he introduces his readers in succession to marsh-wrens, and grackles, and redbirds, and the "spade-foot toad," and red-throats among the trumpet creepers, and then to a seine-fishing scene. After these his readers are treated to a succession of prose idyls on "A Summer at Home," "September Sunshine," and "An October Day," all very pleasant reading to any whose eyes have been opened.

Sermons in Songs. By CHARLES S. ROBINSON, D.D., Pastor of Memorial Church. 12mo, pp. 322. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $1 25

In a brief "Prefatory Note" the author informs his readers: "The title of this volume was suggested by the fact that the texts were chosen from the 'Psalms, Hymns, and Spiritual Songs' of the Old and New Testaments;" also that "the sermons were prepared along the course of the author's ministrations during a period of years." They are decidedly good.

The Great Poets as Religious Teachers. By JOHN H. MORRISON. 18mo, pp. 200. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The "Great Poets" here discussed are Dante, Shakespeare, and Goethe, with the "Old Testament Writers," and the "Ideal Teaching of Jesus." It is learned, thoughtful, and suggestive. And while not indisposed to acknowledge the claims set up for them, the study of them suggests the paleness of their stellar rays in comparison with the more than solar clearness of the lessons of Him who spoke as never any other has done.

What Does History Teach? By JOHN STUART BLACKIE. 18mo, pp. 123. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Two lectures devoted severally to "The State" and "The Church," prepared for the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, and delivered December 18 and 25, 1885. That they are able, and at once liberal and conservative, the name of the author is a sufficient guarantee.

SOME PAMPHLETS:

Auguste Comte and the Middle Ages. A Lecture given before a Private Circle in the City of Pozsony (Presburg), on Saturday 24, Guttemberg 97, (Sept 3, 1883.) By HENRY EDGER, Naturalized Citizen (English-born) of the United States of America. 12mo, pp. 115. Sold by Dr. P. J. Popoff, 1048 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N. Y.

The Church. By E. W. HERNDON, Editor "Christian Quarterly Review." 12mo, pp. 112. Columbia, Missouri. Price, 20 cents.

INAUGURAL ADDRESSES: *The Hebrew Revelation.* By MILTON S. TERRY, D.D. Old Testament Exegesis. — *The Greek Testament and the Methodist Ministry.* By CHARLES F. BRADLEY, B.D. New Testament Exegesis. — *Christian Union.* By CHARLES W. BENNETT, D.D. Historical Theology. Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill., May, 1885.

The Case of the Negroes as to Education in the Southern States. A Report to the Board of Trustees. By ATTICUS G. HAYGOOD, General Agent of the "John F. Slater Fund." 8vo, pp. 59.

Total Abstinence is not Scriptural Temperance. 12mo, pp. 44. New York: Richard Brinkerhoff.

Death of Adam, and of Non-Intelligent Animals. Considered in Relation to the So-called Problem of Moral Evil, and the Work of Christ, the Second Adam. By J. P. PHILPOTT, Author of "The Kingdom of Israel," etc. 18mo, pp. 136. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

Proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the National Association of Local Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, N. Y., September 26–29, 1885. 8vo, pp. 54.

Yours Truly

R. S. Rust.

METHODIST [illegible]

MA[illegible]

ART. I.—EDUCATIONAL WO[illegible] EPISCOPAL CHURCH [illegible]

PROVIDENCE has brought our natio[illegible] fore, to a situation where the greatest [illegible] the Church and by the State are boun[illegible] work. And these problems, which are [illegible] early solution, will tax the utmost wisd[illegible] best men in Church and State. It is [illegible] the Church should be awakened to a liv[illegible] *tian education* is connected with and our s[illegible] lic primary to the Church university. The [illegible] Church has a large share of this responsibi[illegible] ing to note that her school property more tha[illegible] the last eighteen years of her first century. But [illegible] that all our schools be greatly strengthened. Especia[illegible] need felt by the institutions under the care of the Fre[illegible] Aid Society, in which we have one fifteenth of our [illegible] property and over three tenths of our pupils. The fo[illegible] hundred thousand dollars bestowed upon this field in sev[illegible] years is a noble contribution to the cause of ed[illegible] the needs are greatest, and yet, looking at the s[illegible] the freedmen, we may well exclaim, "What are t[illegible] ny?" And looking at the membership and [illegible] Church we ask, "What are these [illegible] k, so far from being completed, [illegible] with [illegible] er contributions, needs a large in[illegible] ssince money must come chiefly from our So[illegible] North,

Yours Truly
W. S. Rust.

METHODIST REVIEW.

MAY, 1886.

ART. I.—EDUCATIONAL WORK OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE SOUTH.

PROVIDENCE has brought our nation at this time, as never before, to a situation where the greatest problems to be solved by the Church and by the State are bound up in the educational work. And these problems, which are pressing upon us for early solution, will tax the utmost wisdom and patience of the best men in Church and State. It is needful, therefore, that the Church should be awakened to a livelier interest in *Christian education* as connected with all our schools, from the public primary to the Church university. The Methodist Episcopal Church has a large share of this responsibility. It is gratifying to note that her school property more than doubled during the last eighteen years of her first century. But there is need that all our schools be greatly strengthened. Especially is this need felt by the institutions under the care of the Freedmen's Aid Society, in which we have one fifteenth of our school property and over three fifteenths of our pupils. The fourteen hundred thousand dollars bestowed upon this field in seventeen years is a noble contribution to the cause of education where the needs are greatest, and yet, looking at the schools among the freedmen, we may well exclaim, "What are these among so many?" And looking at the membership and wealth of all the Church we ask, "What are these *from* so many?" This work, so far from being completed, or to be continued with smaller contributions, needs a large increase of funds. Since the money must come chiefly from our Societies in the North,

it is important that they especially be led to see the needs of this field. Dr. A. G. Haygood in the "Christian Advocate" (Nashville) says:

It may be questioned whether the Southern white people, as a class, have studied the case of the "Negro at school." If one interested in the Christian education of the Negro were to ask me the one best thing Southern white people can do to advance this cause, I should unhesitatingly answer, "Let them, by personal investigation, find out the facts in the case."

The same paper has the following as editorial:

We may without presumption infer that God has a purpose in view in placing the responsibility of the Negro question upon this Christian republic. That purpose is to educate us, as a people, to meet the vast and solemn responsibilities that attach to this nation as the leading republic of the world. If we possess the ability to manage this question, we will be able to manage all others that will come up in our future history. The eyes of the world are on us. It will be conceded by all rational persons, that, in dealing successfully with the Negro question, the united wisdom of the whole country will be taxed to the utmost. It should not, therefore, be treated as merely a sectional question.

These are significant utterances of Southern men who know the situation. The cause of Christian education in the South has a strong claim upon the attention and benevolence of Christians in the North. But of late there have gone abroad from the pulpit and the press utterances of other men, which have a tendency to lead the people in the North to suppose, that no further attention or help is needed from them in this work. Most of the Southern States have now made the *pro rata* distribution of funds for colored schools equal to that given to the whites. This fact gives color to the opinion that the South will attend to this work alone. As a sample of utterances calculated to show that the whole question has been happily solved, and needs no more attention from Northern people, the following excerpt is given from a Christmas sermon by Dr. Talmage, as reported in the "Cincinnati Enquirer:"

I have observed that the colored man is better treated at the South than at the North. The day I spent in Montgomery the Legislature passed a law for the full and thorough education of the colored people.

He did not tell what the law is; but, if it really does what he says, it makes better provision for the colored people than Alabama or any Southern State makes for the white people. He further says:

> The feeling of the white people toward the colored is more kindly and Christian than with us. Knowing well the feeling toward the colored people in this section and in that, I am persuaded that the race will get justice done them sooner in the South than in the North. We cannot teach the South how better to treat the black man until we treat him better ourselves.

Indeed! and should the Methodist Episcopal Church turn away from her work among the freedmen in the South because a first-class hotel in New York city refused to entertain two colored members of the Missionary Committee, last November?—a fact which he might have given with more pertinence, to set in contrast over against the courtesy of Gov. Colquitt to a colored preacher, than the imaginary pictures he drew with his rare skill. The whole tenor of his remarks gives a highly colored view of the situation of the Negro in the South, and the hardships he endures in the North. As if, forsooth, the race problem is to be determined by the treatment of the colored man where he constitutes from one to five per cent. of the population! Dr. Talmage omitted to state that colored students are admitted with the whites in some of the largest colleges in the North. He fortifies his swift conclusions by showing what rare opportunities he had enjoyed for studying this problem. He had recently "traveled five thousand miles up and down through the States." Doubtless he gave a correct picture of what he saw. Other *visitors* have comprehended the whole situation to their *own* satisfaction in as short time. If he had joined himself to other citizens of that country, perhaps, he would have seen some other things.

Now it is to be observed that no complaint is to be made against those who look upon the bright side of things, and rejoice at the increasing good-will and helpfulness of Southern white people for the Negro. It is the use that is made of such facts that is objectionable. When these are so presented as to make it appear that those who see great wrongs yet to be righted, and great ignorance yet to be removed, and who publish such facts as an appeal for help are made to appear as

meanly spying out evils for the sake of reproaching the South, and so to be held as enemies, a wrong of no ordinary magnitude is done to a large number of Christian workers. That these facts have been so used, and that, especially of late, it has been accounted an "unfraternal" thing to publish facts showing the great needs in this field, no one who walks with open eyes will deny. Here is a point of great delicacy and danger. Truth that ought to be uttered is repressed; and a knowledge that would bring relief is withheld from the fear that its utterers may be called disturbers of the peace.

Believing that the evils are rather the misfortune than the fault of the people of this generation, and desirous of calling attention to them only that increased help may be secured for this good cause, we present what follows in no captious or fault-finding spirit, but with the hearty approval of the sentiment uttered by President Cleveland in his inaugural address touching the freedmen:

> All discussion as to their fitness for the place accorded them as American citizens is idle and unprofitable, except as it suggests the necessity for improvement.

A general view of the situation will show that the common school in the South has some special disadvantages. Seven tenths of the population are in rural districts. Counting from villages with less than a hundred inhabitants, in the North the country population is about thirty per cent. of the whole.

The division which makes separate schools for white and colored children diminishes both the economy and efficiency of the country schools. There is a sentiment opposed to local taxation to supplement the State funds, and a preference for private schools for children whose parents are able to pay for instruction. In States where the law gives "local option," as in Kentucky, some cities and towns have provided excellent free schools. But in the majority of smaller towns, and in nearly all the rural districts, the State fund is the only provision, and five months the longest time of free school.

In North Carolina the constitutional limit is 12½ cents on $100 of taxable property, and 37½ cents per capita poll-tax. This gives a little more than one dollar per child of school age. The average length of term is twelve and a half weeks in a

year. Average salary for white teachers, $24 per month, and for colored, $19. With such inadequate provision the results have led many to believe any public school system a failure. It is hardly to be expected that the tax rate for schools will be soon raised by a change of constitution, for their taxes are now higher than in Massachusetts. Moreover, they are hoping to get help from Congress. It must be admitted that here an earnest effort has been made to establish schools, and, by the help of the Peabody Fund, some good has been achieved. Funds from the national treasury offer the only adequate relief for all this region. But where it is needed most there are many who think Congress has no power to give relief. A larger number who believe it can and should be given, are yet opposed to any kind of direction by Congress as to the manner of using such moneys. Their idea of States' rights excludes any interference by Congress with schools such as the agents of the Peabody Fund exercise where they give assistance. On the other hand, an objection to any appropriation to the States, to be controlled by them, is found in the fact that there would be no uniformity of method in applying the funds, nor satisfaction in the results attained.

Some States have strange legislation on school matters. Bishop McTyeire ("Christian Advocate," Nashville, Feb. 7) deplores the bad effect of the State University of South Carolina upon Wofford College, since tuition is made free in the former by State appropriation; and speaking of this kind of legislation elsewhere, he says:

> As things are drifting, every Church College in South Carolina, Virginia, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, and Texas must sooner or later go to the wall. Methodist or Baptist people cannot compete with themselves as citizens.

And again, he says:

> It is too serious for a farce, though one can hardly help smiling at the preposterous absurdity of offering free university tuition, when free common schools can hardly run four months in the year. Of the over six million illiterates who disgrace and threaten our country, a very large portion of them are in those Southern States that are inviting their citizens to free university education!

In Kentucky there had been a law providing that three eighths of all funds that should be received from Congress for

educational purposes should be given to the colored schools until the amount *per capita* for them should equal that received by white children; but by an act approved in March, 1878, this was made void, and all such funds were given to a State university. The superintendent of public instruction characterized this act as a "DISMANTLING OF COLORED SCHOOLS—HUGE ENDOWMENT OF A STATE UNIVERSITY AT THEIR EXPENSE." (The capitals are his. Report, 1879.)

In view of such facts it will be found difficult, if not entirely impracticable, to relieve the common schools from embarrassments by Congressional appropriation.

Now let us turn to the schools founded by private enterprise. Professor C. F. Smith, of Vanderbilt University, gives the following exhibit in the "Atlantic Monthly:"

SOUTHERN COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS.

In 1880 Tennessee had 21 male colleges and universities, and 16 female colleges and seminaries, 10 of which latter confer college degrees; but there were only 2 distinct preparatory schools —though at least 19 colleges had preparatory departments—63 secondary schools and 4 public high-schools. It would be safe to assume that not more than one third of the 63 secondary schools could fit a boy for a good college. In Massachusetts, in 1880, there were 7 male colleges and universities, and 2 female; but there were 23 preparatory schools, a large number of which would anywhere in the South or West be called colleges, and 215 public high-schools (now 226), with 494 teachers and 18,758 pupils, besides 46 other schools for secondary instruction.

The income of 16 New England colleges in 1881 was $1,024,563, and they had 720,178 volumes in their libraries; all the 123 Southern colleges and universities had together an income of $1,089,187, and 668,667 volumes. Of the 123 Southern colleges and universities 69 had each property in grounds, buildings, etc., valued at not more than $50,000; of the 69 there were 35 with not more than $25,000, and 14 with not more than $10,000. Of the 69 only 5 report productive funds valued at $50,000; 5 more report $25,000; the remainder report less, or none—mostly none. In New England, in 1881, not a college reported property valued at less than $100,000, and only 2 productive funds below $150,000. The 43 New England preparatory schools reported in 1881 nearly twice as much property and productive funds as the 69 weakest Southern colleges; and indeed 4 of these preparatory schools had as much productive funds as the 69 Southern colleges.

Of the 125 regular preparatory schools in the United States in 1880, there were in New England, 46; in the six Middle Atlantic States, 46; in the Southern States, 6; in the remaining (Western

and Pacific States), 27. "Forty-four per cent. of the property, 84 per cent. of the productive funds, and 63 per cent. of the income from productive funds represented in the list of preparatory schools, are from New England."

This shows the difference between the schools North and South.

This lack of endowment, and the consequently higher rates of tuition in the South, may, in part, account for the fact which Prof. Smith deplores in the same article, namely, that almost 50 per cent. of the students in any given year fail to return the next in Vanderbilt University, Wofford College, and other leading institutions; which fact the professor attributes to the "school system" as against the old "curriculum." It is certain that the provision, in Northern colleges, which makes tuition low or practically free to those who need it, does draw and retain many young men who could not otherwise enjoy these advantages The great need in the South is, therefore, more endowment for her Church institutions of learning. State schools are secular and unsatisfactory every-where.

Whatever lack, then, is in the provision for Christian education in schools of all grades for the whites in the South, the colored people have much greater destitution. Our Freedmen's Aid Society sustains the 20 colleges and high-schools it has planted for them by annual collections equal to the income on $2,000,000, besides the moneys raised from the Church for white schools. A consideration of their case will show cause for greatly increased contributions to this society. There are 1,046,000 colored Methodists, distributed as follows:

African Methodist Episcopal	391,000
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	300,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America	155,000
Methodist Episcopal Church	200,000

What is being done for higher education among these Methodists? It is, doubtless, within bounds to say that our Church is doing four times as much in this line for her 200,000 members as all other Churches are doing for their 846,000 members. Let us see what the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, is doing for the 155,000 colored members in the Church she set up and which she claims to be the object of her special care. Dr. Haygood, in his book, "Our Brother in Black" (pages 233–235), says his Church "recognized the instinct for separation, and in

1870 erected their colored members into a separate ecclesiastical organization." And touching the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church in retaining colored members, he says:

It is a very grave question for all who have responsibility in the matter, whether over-repression of race instincts may not mar their normal evolution—may not introduce elements unfriendly to healthful growth—may not result in explosions.

He also says:

If there were not one Negro in the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Freedmen's Aid Society would be as much needed as it is now. The Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America that was "set up"—I hope not "set off"—needs the help of its mother, the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, every whit as much as if they were still with us; nay, all the more because they are not with us. And we ought before God to help them. If any think that setting them up, or off, was only getting rid of a burden, let them repent of this evil thought, for evil it is as sure as the stars shine.

The following is appended in a foot-note:

The next General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, should take vigorous action to establish a great "training-school" for this colored daughter. If God spares his life, Dr. John B. McFerrin is the man to take this thing in hand and put it through.

This was in 1880. Five years before that Dr. McFerrin, then Missionary Secretary, said, at Round Lake, N. Y.:

Before the war we were devoting a great part of the missionary money to these dear people. At the close of the war these churches were broken up; but those that remained together formed themselves into a Church, and a Bishop, who is here today, was elected and ordained by our Bishops. Since that time we have been enlarging our missionary work in other directions.

When he sat down Bishop Miles rose up, and said: "In the course of human events, and not by our own election, we are a distinct ecclesiastical organization." A month later, in his own Church paper, the Bishop complains that no help can be obtained from Southern Churches to build his people a college, and declares his intention of going North to solicit funds. But the "vigorous action" desired by Dr. Haygood was secured. Here is an excerpt from our "Centennial Year-Book," p. 225:

The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its session in 1882, resolved upon taking steps for the

education of teachers and preachers of the colored people for the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America, and directed the appointment of a Commissioner of Education to raise and receive funds for that purpose; they also provided to organize a board of trustees, a majority of whom should be whites, to use said funds for the end intended. Under this authority, Rev. J. E. Evans, D.D., of the North Georgia Conference, was appointed said Commissioner; and the following board of trustees was also appointed and organized according to law, namely: Rev. J. E. Evans, president of the board; Rev. W. H. La Prade, treasurer; Bishop G. F. Pierce, Rev. Morgan Calloway, Rev. J. W. Hinton, Rev. W. A. Candler, and Mr. C. G. Goodrich, of Georgia; Hon. L. Q. C. Lamar and Rev. R. G. Porter, Mississippi; Hon. Fleming Law, Alabama; Hon. R. H. Pollard, Virginia; Rev. W. W. Duncan, South Carolina; Col. Robert Vance, North Carolina; Rev. J. B. McFerrin, Tennessee; Rev. D. Morton, Kentucky; Rev. E. R. Hendrix, Missouri; Rev. S. H. Babcock, Arkansas; Rev. I. G. John, Texas—all of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

Of the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America: Bishop L. H. Holsey, R. A. Maxey, J. S. Harper, secretary of the board, and Rev. G. W. Usher, of Georgia; Rev. W. T. Thomas, Washington City; Rev. J. R. Daniel, Tennessee; Rev. J. H. Anderson, Mississippi; and Rev. J. F. Jamison, Texas.

The board has selected Augusta, Ga., as the location of the parent institute, to be called "The Paine Institute," in honor of the late senior Bishop, and his interest in the Christian education of the colored people. Rev. Morgan Calloway, D.D., vice-president of Emory College, Ga., has been elected to, and has accepted, the presidency of the institute. Other first-class white teachers, male and female, are ready to enter upon duty at the earliest day possible.

The above would quite naturally lead any Northern man to believe that the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has taken hold upon this work with such zeal that the Methodists in the North are relieved from a large measure of their solicitude and contributions for the education of the colored man. What has come of it? Three years have passed since the Conference action, and to-day Paine Institute has in real estate and buildings—NOTHING. It owns two or three hundred dollars' worth of school furniture. At the opening of the spring term, January 1, there were seventy pupils in attendance. One of the trustees said, in a letter to the writer, last December, if they had money to provide suitable buildings and grounds he doubted not that they would have five hundred pupils by next autumn. Rev. W. C. Dunlap, agent for the institute, said that

up to February 28 there had been reported to him a little less than one hundred dollars as a specific centenary offering to this enterprise. In the "Central Methodist" of the same date Bishop McTyeire has the following:

> Of the $1,200,000 thus far reported on *centenary thank-offerings*, over $250,000 has been directed by the donors, as was their privilege, to *education*. This cause is worthy of all that has been dedicated to it.

He further states, that it is estimated that three fourths of all the offerings were given for new and improved churches and parsonages; from which it appears that five sixths of all *connectional* centennial gifts were for education. And this shows that these Methodists are awake to the cause, and are not without money to promote Christian education among the whites. It is equally plain that they are not, as a Church, yet disposed to give the colored man higher education. A correspondent in the "Christian Observer," March 11 (Louisville, Ky.), has the following paragraph concerning the high-school work among the Negroes by the Southern Presbyterian Church:

> In 1883 the churches contributed $2,724, and in 1884, $3,573—a total, for the two years, of $6,297. And yet, small as is this amount, the committee report a balance in the treasury of $2,217; that is, they have received $2,217 *more than they could use in the work—so small is that work!*

Italics are his. This Church gives $70,000 per year to foreign missions.

We should be stimulated to increased contributions for this work, both by the lack of help from Southern Churches, and by the zeal of the Congregational Church, which far surpasses our own. They report last year 9,758 students—34 of them theological, and 55 law students; and $200,000 put into school property in two years.

It cannot be out of place here to inquire *why* the Southern Churches do not engage in this work; and *why* those who are engaged in it have not been well received. That there is a sentiment strongly opposed to the higher education of the Negro will appear in the following utterances of representative Southern men. The "Atlanta Constitution" published a report, several columns in length, from a correspondent who interviewed the

late Bishop Pierce, of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, on the occasion of his golden wedding, February 3, 1884. The occasion was one that attracted much attention, and it was known that his sayings would be widely published. The remarks upon the Negro question were of sufficient gravity to demand prompt correction, if there had been any misrepresentation in the report. The circumstances lifted the correspondent entirely out of the region of the "impertinent interviewer." Here it is:

The Negroes are entitled to elementary education, the same as the whites, from the hands of the State. It is the duty of the Church to improve the colored ministry, but rather by theological training than by literary education. In my judgment higher education, so-called, would be a positive calamity to the Negroes. It would increase the friction between the races, produce endless strifes, elevate Negro aspirations far above the station he was created to fill, and resolve the whole race into a political faction, full of strife, mischief, and turbulence. Negroes ought to be taught that the respect of the white race can only be attained by good character and conduct. Their well-doing and well-being all right-minded citizens desire, and would rejoice in. Agriculture and all the mechanical pursuits are open to them, and in them they might find lucrative employment. In these directions they may support their families, get property, and become valuable citizens. If Negroes were educated, intermarriage in time would breed trouble, but of this I see no tendency now. My conviction is, that Negroes have no right on juries, in legislatures, or in public office. Right involves character and qualification. The appointment of any colored man to office by the government is an insult to the Southern people, and provokes conflict and dissatisfaction; when, if left as they ought to be, in their natural sphere, there would be quiet and good order. The whites can never tamely and without protest submit to the intrusion of colored men into places of trust and profit and responsibility. There never can be stability and good order except when intelligence and virtue preside and direct the affairs of the country. The Negro ought to be protected in all his rights of person and property by the righteous administration of the laws. He is entitled to respect and kind consideration in all his pursuits and wants, while he himself is upright and industrious and well-behaved.

These are grave words. The Methodist Episcopal Church maintains twenty schools in the South for the higher education of the freedmen; and this, we are told, will produce endless strife, and raise the aspirations of the Negro above the station God created him to fill. This would not only make our Church

responsible for the terrible conflicts between the races in the South, but we should be found fighting against God, in any and all attempts to give the African higher education, thus fitting him for "strife," "mischief," and "turbulence." The above is the frank utterance of a deep-seated conviction, not of one man only, but of the leaders of public sentiment at the South. Southern men who have uttered any thing not in harmony with the above are few. Dr. Haygood has been heard in all the land, and more recently Mr. G. W. Cable has spoken with emphasis in the "Century." The latter says there are many who are coming to believe, with him, that the oppression of the Negro should stop, but they hold their peace. But there is, and has been all the while, the sound of many voices in the air. John T. Morgan, in the "North American Review," July, 1884, is eloquent in his description of the capacity of the Negro for improvement, physically; but he denies that he has capacity for mental development. Hear him:

> For fifteen years every means that Congress could devise has been supplied to the Negro race to enable them to attain a position which will protect them in all the rights, liberties, and privileges enjoyed by the whites—the ballot, the Freedmen's Bureau, the Freedmen's Bank, the civil rights statutes, and all the power of tyrannical courts to enforce their alleged rights; and still they are no stronger as a race, and probably no better as individuals, than they were at the beginning of these efforts. The latest expedient of Congress is the giving $10,000,000 a year to educate the children of six million Negroes. We shall probably try the expedient and fail in the States, as we have failed in the District of Columbia, where the abolition of Negro suffrage has been decreed by Congress. After two or three hundred million of dollars have been expended in the efforts to educate the Negro into the knowledge of the proper use of political power, and to teach him to forget his race prejudices and vices, the same party which claims to have emancipated him will become the most active in his disfranchisement. All that has been done by Congress to elevate the Negro race in the States has been to wage a conflict with the whites upon a question of caste. The Free States of the Congo open to the American Negro the first real opportunity to prove himself worthy of the liberties and civilization with which he has been endowed.

In the same Review, November, 1884, Prof. E. W. Gilliam, speaking of the efforts to elevate the freedmen, says:

The final result must be race antagonisms, growing in intensity and menacing malignant evils. One race must be above, the other below, with a struggle for position. Equality is impossible. The African must return or be returned to Africa.

He admits that the Negro in America presents a momentous problem for solution. In the Southern Methodist "Quarterly Review," January, 1885, Professor Woodward replies to Mr. Cable's article in the "Century." The editor of the Review adds some "Observations," in which occurs this statement:

The Negro cannot retain his usual low status except in dependence upon the white. Deny him this parasitic alliance, and he moves at once toward barbarism.

There can be no mistaking the position of these men. Their language is plain. Such men must oppose the work of our schools in the South. Herein is the *conflict of educational ideas.* It is not a little remarkable that these men consider the twenty years of experiment sufficient to have demonstrated the *incapacity* of the colored man for a high state of civilization—demonstrated it to the people of the North, I mean. Southern men needed no proof: they *knew* his natural inferiority, and it only remained for them to say, "I told you so." But what swift judgment is this? After centuries of heathenism, and only such contact with Christian civilization as two hundred years of slavery afforded him, to suppose the Negro should have become master of the situation so soon, would be to expect him to attain in fifteen or twenty years what the Anglo-Saxon race required centuries to achieve. Frederick Douglass says:

An abnormal condition born of war carried him to an altitude unsuited to his attainments. He could not sustain himself there. He will now rise naturally, gradually, and will hold on to what he gets, and will not drop from dizziness.

It did not require his failures in Congress and in legislatures, in the judiciary and the executive chair, to prove that slavery had not qualified him for these responsible positions. It remains to be proved that *Christian education* will fit him for the highest civilization. For the solution of this problem there must be given *time* and *opportunity.* It is not to be expected that those who have a settled conviction of the Negro's natural inferiority will furnish him the opportunity,

or be patient with those who persist in educating him. Some degree of hardness enters into this from the fact that many of those who have engaged in this work are from the North, and have only known the Negro at a distance, or upon short acquaintance; and for these to claim to have a better knowledge of his capacity than the people who have been so long and intimately acquainted with the Negro, looks like presumption. Nevertheless it is true, that white teachers in these schools have been excluded from white society *solely for their work's sake.*

It may be said that Southern States have provided schools for colored children. And it may be also said that this provision does not necessarily conflict with the hitherto thus-far-shalt-thou-come-and-no-farther policy which draws the line of education for the colored man on the hither side of the legislature, court-house, jury, and ballot box. The colleges planted by our Church in the South are operated upon the idea that there is no such natural inferiority, and should be no such limitation. They are in harmony with the truth uttered by Paul among the learned Grecians on Mars' Hill, and which finds expression in the preamble to the Declaration of Independence, "All men are created equal." It is true that our Church has established some separate schools for the whites. But the separation is voluntary. Our Freedmen's Aid Society is in conflict with that *sentiment* toward the colored man which permitted a Bishop of a Methodist Church to be forcibly ejected from a railroad train because he refused to leave a first-class car—a *sentiment* that made it possible for the Legislature of Kentucky to permit the colored women in the State penitentiary to be compelled to wear men's clothing for many years—a practice recently abolished—and to hear a report, at every session from 1873 to 1879, from its own committees setting forth the fact that the crowded condition of the penitentiary, which compelled two persons to occupy one cell, had caused disease and death, and during these years made no provision for relief. The reports did not state that the persons so crowded in the cells were colored, but every legislator knew such to be the fact. When the relief came it was by a system of leasing out public convicts, that may result in evils equal to those of a crowded penitentiary.

The condition of the freedmen when they were given the responsibilities of citizenship, was in itself an appeal for immediate help more urgent and pathetic than the Church had ever heard before that day: four millions of people, ignorant, superstitious, immoral, emerging from a bondage that had put them under legal prohibition of intelligence. They had no just conception of the sanctity of the marriage bond or the purity of a Christian home. With the first lesson to learn in matters of self-government, the duties of citizenship were suddenly thrust upon them. Great was the need of help. We have seen the meager response. Judge Tourgée, in his "Appeal unto Cæsar," has shown the utter inadequacy of the means employed by government.

The Churches in the South did put forth some efforts, during the Negro's servitude, to make him a Christian, and not without success. Many accepted the word of God when they were not permitted to read it. The strange thing is, that when freedom so greatly enlarged the opportunity of the Southern Church to teach the colored man she set him off, and "enlarged her missionary work in other directions." The appeal for help comes to us with great force from the consideration of the fact that so many of the colored people are Methodists, and that so little is done by other branches of this Church, and from the fact that all the schools now provided for them are crowded with pupils.

It is well that our Church has schools for the whites in the South, not only for the sake of the whites, but also because these will promote the work among the colored people just in the proportion that they are strengthened. From the Southern stand-point there does not appear to be any need of the Methodist Episcopal Church in the South. No advice has been more earnest or abundant to our colored members for ten years, than that they should withdraw from our Church. Even Dr. Haygood thinks we could do just as much for our colored brother if he were set off into a separate Church. But such a policy would cut off all our work in this field. The work among the white and colored people will stand or fall together. We have about 200,000 white members in the South who do not look upon this work from a Southern stand-point. These would indorse the sentiment in the following paragraph

from Bishop McTyeire, in a letter to the editor of the "Texas Advocate:"

> Connectional Methodism is a fact of worth and power; beware of a provincial or local article. I love Methodism in Alabama; but save me from Alabama Methodism, from Tennessee Methodism, from Georgia Methodism. Methodism in Texas has a great outlook; but see ye to it that there shall never be a *Texas Methodism.*

Only we would enlarge it so as to have no Southern Methodism. This educational question is broader than any section—yea, broader than this nation. Mankind will be affected for weal or woe as the people of these United States succeed or fail in realizing the *ideal Christian civilization.*

Upon this broad question the Christian Church must measure her strength. Education alone will not secure permanent good to the colored man or the white man. There was higher education in Egypt when Moses was there. Learning was not unknown in Babylon when Daniel, the learned Jew, studied three years with her masters. Art, poetry, and philosophy had reached their highest degree in Athens before Paul stood on Mars' Hill. And there was high civilization in Rome when the Cæsars ruled the world. What is the lesson to us from these dead empires? What was their fatal defect? The answer is plain. They exalted the few by oppressing the many. Their noblest monuments tell of *manhood's* degradation. Egyptian pyramids, Babylonian walls and hanging gardens, and Grecian temples could be built only where man's brawn and muscle were rated like the ox or the ass. But in the days of these kings there fell a prophecy from heaven: "I will make a man more precious than fine gold, even a man than the golden wedge of Ophir." The patent of man's nobility is from the King of kings. God says, "I will make;" and from the time the throne of Egypt crumbled to dust until the scepter fell from the hand of the third Napoleon, every notable revolution on the earth has contributed to the elevation of *manhood.* The question now coming to the front in every enlightened government is, *the welfare of all the people;* a question that was ignored in Solomon's kingdom, but was forced upon Rehoboam The same question is disturbing Europe and America to-day. There is *a man in it,* seeking recognition. And he will get

it. Governments or measures or men that are opposed will be swept away. We can build athwart a running stream; but the backward flow is the gathering of a power to overleap our barriers. So man has been often checked for a time; but the marks along the centuries plainly show that he is *rising* toward his high "calling."

Popular education has made great advances during the past fifty years, both in this country and in Europe. But popular education will not secure the stability of governments. With illiteracy all banished, we may reach a civilization no better than that of ancient Greece. To make the masses of the people intelligent without teaching a sound morality, is to cure but the lesser one of two evils which clung to the old civilizations till they were dead. There is food for reflection in the following facts: Cincinnati was the first city in this country to exclude the Bible from the public schools. Teachers who speak contemptuously of Churches and Sunday-schools in the presence of the classes are not excluded. An immoral French illustrated paper was found in her public library last summer. At the operatic festival, in 1884, in her great Music Hall, ballet dancers were introduced in such costume—or rather lack of costume—as was never displayed until recently, except in the disreputable play-houses "over the Rhine." Life-size pictures—show-bills—displayed upon walls that, in book or paper, would be unlawful to send through United States mails. Shops, theaters, and saloons all open on Sabbath. But this is the only city that has earned the name "Sodom of America."

Let us glance at the whole country. Statistics, that appear to be correct, tell us that of every ten thousand deaths in England *seven* die by violence. In France and Ireland it is *eight*. In the United States the number is *twenty-one!*—only equaled in Italy and Spain, most illiterate of Christian nations. But, thank God! the public schools are not wholly given over into the hands of ungodly men. Nor are Christian teachers in the minority. Look at the break-water that the Methodist Episcopal Church is building against this surging iniquity—159 institutions, 1,200 teachers, and 27,000 pupils. But these are not sufficient for the work. Great enlargement in every part of our educational field is needed. The Church *must* educate. If she does not keep the school from the destroyer popular government will

be a failure. Encouragement for increased effort is found in the past success. In the South the results have been phenomenal. While those who have no faith in it have seen only "failure," we have seen marvelous success. The unfriendly look upon bad specimens only. "Ex-Governor Moses, a native of South Carolina, who was last seen on his way to prison for stealing," is a stereotyped sentence in Southern papers. Drawing their conclusions from such conspicuous failures they condemn the race—though Moses is a white man and a Southerner. We look at the thousands of Christian teachers and preachers who have gone out from our schools to labor among the colored people, and the thousands who sit down to-day in their own homes—Christian homes—who did not own their own bodies twenty-five years ago, and we call it success. It is only a very small percentage of any people who can be graduated from college. Our higher institutions are training leaders for the colored people.

Sixteen years ago a little company of colored preachers were in the Kentucky Conference. At the session in Harrodsburg they took little part in the business. Seven years later, in their own Conference (the Lexington) at Maysville, the writer saw them doing all the business of an Annual Conference, their number increased by increase of territory. Many of them were still uneducated; but young men on trial who neglected to study were "discontinued." Leaders were beginning to appear in the front. Eight years more, and fifteen years from the Harrodsburg session, they met in Covington, Ky. The improvement was wonderful. After sitting two hours, listening to reports of elders, examination of character, and qualifications of applicants for admission, the refusal to advance in the class those who had but a medium grade, and their general ability in Conference business—a man not "to the manner born"—the pastor of St. Paul's Church, Cincinnati, said to the writer: "These men have come up in my estimation two hundred per cent."

In this work there is an opportunity for extending a helping hand to the lowly unequaled since the days of the apostles: it is a work which appeals to our patriotism; for that nation is strengthening its foundations against decay where the best possible provision is made for the poorest of the peo-

and above the "spoils of office" look into the future not without apprehensions of disaster from the governmental problems coming upon this nation. Our schools are working at those problems all over the land. In the South our teachers have found a field for heroic self-sacrificing toil that has made many of this generation worthy to be enrolled with the fathers of Methodism, who went forth at the beginning of her first century in America to preach when they were every-where spoken against.

In the beginning of her second century, and among changed conditions, we hear the voice of God bidding Methodism to go forward with increased attention to *education*. The days when the itinerant studied his grammar by stealth, lest he should fall into reproach among the "brethren," will never return. The springs of influence that send out vitality and *Christianity* to all institutions of learning, public and private, primary and high schools, in city and in country, are in the *college* and *university*. Build these strong, and man them with great Christian leaders, and all the land will rejoice.

There stand forth, in this country, three great adverse forces: Romanism, Mormonism, Alcoholism. And these are all strengthened by the illiteracy of the people. They are the organized enemies of popular education. The first named is intent upon the subjugation of the earth. She aims to attain what she audaciously claims—*universality*. Mormonism, intrenched in the lusts of men, is more confident of taking the United States than the people are of destroying Mormonism. Alcoholism, intrenched in appetite and avarice, has laid its hand, heavy with the weight of gold, upon every branch of government—legislative, judicial, executive. Is there any organization that can stand before these great foes of the human race? Yes! And every one of them has set its eyes upon that other *ism* which God has raised up to fight against them all. *It is Methodism.* And it must come to battle with the giants, not as the shepherd youth, with only sling and pebbles from the brook, but intrenched in institutions of learning. Methodism will thus fulfill her mission.

Art. II.—SCHLIEMANN'S TIRYNS.

Tiryns. The Prehistoric Palace of the Kings of Tiryns: The Results of the Latest Excavations by Dr. Henry Schliemann. The Preface by Professor F. Adler, and Contributions by Dr. Wm. Dörpfeld. With 188 Wood-cuts, 24 Plates in Chromolithography, one Map, and four Plans. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1885.

To say that Dr. Schliemann has laid the world under obligations which cannot easily be discharged, is simply to give expression to the thought that comes at once to the mind of every intelligent man on taking up that author's successive volumes on Troy, Mycenæ, and Tiryns. Dr. Schliemann is more than merely a fortunate discoverer, whose happy lot it has been to light upon stores of precious relics of the past, kept secret from the eyes of men through a long series of years. His wonderful "finds" have been the fruits of no random explorations, but the merited reward of a wise, persistent, and laborious search. In an age of prevalent scientific and historical skepticism, no characteristic of his mind has been more noteworthy than his firm faith in the substantial truth of the early records of the world's progress; and rarely has such a faith met with more deserved success. Twenty—yes, even fifteen—years ago the notion that the events of which Homer sang were any thing more than fictions of the poet's brain was scouted in Germany, and even in England, as an absurdity unworthy of being entertained by modern scholarship; and when Heinrich Schliemann announced his purpose of seeking at Hissarlik for the ruins of ancient Troy, there was no end of good-natured ridicule showered upon his devoted head. The merchant who had by his industry amassed wealth in Russia and elsewhere was indeed regarded as a prodigy, inasmuch as he had meanwhile been able to acquire a great number of languages, ancient and modern, with the ease of a Mezzofanti; but the cheap prediction was ventured on all sides that his costly excavations would only end in ignominious failure. Criticism was not silenced, even by his strange announcement of the discovery of not one city but several successive cities upon the site of his explorations; when in the "embarras des richesses," the difficulty became one of picking out the particular city of which the bard of Smyrna had sung. The scholars of Europe even looked

askance for awhile at the magnificient vases of precious metal which Dr. Schliemann dug out of a secret chamber in the walls of Ilium, and proudly styled the "Treasure of Priam." Indeed, it was not until he turned his attention to Mycenæ, and the soil that had collected for ages over the tombs of the members of the proudest monarchy of Greece was compelled to give up its dead, that the claim of Dr. Schliemann was finally admitted to rank as the ablest and most successful explorer of our times in the realm of Grecian antiquities. Then it was found out that, after all, faith may be a better commodity than incredulity, and that the man of unshaken convictions stands a better chance than the skeptic to arrive at trustworthy and truly valuable results.

Scarcely less remarkable than his unconquerable faith has been his perseverance and thoroughness in the accomplishment of work. Difficulties and expenses that would have deterred others have had no influence upon our indefatigable explorer. Descending not to the depth of fifteen or twenty feet, as might be necessary to lay bare the forum of Rome, or the theater of Bacchus at Athens, or the streets of ancient Pompeii, he has not shrunk from the embarrassments attending a search pursued to twice or even three times that depth. To his vast upturnings of the ground the shallow investigations of his predecessors bear much the same relation that the superficial marks made upon the soil by the rude plows in use in ancient times, and still employed in the East, sustain to the deep furrows produced by the improved implements whose generous shares turn up the rich loam of our western prairies.

The present volume will fully sustain the high reputation before earned by Dr. Schliemann. The points secured will be found, though different in kind, to be quite as important as those treated in the author's previous volumes. In the composition of the work, it is true, Dr. Schliemann has had a less exclusive part. Only about two fifths of the pages were penned by him. Professor F. Adler, of Berlin, is the author of the extended preface, devoted to "an attempt to gather the results—as regards the technical and artistic aspect of architecture—which follow from Dr. Schliemann's excavations in Troy, Mycenæ, Orchomenus, and Tiryns, and, as far as this is possible to-day, to shape them into a picture of the oldest art of building in

Greece and in Asia Minor." It is evident, therefore, that this portion of the book, though placed at the very threshold, should, to be fully appreciated, be read only after the body of the work has been thoroughly mastered. A systematic and scholarly treatise in itself, this preface embraces the most essential data for reconstructing the palaces, monumental tombs, and fortifications, so far as they have been brought to light, of what we may presume to be approximately the age celebrated in song by Homer. The most important portion of the work, comprising almost one half of the volume, is written by Dr. Wilhelm Dörpfeld, an eminent architect, connected with the German Archæological Institute of Athens, who for four years conducted the architectural department of the German excavations at Olympia, and assisted Dr. Schliemann at Troy in 1882. But this diversity of authorship produces no confusion, as on all essential points the three writers are in substantial agreement. On the contrary, our confidence in the truth of the conclusions reached is enhanced by finding that these conclusions commend themselves to the judgment of three separate observers. In fact, however, all suspicion is disarmed by the singular candor of the writers, in no way more clearly exhibited than in the frankness—we had almost said calmness—with which they substitute occasionally a new theory for an explanation which they had but recently given forth with every mark of certainty. It is, indeed, somewhat unfortunate that the present volume wears the appearance of having been too hastily given to the press, and the reader cannot but regret that its publication had not been deferred a few weeks, if not months, in order that the subject might have been considered as a whole, with greater regard to symmetry of proportion, and with the complete elimination of discarded and untenable positions. As it is, the book was in the printer's hands and nearly ready to be issued when the newest excavations, made in the spring and early summer of 1885, contributed so much to correct or illustrate the results of the examinations of the site of Tiryns carried on in the previous years, that it was found necessary to keep it back for a few months, and to add a chapter respecting the fresh finds, which constitutes one of the most valuable portions of the volume. Notwithstanding, however, this peculiarity in the mode of its composition and publication, we must say that

the substantial value of Schliemann's "Tiryns" is in no wise diminished. There is, in fact, this advantage, that the student of its pages, being led to look upon the explanations less in the light of ultimate truths than as ingenious interpretations marking an advance toward a better understanding of the facts, will be incited to expend his own resources of scholarship to the ultimate gain of antiquarian science.

Like the author's previous work on Mycenæ, his "Tiryns" brings us into close relations with a district of Greece hitherto regarded as the appropriate home of ancient and uncertain myth. The scene of the birth and of many of the adventures of Hercules, the plain of the Inachus, became, in a succeeding age, the kingdom of princes but lately regarded as being almost as shadowy as that hero himself. The traveler from western Europe or America might leave the more beaten track of tourists, and wander into the territories of the north-easterly state of Peloponnesus; but if he climbed the wall of Tiryns, which he was assured was all that remained, or penetrated into the subterranean chamber at Mycenæ, popularly known as the Treasury of Atreus, he was generally content to admire the massive construction of the former, and the architectural niceties of the latter, without an attempt to connect either with the race of heroes that took part in the war said to have been waged against Troy. The problem who those marvelous builders were, that, with such scanty appliances at their command, could move stones of the size of the ponderous lintel of the Treasury or the great blocks that constitute the wall, was given up as beyond solution at present, and likely never to be solved. If the discoveries of Dr. Schiemann have not definitely set at rest all the inquiries which press upon us for an answer, it is certain that they have put us well on our way to a clearer understanding of the times treated of in the Iliad and the Odyssey.

The ruins of Tiryns, which our explorer had long since contemplated subjecting to a careful examination, occupy a conspicuous position in the southern part of the plain of Argos, and can easily be reached by a ride of little more than three miles from the modern town of Nauplia, known by mediæval sailors from Italy, Genoese and Venetians, as Napoli di Romania. As Mycenæ, situated at the extreme northern end of the Argolic plain, was evidently intended to guard the important pass of

Dervenaki, through which one must go to reach Corinth, Nemea, and Sicyon; so Tiryns was selected as a convenient point from which to dominate the sea. We can hardly doubt that Thucydides had this place prominently in his mind's eye when making his well-known observation respecting the peculiarity of the sites affected by the Greeks at an early period, when piracy was rife, and the profession of pirate was not only lucrative but held in positive esteem. Whereas, the historian tells us, the towns built most recently, and since communication by means of ships became more free and uninterrupted, are founded upon the very edge of the sea, protected by costly walls, and occasionally taking in whole peninsulas, those of the olden time, whether situated on islands or on the main-land, were purposely placed at a distance from the shore in order to protect them, as far as possible, from the attacks of the marauders who ravaged the lands nearer to the water. The rock chosen by the original builders of Tiryns was well adapted to their purpose. By no means a great elevation like the Acrocorinthus at whose foot the city of Corinth nestled safely, nor even a high hill like the Acropolis of Athens, the Tirynthian fortress boasted at least this advantage, that it had no rival eminences in the vicinity from which it could be commanded. Rising detached from the plain, the long and narrow hill has been compared to a ship standing out on the level surface of the sea. Of the beauty of the scene from its top there can be no question, whether one look toward the mountains skirting the plain uninterruptedly on either hand, or, turning in the other direction, one gaze over the extent of green pasture land to the blue waters of the gulf with the picturesque heights of the Palamede overhanging Nauplia. Dr. Schliemann grows enthusiastic in describing the attractiveness of the picture:

> The panorama which stretches on all sides, from the top of the citadel of Tiryns, is peculiarly splendid. As I gaze northward, southward, eastward, or westward, I ask myself involuntarily whether I have elsewhere seen aught so beautiful, and mentally recall the ascending peaks of the Himalayas, the luxuriance of the tropical world on the Islands of Sunda and the Antilles; or, again, I turn to the view from the great Chinese wall, to the glorious valleys of Japan, to the far-famed Yosemite Valley in California, or the high peaks of the great Cordilleras, and I confess that the prospect from the citadel of Tiryns far exceeds all

of natural beauty which I have elsewhere seen. Indeed, the magic of the scene becomes quite overpowering, when in spirit one recalls the mighty deeds of which the theater was this plain of Argos, with its encircling hills.—*Tiryns*, p. 52.

Nor will this panegyric appear excessive to any one who can call up to mind the beauty of the spring-time in Greece, the transparent clearness of the atmosphere, the delicate blue tints where the mountains lose themselves in the horizon scarce distinguishable from the sea, on whose placid bosom the distant islands seem rather to be lightly borne than to be fixed in their places.

Of the discoveries made upon this ground, some relate to the system of fortifications, the rest chiefly to the great edifice which those fortifications formerly guarded. Both of these classes are worthy of attention, as well for their architectural as for their antiquarian excellences.

The walls of Tiryns are certainly among the most remarkable relics of remote antiquity. It is clear that, even in the time of the father of profane poetry, these huge masses of stones, apparently heaped up by a race of beings possessed of superhuman strength, were an object of wonder. Otherwise we can hardly conceive that the poet would have singled out Tiryns among all the other cities of European Hellas to share with Thebes the epithet of "τειχιόεσσα," or "the walled." Evidently, in the poet's admiration for the strength of its works, he thought no others worthy of comparison with them. It was, doubtless, the difficulty which a succeeding age found in understanding how their ancestors could have managed the construction of so magnificent a work that led them to ascribe their erection to the fabled Cyclopes, and to invent the story that Prœtus, when desirous of furnishing the town he was about to found with impregnable defenses, sent to Lycia, and obtained the assistance of seven of those wonderful workmen who alone could rival the gods themselves in their skill and power. And so, when the site of Tiryns had become an uninhabited spot, people continued to point to the remains, and dignify them with such names as the "courts," or the "altars," of the Cyclopes, while the tragedians went to the length of naming the whole of Argolis "the Cyclopean land."

It is well known that so far back as in the time of the inde-

fatigable topographer of Greece, Pausanias—that is to say, in the second century of our era—the works were just about in the same condition in which they were before Dr. Schliemann began to investigate them; for, in a passage in his second book, he informs us that the surrounding wall, which is all that remains of the city, was built by the Cyclopes. And he adds that this wall is formed of hewn stones, each of which is so large that a yoke of mules could not move even the smallest of them, the interstices being filled with small stones, in order to fix the larger masses more firmly in their places. The same writer, in a subsequent book (the ninth of his itinerary), expressed his own surprise that his countrymen should have so little to say of a construction which he evidently regarded as worthy of a place among the wonders of the world. He said:

> The Greeks have a craze for admiring all that is foreign above that which they have in their own land, and thus it is that the most illustrious authors have come to describe with the utmost minuteness of detail the Pyramids of Egypt, but have not made the slightest mention of the Treasury of Minyas and the fortifications of Tiryns, although these deserve no less admiration.

Of the general accuracy of the description of Pausanias every one that has seen the ruins can bear witness. Dr. Dörpfeld points out, however, some corrections that must, as he thinks, be made to render it strictly exact. While Dr. Schliemann himself has no hesitation in regarding the blocks as not having been hewn, and thus accounts for the fact that they have been left unmolested—the later builders of Argos and Nauplia finding it more convenient to obtain their own materials from the quarry than to disturb the walls and break up the colossal stones (see page 17)—Dr. Dörpfeld is quite convinced that the stones were somewhat wrought. He observes:

> In regard to the manner in which the great blocks of stone were wrought, it may be seen from those pieces of wall, which are but little decomposed, and which have only now been brought to light, that the separate stones had, after all, been more dressed than was hitherto supposed. Almost all the stones, before being used, had been wrought on one or several faces, with a pick-hammer. In this way, some of the stones have received a better lower bed; others, a smooth facing. Thus, the walls of Tiryns must not be spoken of as being composed of unhewn, but of roughly-dressed, stones.—P. 336.

Nor is this all. Whereas the impression of all that have examined the ruins has been that in the construction of the walls no use was made of mortar, it is now the view of all those who have taken part in Dr. Schliemann's explorations that some mixture of clay was originally employed to bind the stones together, and that if none is to be seen now, it is only because the action of time has completely removed it, save in certain places protected from the influence of wind and storm. The operation of the rains of winter has been aided, we are told, by the rats and lizards which swarm about the ruins, and have doubtless hastened the result which the elements, unassisted, would sooner or later have compassed.

Every one who has been so fortunate as to visit Tiryns will, on taking up Dr. Schliemann's volume, turn at once to satisfy his curiosity as to whether any new light is shed by it upon the singular galleries built in the south-eastern corner of the citadel. One of these galleries, running northward for a distance of about eighty feet in the thickness of the wall, is very accessible. The other two, running in a similar manner from east to west in the southern wall, and parallel to it, have hitherto been more difficult to traverse on account of their inferior state of preservation. In both sets of galleries the sides are formed of great blocks laid in something approximating to regular courses, which, as they rise, approach each other, and finally come together, presenting the appearance of a pointed Gothic arch. The principle of the true arch, however, is wanting, as the stones are not kept from falling through their leaning against each other laterally, but because the center of gravity of each stone lies completely within the wall on either side. The chief peculiarity of the gallery which is most easily reached is, that on the right hand of the person entering it there are to be seen, at regular intervals, six door-ways or openings toward, that is to say, the outside, not the inside, of the fortifications. Many have been the conjectures of the learned both as to the purpose of the gallery itself, and as to the reason for which these openings were made, so as apparently to give access to enemies, instead of friends, to the interior of the works. As usual, some of these conjectures were absurd enough. One scholar regarded the passages as places for storing food and arms for the garrison, but could give no satisfactory reason for making the

approach from the wrong side of the wall. It was suggested that they might have been used as stalls for horses or cattle. But why expend such an untold amount of labor and expense in providing shelter for the comparatively small number of animals that could, at best, find very poor accommodation in these contracted quarters? Another scholar gravely regarded them as the chambers of the daughters of Prœtus, of which Pausanias makes mention in his second book; for no better reason, it would appear, than that the chambers in question had not been found elsewhere.

In the earlier part of the volume before us, Dr. Dörpfeld believed that he had reached the truth regarding this puzzling matter. He says:

> Steppen was the first to give a correct explanation in the text to his maps of Mycenæ; they are covered passages inside the upper wall, from which the defenders could step out upon the lower wall and resist the assailants. Small steps or ramps probably led down to the galleries from the upper citadel, but hitherto none of these have been discovered. Possibly of the two galleries situated in the south wall the upper one may be such a passage leading down to the lower gallery. For purposes of defense the lower wall must have had on its top either a breastwork or a covered passage; there are now no remains of either, for the upper [outer?] portion of the wall is utterly destroyed. . . . It must, on the other hand, be considered peculiarly fortunate that in one place important remains of the summit of the upper wall still exist, by means of which we are better instructed regarding the shape of the upper than of the lower wall. The remains exposed by excavations consist of four bases of columns, which were found at the inner edge of the east wall opposite the greater Propylæum *in situ*. . . . There can be no doubt that we have here the remains of a colonnade which formed an upper covered passage round the wall. Of the construction of this colonnade we know very little, but from that of a later Greek wall, well known to us, we may form an approximate idea of it. From the well-known inscription describing the restoration of the Athenian walls, we know that on these walls, built of clay-bricks, a covered gallery was constructed. It consisted on the inner side of a row of separate piers; on the outside there was a continuous brick wall, with window-like openings, furnished with movable wooden shutters; it was roofed with strong beams of wood, clay, and baked tiles.—Pp. 184, 185.

It is not a little surprising at first, but quite characteristic of the haste with which theories are frequently put forward, that the subsequent pages of the volume give quite a different ex-

planation, and one which, we presume, may be safely accepted as trustworthy. In the course of the explorations made in 1885, unmistakable proof was found that the outer portion of the wall opposite the eastern gallery had fallen away, and traces were discovered indicative of the fact that opposite each of the exterior openings there had once existed square or rectangular chambers, built in the thickness of the wall, to which these openings were the only doors. Indeed, in excavating the more ruinous and inaccessible galleries in the southern wall, the rooms themselves were discovered. The work of the explorer was not easy. Says Dr. Dörpfeld (pages 318, 319):

Great difficulty lay in the way of an effective clearance. In many places the ceiling had fallen, and the large blocks of stone had been so firmly wedged together in the small space that they could only be removed with the greatest labor. Again, in several places, the preserved portion of the ceiling, and the side wall which still stood upright, threatened to fall in during the clearance. As this, of course, had to be prevented by every means, we found ourselves compelled to shore-up the dangerous spots of the ceiling by means of stout iron bars, and to repair the decaying portion of the walls by cement masonry. Only after this securing work had been effected could the galleries be cleared without danger to the lives of the workmen engaged. The result of these labors repaid us richly for all the trouble and the expense. Within the [upper] corridor, which is still, in part, covered with its vault, nine steps of a staircase leading down are preserved. A little farther to the west, the corridor bends, at a right angle, to the south, and shortly afterward opens into the broader and higher corridor. In the southern wall of the latter are five arched doors. When we discovered these we thought that, outside the doors, the plateau of the under-wall would extend itself. But how great was our astonishment when, instead of the under-wall, we found five separate rooms, all of which were once vaulted with colossal blocks of stone in ogival form.

The explorer naïvely adds:

By this discovery, at one blow, every thing we had said on page 184, and following, in accordance with Captain Steppen's attempt at an explanation, was proved to be untenable. An isolated under-wall, with a passage along the top, such as we had imagined, has never existed in Tiryns at any place, but the whole under-wall was occupied by rooms; and only above the ogival ceiling of these chambers was the top wall-way, from which the castle could be defended.

But if slow in reaching this explanation, which may be regarded as definitive, the learned explorers are now able to show

that a very similar system of construction has of late years been found in several Phœnician colonies on the northern coast of Africa — at Carthage, Thapsus, Hadrumetum, Utica, and Thysdrus. In fact, they are able to give the plan of a series of rooms in the wall of Byrsa, the citadel of Carthage, which, but that one end of each chamber is round and that the corridor is toward the outside instead of the inside of the fortification, might pass for a plan of the rooms at Tiryns. (See page 324.) This is an interesting point, as having a bearing upon the origin of the early Greek civilization. It would certainly seem that the coincidence could not have been a fortuitous one. Either the Greeks drew upon the architectural plans of the Phœnicians, or the Phœnicians upon those of the Greeks; and, although the extant works at Tiryns are doubtless of a more remote antiquity than those that happen to have been preserved in the ruins of the Punic cities, we shall have no difficulty in agreeing with Dr. Dörpfeld in the adoption of the former alternative. It is true that the ancients ascribed the building of Tiryns to the Cyclopes, and derived the Cyclopes from Lycia; but, so long as no similar constructions to that of which we have been speaking are found in any part of Lycia, their origin must be sought, not in Asia Minor, but at Tyre and Sidon.

Leaving the exterior of Tiryns, and details more likely to interest the antiquarian and the professed architect than to attract the attention of the general reader, we turn to the interior, where Dr. Schliemann and his associate have had the good fortune to discover, as has already been intimated, the relics of a palace such as we must suppose those to have been of which Homer speaks, and these relics sufficiently full and decisive to permit the reconstruction of the plan, intelligible and consistent at all points with the hints casually dropped by the poet.

Let us enter the inclosure by what appears to have been the only ancient entrance (with the exception, possibly, of one or more postern gates), on the eastern side of the place. Before reaching this entrance the visitor had been compelled to pass, for the distance of a hundred feet or more, along the side of the walls, exposed at every step to the attack of its defenders. As was customary in all fortifications of the Greeks, where the nature of the ground in any manner admitted of it, the inclined way, or ramp, was so arranged that the enemy must

turn to the wall their right, or unprotected, side, while the left arm, with which they carried the shield, the principal defensive weapon, was away from it. But, the entrance gate past, the difficulties of him that would reach the upper citadel had but just begun. Immediately before him arose a wall of immense strength, from twenty-five to thirty feet in thickness, and towering far above his head. He must turn abruptly to his left, still exposed to the missiles of every kind that might be showered upon him by the garrison, and begin another steep ascent of one hundred and fifty feet, between walls at places not more than four yards apart.

Midway in this ascent a strong gate-way confronted him. Its outlines are still preserved, and these indicate that it had much the same proportions as the famous Gate of Lions that constitutes the main entrance into the citadel of Mycenæ. The lintel is gone, but, in the ponderous stone buried in the ground to serve as the threshold of the gate, there are on either side the round holes, about five inches in diameter, in which turned the pivots of the two gates that used to close the passage. Like the Gate of Lions, this portal has each jamb formed of a single stone not less than ten feet in height, and, doubtless, above them formerly stood, in the triangular opening above the lintel, some symbolical representation not unlike the sculpture that gives its name to the Mycenæan portal.

The top of the ascent reached, we find ourselves in an open space, a species of court, upon which massive walls once looked down from all sides but one. On that side, the western, the somber effect was relieved by a species of portico. We are entering the precinct of the palace, and this is the proper preface to it. True, as in every other part of the building, the walls remain to the height of but a single yard, but this does not prevent us from making out the plan with ease. The portico is but one side of a *propylæum*, the first and the greater of the two structures of the kind which we are to traverse. It may be compared with that magnificent work of the age of Phidias, the Propylæa of the Athenian Acropolis; but we are now contemplating the work of a much earlier and ruder period, and must look only for the first suggestions of that wealth of architectural design and technical skill combined with beauty of material. Instead of the rich façade of six grand Doric

columns, with the wings on either side in keeping with the main building, which used to amaze by its beauty the pilgrim of art as he climbed the great flight of marble steps on his way to the greater glories of the Parthenon, here is but a porch, or stoa, with two columns helping to support the roof, and the front, instead of seventy-five or eighty feet, is less than half that measurement. Yet we have the germ of the idea of the Athenian Propylæa—for the wall is here, with its spacious gateway, and the two similar porticoes, the one facing the outside, the other the interior of the palatial precincts. The material was, indeed, far inferior. In place of the brilliant white marble of Mount Pentelicus, employed on the Athenian Acropolis, because regarded by the architect as the most perfect building material at his disposition, the lower portion of the walls of the Tirynthian palace were constructed of the comparatively coarse limestone quarried in the neighborhood. Above this the walls appear to have been of sun-dried bricks, sustaining a roof with wooden beams, and covered, as were doubtless the homes of the people, with a thick layer of clay. Nor were the columns themselves, we have every reason to suppose, elegant shafts of stone such as, at a later time, Greek art was accustomed to erect. It is true that no column belonging to this early period was discovered among the ruins, but this very fact proves that the architects of "the prehistoric palace" employed some more perishable material than marble. We may, indeed, be reasonably confident that that material was wood. In all cases there seems to have been a base of stone, but this base was merely a rough block of limestone or breccia, most of the surface of which was buried beneath the ground. A circle, more or less carefully prepared, to receive the superincumbent column, was slightly raised above the general level, with the intention, apparently, of elevating the wooden column above the clay that formed the floor, and thus preventing it from absorbing the moisture which would soon have caused it to rot and become insecure.

The greater Propylæum gave admission to a long open court, of which, in consequence of a "landslip" of the western slope of the citadel, the exact outline cannot at the present time be made out on all sides. It would seem to have measured about seventy or seventy-five feet square. On its northern side was a second

but smaller Propylæum, of which the plan is almost the exact counterpart of that we have just been considering; the essential parts being a central wall, pierced by a single door-way, and provided with a porch, on either front, of two columns standing between the square *antæ*, or pilasters (parastades), in which the side-walls terminated. This Propylæum was the means of reaching the principal open space in the edifice, "the court-yard of the men's apartments."

In his Iliad Homer has little occasion to refer to the internal arrangement of the abodes of his heroes, for the poem is a chronicle of war, not of peace. But into the story of the Odyssey domestic economy enters as a more essential element, and a clear understanding of the nature and distribution of the rooms becomes important, if not to our intelligent comprehension, at least to our comfort in reading the narrative. Hence scholars have, from age to age, taxed their ingenuity in attempts to reconstruct the general plan of the palace of Ulysses, on the island of Ithaca, and the palace of Alcinous, upon the fabulous island of the Phæacians. How successful they have been may perhaps best be judged from a comparison of the conjectural plan of the Ithacan palace by Gerlach, and the several plans of the Tirynthian palace in the volume before us. We cannot, of course, imagine that any two palaces, even of contemporaneous erection, were precisely alike. The nature of the ground, its extent and grade, the adaptability of the site to purposes of convenience and defense, the size of the establishment, above all, the wealth and power of the family to be domiciled in it—all these afforded considerations that must have dictated many important divergences in the ground-plan, as well as in the dimensions and greater or inferior stateliness of the establishments. Thus it is evident that the peculiar shape of the hill of Tiryns—its contracted breadth from east to west, rendering it necessary to bring all the buildings within a space of scarcely sixty yards in width—must have dictated many details making the plan to differ from the plans of other palaces where there was more abundant room. Yet as almost all of these early castles must, in the nature of the case, have occupied the summits of strongly fortified heights, allowing little space compared with the broad expanse of the plains, it may probably be safely assumed that neither of the princely houses which Homer introduced to his

readers' notice in his immortal poem was very dissimilar to the palace of Tiryns. Certainly the latter, belonging to an heroic family not in the least inferior, whether in descent or in power, to that of the rulers of the small island of Ithaca—characteristically described by the poet by means of the epithets *κραναή*, *παιπαλόεσσα*, and *τρηχείη* (craggy, rugged, and rough)—would rather be expected to be the more grand and sumptuous edifice. May we not see an evidence that this was so in the fact that, whereas the Tirynthian palace had *δυο* "propylæa," or, to use the Homeric designation, "prothyra," the castle of Ulysses seems to have had but one? For the poet, in describing the advent of Minerva in the guise of Mentes, king of the Taphians, makes the suitors of Penelope to be playing at draughts, and drinking wine seated on the floor of the court in front of the doors, and Telemachus seated among them, buried in painful thoughts, when he descries the divine stranger "standing at the portal (*προθύροις*) on the threshold of the court," and hastens to meet her, and thus to prevent his unfortunate house from incurring, in addition to the disgrace of its present occupation by roistering wine-bibbers, the undeserved reproach of inhospitality.

Τὴν δὲ πολὺ πρῶτος Ἰδε Τηλέμαχος θεοειδής,
ἧστο γὰρ ἐν μνηστῆρσι, κ. τ. λ.—Odyssey, i, 113, etc.

"Telemachus, the god-like, was the first
To see the goddess as he sat among
The crowd of suitors, sad at heart, and thought
Of his illustrious father, who might come
And scatter those who filled his palace halls,
And win new honor, and regain the rule
Over his own. As thus he sat and mused
Among the suitors, he beheld where stood
Pallas, and forth he sprang; he could not bear
To keep a stranger waiting at his door."
—*Bryant's translation.*

The spacious court before the men's apartments, across which the poet represents Telemachus as hastening to greet Minerva, is in the Tirynthian palace a quadrangle about sixty-six feet from east to west, and fifty-two from north to south. On each of the four sides there are porticoes occupying a portion of the space, and once affording a most grateful shade from the summer's sun. The floor is a hard and smooth concrete, which even now is injured only here and there. Such was, doubtless, the floor of

the court of the castle of Ulysses, upon which the suitors sat or reclined, resting "upon the hides of oxen which they themselves had slain."

In excavating this part of the edifice Dr. Schliemann unearthed a quadrangular mass of masonry, about ten feet in length by eight in width, standing immediately on the right of him that entered the Propylæa, and immediately in front of the inner apartments of which we shall presently speak. If there had been any doubt as to its destination, this was promptly removed by further examination of the mode of its construction, which revealed the existence within it of a great sacrificial pit, three or four feet in diameter, destined to receive the blood and ashes of the burnt-offerings slain upon the spot. In short, this was the great altar of the house, the altar of *Zeus Herceios*, or Zeus the protector of the domestic inclosure. It was the corresponding spot to that in which the poet represents Phemius the minstrel as contemplating taking refuge when Ulysses and his son were doing their deed of blood against the hapless victims of their revenge (Odyssey, xxii, 330, etc.):

> "He by constraint had sung among the train
> Of suitors, and was standing now beside
> The postern door, and held his sweet-toned lyre,
> And pondered whether he should leave the hall,
> And sit before the altar of the great
> Herceian Jove, where, with Laertes, once
> Ulysses oft had burned the thighs of beeves,
> Or whether he should fling himself before
> Ulysses, as a suppliant at his knees."

Hither it was that, a little later, having received the merciful assurances of the prince, the minstrel and the herald betook themselves.

> "They moved away and left the hall,
> And by the altar of almighty Jove
> Sat looking round them, still in fear of death."

And now we reach the *megaron*, or hall of the men's apartments, the center of the entire establishment. Situated on the north side of the court, almost directly in front of the portal of entrance, its vestibule or porch (*αἴθουσα*), supported by two columns, faces southward to receive the rays of the midday sun. The wall behind the vestibule is pierced with three door-ways,

admitting to an antechamber, and from this a single door admits to the hall itself. It is a room of goodly size, thirty-nine feet long and thirty-two feet broad. Its floor of smooth concrete bears marks of having been carefully ornamented with color, the lines scratched in its surface at right angles to guide the brush of the painter can yet be seen, and slight remaining traces of the pigments employed show that, when freshly executed, the whole presented "a carpet-pattern" of various hues not unpleasant to the eye. The ceiling was supported by four columns, of which only the circular bases, slightly raised above the concrete floor, mark the place. In the space between these columns a circle, about ten feet in diameter, in which there is no concrete, indicates the position of the family hearth (*ἐσχάρα*). If the hall of the men's apartments, by the circumstance that it occupies the highest ground on the hill, and by the dignity of its approaches, is clearly the central portion of the entire palace, the hearth of this hall is the very center itself. Here it was that the king sat in his arm-chair or throne, as described by Homer, leaning against the lofty pillar, and turned toward the gleam of the fire, and surrounded by the favored nobles that were allowed to enter the place. Here, too, attached to one of the columns, was the "well-polished spear-holder," or "armory," as Bryant translates it, within which stood many spears belonging to the master of the house, and in which the host courteously placed the weapons which he received from the hand of his visitor on entering the hall. (Odyssey, i, 127.)

Nor do the analogies between the palaces described by Homer and the "prehistoric" palaces of Tiryns cease at this point. In fact, these analogies are so many that room could not be found within the bounds of the present article even to allude to them all. Thus, among the rooms excavated on the west of the main hall, was made the interesting discovery of the bath-room, whose floor consisted of a single immense block of stone, and which was provided with channels and drains of clay pipe that still remain visible. As is well known, Homer does not speak of the baths as stationary, but qualifies those articles, so indispensable to comfort in a warm climate like that of Greece, by the epithets "well polished" or "smooth" *εὐξεστοι*. It is particularly interesting, therefore, to notice that

Dr. Schliemann discovered among the many pieces of pottery he brought to the light a fragment which there seems to be no doubt, from the statements given and the colored reproduction in one of the author's plates, belonged to such a utensil. He says (page 232):

> By a fortunate accident we found a fragment of such a bathing tub, which teaches us that it was made of thick terra-cotta; that its form agreed pretty nearly with that of our bathing-tubs; that it was furnished with a thick upper rim and with strong handles on the sides, and that it was painted within with spiral ornament.

Of greater importance were the results of the explorations on the eastern side of the men's hall. Here were found the women's apartments, similar to those of the men, but on a smaller scale. The women's court covers only half the space covered by that of the men. The *megaron* is proportionately smaller. It seems to possess a vestibule, but no antechamber, and the hall itself is so much more contracted as to have needed no columns to sustain the roof. Here too there is a hearth, but it is smaller, and square in shape, instead of round. Among the most notable of the minor discoveries made was this: In carefully cleaning out the accumulated earth from the hole in the threshold of the *megaron* of the women's apartments made to receive the end of the upright bar whereon the door used to swing, a piece of bronze came to light. On examination it proved to be the sheath for the lower pivot—a species of cylindrical cup of metal, over four inches and a half in diameter, evidently intended to protect the wood-work of the door from wearing away. Not only are the three nail holes for fastening it to the wood plainly visible, but one side of the cup is cut out to allow the admission of the frame of the door. (See the illustration on page 281.) The width of the cut, and the direction in which the cut pointed when found, seem to indicate not only the thickness of the door—over three and a half inches—but that the door was partly open when the conflagration of the palace occurred!

For it was to fire that the building appears to have owed its destruction. Occasional pieces of charred timber prove it; still stronger is the evidence derived from the debris formed by the fall of the upper part of the walls. At Golgoi, General

di Cesnola discovered that remarkable series of Cypriote statues which now constitute one of the chief scources of interest in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, embedded in a compact bed of clay, derived from the decomposed bricks of the fallen walls of a temple or treasure house, which was "almost impenetrable to the pickax." (See Cesnola, "Cyprus, Its Ancient Cities, Tombs, and Temples," p. 140, etc.) Fortunately, in Tiryns the sun-dried bricks of the upper walls appear to have been partly baked by the violent fire to which they were exposed before falling, and were not therefore in a condition to produce so unmanageable a mass.

Upon some mooted points which antiquarians would have been glad to be able to elucidate, it cannot be said that the explorations of Dr. Schliemann throw any light. One of these is the mode of lighting the rooms, large and small. Homer nowhere refers to any windows as being made in the houses of his heroes; nor has a single window been found in the prehistoric palace of Tiryns. How the light of day was admitted even into the *megara*, not to speak of the minor chambers, is altogether a matter of conjecture, and it cannot be said that between the various theories there is much to choose. In the case of the men's *megaron*, or hall, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks it probable that the four columns supported some kind of a clear-story, the sides of which were provided with movable shutters for the admission of light and air—shutters that could be closed to exclude the rain and the cold blasts of winter. As to the women's hall, which had no columns, he believes that the *opæ*, or openings left between the ends of the rafters resting upon the lateral walls of the room, afforded the sole source of light and the sole escape for the smoke; leaving the door out of consideration. However this may be, we are pretty safe in coming to the conclusion that the Greeks of the heroic age dwelt in dimly lighted chambers, whose twilight would have been intolerable for persons accustomed as we are to enjoying bright and cheerful rooms, into which the rays of the sun gain free admission. Into the "*thalamoi*," or bed-chambers, surrounded as these were by "*laurai*," or narrow corridors, it would seem that there was no provision for the admission of light—at least, none has as yet been discovered—save what could enter through the doors, in general broad and

generous in size. Still it must be granted that our knowledge on these points is singularly defective.

The seclusion of the women's apartments from the part of the palace destined for the use of the other sex proves to be very complete. In fact, it is more similar to the isolation of the Turkish "harem" than we might have expected to find it, at a period when the social intercourse between men and women was not so jealously watched as it afterward came to be in Athens and the Ionian states in general. There was, indeed, a tolerably direct communication, through corridors between the *megaron* of the women and the first and largest of the portals, as also between that *megaron* and the bath-room and other chambers, where the attendance of the female domestics was frequently necessary. But there was not at Tiryns, as it has generally been supposed that there was in castles such as Homer describes, any side or rear door of the *megaron* of the men, by means of which the master of the house, and others to whom their close relationship permitted this intimacy, could readily enter the portion of the building devoted to the abode and the working-rooms of the women. Professor J. P. Mahaffy does, indeed, maintain that this is just what we might have expected from the poet's own description of the palace of King Alcinous. Thus Nausicaa, he observes, is represented (Odyssey, vi, 50) "as proceeding *διὰ δώμαθ', through the buildings*, not through a door, to find her parents. She finds her mother sitting at the hearth, but meets her father face to face, as he was *coming out of the main door* of the *megaron*, on his way to a council. Hence she came in by no side door."

The mode in which the walls and the exposed wood-work were treated receives considerable elucidation in the volume before us. Since the walls of the palace, as previously mentioned, nowhere remain standing to a greater height than a single French meter, or about three feet, it could not be expected that the coating of the stones should be found in its original position. But some very fortunate discoveries were made in the rubbish which had accumulated on the floors. None of the designs upon the plaster display any great artistic skill. Those that are purely geometrical are far superior, it appears to us, to the rude attempts made to portray human and animal figures; yet even in the latter we may see the beginnings of the

marvelous artistic ability of the great painters of Greece. The largest of these representations is that of a bull with a man vaulting on its back. The design reduced is used on the cover of Dr. Schliemann's book, but a full sized fac-simile is given on a larger plate inside. We may say here that the illustrations in colors are numerous, executed with great care and without regard to expense, and we have every reason to believe with strict fidelity to the originals. Some of the most important of the engravings are those that seem to prove conclusively that the builders and adorners of the palace of Tiryns belonged to the same race, were acquainted with the same arts, affected the same mode of decoration, and probably lived about the same time as the founders of Mycenæ and Orchomenus of Bœotia. We refer particularly to the very singular ornamentation by means of a series of circles connected together by a spiral line, or rather a succession of spiral lines, that enter into and issue unbroken from each circle. It is certainly no accidental circumstance that at every turn we find these spirals, in almost every degree of simplicity or complexity, whichever of the sites we happen to be exploring. At Tiryns they appear chiefly on fragments of pottery. At Orchomenus, they form the curiously interlaced and fretted ceiling of the so-called Treasury of Minyas. At Mycenæ they relieve the uniformity of the tomb-stones in the "circular agora," if such it be; and far down below these tombstones, Dr. Schliemann found them daintily executed upon those beautiful gold ornaments with which the dead were decked out. One could scarcely wish for more conclusive evidence of the identity in race, and closeness to each other in point of time, of the men that have left us these various memorials of their existence.

In this same connection we cannot avoid calling attention to the interesting "find" of what Dr. Dörpfeld styles the "Kyanos frieze," wrought upon several slabs of alabaster, which were found in the vestibule of the men's apartments, but whose exact position originally is a little doubtful. The peculiarity of this frieze, which is nearly two feet in width, is, that it is curiously decorated with numerous pieces, some round, others rectangular, of a blue glass or paste, combined with ornaments sculptured upon the stone. Now it is not a little remarkable that Homer alludes to a wall decoration in the palace of one of

his heroes which must have been very similar to this. Ulysses, after his narrow escape from shipwreck and his meeting with Nausicaa, daughter of Alcinous, king of the Phæacians, proceeds to the spacious abode of the monarch, described by the poet as a magnificent structure, far surpassing in grandeur the humbler abodes of his subjects; and among the particular features noted it is stated that

> Χάλκεοι μὲν γὰρ τοῖχοι ἐρηρέδατ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα,
> Ἐκ μυχὸν ἐξ οὐδοῦ· περὶ δὲ θριγκὸς κυάνοιο.
>
> —*Odyssey*, vii, 86, 87.

That is, "bronze walls ran this way and that from the threshold to the inmost recess, and round about was a frieze of kyanos." There has been a vast deal of discussion as to the meaning of this word "kyanos." Many have supposed it to be some sort of blue steel; but, on independent grounds, about fifteen years ago Lepsius had come to the conclusion, since adopted by Helbig, that it was a very distinct substance known by us as "lapis lazuli," or else the color obtained from that stone, or used to imitate it. The discovery of Schliemann is a strong corroboration of this view. We have not space, however, further to develop this subject.

Professor Adler's dissertation, to which reference has already been made, has an interest quite apart from its particular relation to Tiryns. It embodies a good many new suggestions respecting Mycenæ, and does not in all points accord with the views of Schliemann himself. For example, Adler rejects the opinion of the excavator, that the bodies in the five famous tombs within the circular inclosure near the Gate of Lions "must necessarily have been buried simultaneously," and regards the little necropolis as having arisen gradually. It is noticeable, also, that his views respecting the singular subterranean and vault-like buildings which have come to be designated "Treasuries," are quite different from those propounded in Schliemann's "Mycenæ." In Adler's opinion, these also were intended as sepulchers of the dead, and, from their shape, he designated them as "bee-hive tombs," in contradistinction from the "pit-graves" in which Schliemann made his rich discovery of gold, silver, and other precious ornaments. To his mind, while both classes of monuments belonged of necessity to the most powerful and opulent of the residents—in other words, to the ruling

families—there is a difference of race and of date, indicated by the diversity of construction and especially of location. The "pit-graves" were outside of the original town, but taken into the walls when the place grew, much as the tomb of Bibulus came to find itself inclosed not only by the houses, but by the fortifications, of ancient Rome. They were even spared and treated with honor when it was found advisable to erect a new portal, the Gate of Lions. They must then have belonged to the earliest ruling family of Mycenæ, namely, the family of Perseus, or Perseidæ. They were not, therefore, the tombs of those heroes whom Pausanias mentions, as Schliemann imagined when he wrote his "Mycenæ," that is, of Atreus, Agamemnon, Eurymedon, the children of Cassandra, and Electra. The tombs of these personages must be sought elsewhere, as being of a later date; and are to be found in the "Treasuries," so called, outside of the citadel's inclosure. Adler even undertakes to identify the several structures, beginning with the Treasury nearest to the city on the eastern slope, which, he thinks, must be that of Atreus, and ending with the most remote of the Treasuries on the east, which must be the burial-place of Clytemnestra and Ægisthus, as the most unholy, and, therefore, most likely to be removed to a distance from the city.

The date of the destruction of Tiryns and Mycenæ, generally set down at B. C. 468, cannot be ascertained with any degree of precision. It is true that we are told by Pausanias that this event took place subsequently to the Persian wars, and that it was occasioned by the jealousy entertained by the inhabitants of the neighboring city of Argos, because Mycenæ and Tiryns had taken part very patriotically in the Persian wars, whereas Argos had undertaken no labors to save the country from succumbing to the foreign invader. But we are quite of the opinion, advanced by Professor Mahaffy, and warmly espoused by Dr. Schliemann, that the cities thus destroyed were but the ghosts of their former selves, insignificant towns that had lost the greater part of their population by war, intestine commotion, and the transfer elsewhere of their most important classes of inhabitants. The four hundred men whom Tiryns, aided by Mycenæ, is said by Herodotus (ix, 28) to have dispatched to the battle of Platæa, and the eighty whom, according to the same authority (vii, 202), Mycenæ alone had sent to the army

of Leonidas, in the previous year, do not indicate that these cities were possessed either of any considerable population or of the wealth that might have commanded the service of mercenary troops. The communities which the Argives broke up, removing the inhabitants and ruining the fortifications to render the sites no fit place for abode, were, doubtless, already of little account, and, in particular, the palace of Tiryns must have been destroyed long years, possibly centuries, before this final catastrophe. As has already been indicated, that palace had perished in a great conflagration. The wooden pillars and roofs had fallen an easy prey to the flames, while the walls, in places, probably, coated with wooden panels, could offer no resistance to the spread of the fire. In fact, these walls themselves, built of unbaked bricks above the lower course of stone, contained a considerable quantity of wood, inserted at regular intervals to bind more compactly together the friable material of which they were composed. Their surfaces, often glazed by the heat to which they were exposed, best attest the mode of the destruction of the palace.

We close as we began, by an expression of our conviction that Dr. Schliemann's last work is, on the whole, inferior in importance to neither of its predecessors. Nor can we avoid congratulating the explorer of Tiryns on having secured as the coadjutor a man of such eminent qualifications for archæological research as Dr. Dörpfeld, whose studies, as well as the great experience gained in the excavations at Olympia, render him one of the very best of authorities on such matters as the architecture of the ancient Greeks. Left in charge of the work at Tiryns, during Dr. Schliemann's absence, Dr. Dörpfeld was able to make considerable additions to the previous stock of knowledge respecting the ruins, some of which (as, for example, the discovery of the mural store-rooms) we have referred to, while others, including the uncovering of the side entrance to the citadel, with its long flight of sixty-five steps, have been of necessity omitted.

Respecting the external appearance of the volume, we have only to say that it does honor to the typographical art in America. We have noticed a few, but only a few, mistakes of the printer—not one of these in the numerous Greek passages that are cited. The plans and illustrations are not only superb in

themselves, but admirably adapted to convey a clear idea of the discoveries.

After his wonderful success at Tiryns, we can only join in the hope expressed by many others, that Dr. Schliemann may again turn his attention to Mycenæ, where we have every reason to suppose there once existed a palace excelling even that of Tiryns in magnitude, as the dominion of Agamemnon surpassed the dominions of all other Greek chieftains of his day. What if the traces of that palace might also be made out? What if another "bath-room" should be brought to light, possibly no larger than the "bath-room" of Tiryns, with its huge monolithic floor, but more interesting because within its four walls was enacted one of the most signal of those "sins begetting sins" in the house of the Atreidæ—the assassination of Agamemnon by his wife and her treacherous paramour?

Art. III.—FREDERICK DENISON MAURICE.

When Frederick Denison Maurice died in 1872, it was said by the London "Spectator," that in his death

> England lost one of her most striking and characteristic figures, and a not inconsiderable number of Englishmen one of those unique friends in whose sight men are apt to live as in the sight of a visibly higher nature, not so remote from their own circumstances, but that it is possible for them to conceive distinctly his judgments, and to forecast the tendency of his sympathies even when direct intercourse is impossible. . . . He was the man recognized by all who knew him, as combining most clearly spiritual principles which disowned all compromise with skepticism, and intellectual principles which disowned all compromise with bigotry or superstition, as combining in their highest forms trust and love.

And a writer less inclined to accept Maurice as master and friend said, in the "Fortnightly Review," that "his ability and learning were warmly recognized even by thinkers who, like Mill, differed most widely from his speculative opinions."

Among the Englishmen referred to in the "Spectator" as seeing in Maurice "a visibly higher nature" that commanded their reverence, were Julius Hare, John Sterling, Tennyson,

Charles Kingsley, Professor Garbet, and Thomas Hughes—men not likely to recognize as their "master and teacher" any thing less than a man of high intellectual gifts, and possessing the noblest moral and spiritual qualities. And their judgment of Mr. Maurice's mental ability was confirmed by such continental thinkers as the Chevalier Bunsen, who regarded him as "the exponent of the deepest element of English thought and life in the field of philosophy and theology."

Mr. Maurice's sphere of action as a preacher and lecturer was not wide and national, but chiefly limited to his lecture rooms at Cambridge, at King's College, London, to his London parishes, and to the Working-men's College of London. In these spheres it was not the multitude upon whom he acted, but the relatively few, upon whom he impressed himself profoundly, and through whom he diffused his peculiar opinions and influence quite widely throughout England. Of his writings it may also be said, that, though read somewhat extensively by cultivated men, they did not circulate very largely among the people either in England or America. Reasons for this may be found, not in their lack of moral beauty, or of suggestiveness, or of intellectual force and ingenuity, but in a certain vagueness which leaves the reader in a state of perplexed uncertainty as to what he intended them to teach. "One begins," says a candid critic, "to read his writings with the expectation of finding eventually some definite system of thought to which they may be referred, but discovers at last that Mr. Maurice is not a systematic theologian; that he has positive conviction, a determinative faith, but has never formally abstracted it from its place as a motive power, and given it a dogmatic shape."

This lack of clear and definite statement in his writings is eminently unsatisfactory, and his readers, instead of being landed at the conclusion of a lengthy course of argument on the solid rock of a demonstrated truth, find themselves in a sort of mental tanglewood enveloped in intellectual mist. This *may* be evidence, as the much-admiring "Spectator" contends it is, that Maurice's thoughts had their spring in a region quite above the mind of the reader; but to most men it suggests that the author's peculiar theories, being paradoxical and irreconcilable one with the other, restrained him from fully defining any one of his characteristic views of doctrine lest it should

be seen to conflict, apparently or really, with some other theory elsewhere stated. Whether or not this be the key to much of the vagueness of his theological writings, the fact remains, that they do not lead men to definite conclusions respecting some of the most important doctrines of which they treat. Though they do not explicitly and unqualifiedly sustain the dogmas of Rationalists, old school Universalists, and kindred errorists, yet their tendency is to beget doubts and to undermine truly scriptural faith. And such is their indefiniteness, that neither the friends nor the foes of evangelical truth accept them with that heartiness which is necessary to give them that extensive circulation which their many literary excellencies would otherwise secure to them.

The student of Maurice's career seeing this incertitude in his written opinions, very naturally expects to find its source in his character. Strong thinkers are, as a rule, clear thinkers, able to give pronounced and definite expression to their beliefs. But in Maurice one finds a man of unquestionable strength of mind, of varied learning, of superior literary culture and skill, of singular purity of character, and filling honorable positions in the national universities, yet holding opinions so unique, and so indefinitely expressed, that his contemporaries found it impossible to discover his exact place either in the Church or among the writers and thinkers of his times. He was a Churchman from conviction and choice, yet he was repudiated by both High and Low Churchmen, by Ritualists and Evangelicals; and though "liberal" in his theological opinions, he openly refused to be recognized as in full sympathy with the Broad Church.* So misunderstood was he, that, though possessing a sweet, gentle, inoffensive spirit and

*The name Broad Church, had its origin in words used by Dean Stanley in the "Edinburgh Review" for July, 1850, in which he said, that "the English Church is broad enough to comprehend persons so unlike as these two (Whately and Hare); that she can claim their different talents and qualities of mind for her service; that those who very little understand each other may, nevertheless, help different persons to understand their relation to her better, by helping them to understand themselves better. . . . The Church is not High or Low, but Broad."

Of this wing of the Church Maurice said: "Their breadth seems to me to be narrowness. They include all kinds of opinions. But what message have they for the people who do not live upon opinions, or care for opinions?"—*Life*, vol. i, p. 184.

a peaceful disposition, he was involved in almost unceasing controversy from the date of his dispute about baptism with Dr. Pusey in 1837, until very near the close of his life in 1872.

Thus his position being anomalous, suggests that his character was also anomalous; and one turns with curious interest to his memoirs to trace the history of his mind, and note the influences which combined with his idiosyncrasies to make him the exceptional character one finds him to be.

Of the incidents of his life it is only necessary to say, that he was born in 1805, that his father was a Unitarian minister, that he studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, where, though eligible, he declined to take his degree, because he could not conscientiously subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, as the statutes of the University required its students to do before graduation; that after spending some time in literary work he changed his views with reference to subscription, entered Oxford, where he took his degree, and was subsequently ordained; that "he was successively chaplain of Guy's Hospital, of Lincoln's Inn, Incumbent of St. Peter's, Vere Street, London, and, at the time of his death, held the chair of Casuistry and Moral Philosophy in the University of Cambridge." At one time he was Professor of Divinity in King's College, London, from which he was removed because of his alleged heretical opinions. His labors in the Workingmen's College, London, of which he was the organizer and inspiring soul, extended through a period of eighteen years, and were of great value to the working classes. His writings were not the offsprings of mere literary ambition, but instruments by which he sought to give effect to his interpretations of the Gospel in the lives of men. Among them are, "The Unity of the New Testament," "Theological Essays," "The Lord's Prayer," "Religions of the World," "Patriarchs and Lawgivers of the Old Testament," "Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament," "The Conscience," "Moral and Metaphysical Philosophy," etc.

In 1866, writing of the fact that he was the son of a Unitarian minister, Mr. Maurice said that it influenced "the course of my thoughts and purposes to a degree that I never dreamed of till lately." To understand the force of this remark the reader needs to know that his father was not a

dogmatic Unitarian, but one who, while denying the doctrine of the Trinity, still held orthodox opinions on some other theological points, was a zealous defender of Holy Scripture as the word of God, and that his preaching was mostly on questions of ethics. He was especially zealous, as were the Presbyterian Churches among whom modern Unitarianism originated, in his opposition to all declarations of faith other than those which were expressed in the words of Holy Scripture. During Mr. Maurice's boyhood, his father was severely tried by the departure, first of his two eldest daughters and then of his wife and remaining daughter from his creed and Church, they having embraced ultra-Calvinistic tenets. The discussions and feelings to which these religious differences gave rise in the household, observes Maurice, "influenced me powerfully; . . . these years were to me years of moral confusion and contradiction." Amid that confusion, however, there were under-currents of thought such as rarely rise in the minds of boys of his tender age. The differences so earnestly discussed and so sincerely maintained at the family fireside, moved his precocious mind to wonder whether or no some way could be devised to reconcile these opposing faiths, nor did that wonder die out of his mind as his years increased. It rather grew into that "desire for unity" which, said he in later times, "has haunted me all my life through: I have never been able to substitute any desire for that, or to accept any of the different schemes for satisfying it which men have devised."

The impressions made on his youthful mind by these family conflicts respecting creeds bore, as their first practical fruit, his manly and courageous refusal to subscribe the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, which was a prerequsite to graduation at Cambridge. As he then understood such subscription, it implied not merely a profession that he was in good faith a member of the Church of England, but also a renunciation of the right to think except within the lines specified in the Articles. Having no wish to make such a profession, and regarding a renunciation of his right to think freely as involving dishonesty, he resolutely refused to subscribe. To refuse his degree was to forfeit his prospect of a fellowship and other university privileges which were presumably within his reach, and of which, in view of certain pecuniary embarrassments

which had befallen his father, he stood very much in need at that time. But then, as always, he had the courage of his convictions, and preferred the hardships of poverty to a stain upon his conscience.

After spending some two years doing literary work in London, he decided to enter himself as a student at Oxford University, with a view of taking Orders in the English Church. To do this he had, under the statutes at Oxford, to make that subscription at matriculation which he had declined to do before graduation at Cambridge, and he did so "deliberately." On its face this act bears the stamp of inconsistency. To his own singularly constituted mind, however, it appeared to be eminently justifiable and right. His act at Cambridge had led him to study the question of subscription "historically and logically." His conclusion was, that it was not required as a "term of communion for Churchmen generally," nor "to bind down the student to certain conclusions beyond which he could not advance;" but only as a "declaration of the terms on which the University proposed to teach" its pupils! Hence, since the terms of the Oxford subscription did not require a formal renunciation of non-conformity, as those of Cambridge did, he could sign the Articles and feel at liberty to interpret them as he understood them, and not as they were interpreted by either the convocation which adopted them, by the writers of the Reformation period, or by the dons of the University.

To ordinary minds this view of subscription appears more ingenious than ingenuous. Dr. Tulloch calls it "an extraordinary refinement in argument," which it certainly was, seeing that it transferred a restriction obviously intended for the student from him to his teachers, binding them but leaving him free to accept or reject the Articles as his fancies or convictions might dictate. Maurice was no doubt sincere. It was both a habit and a defect of his mind to see things as he wished them to be. In this case his haunting "desire for unity" probably had an unperceived influence over his judgment, for in the light of his conclusion he could perceive how he could honestly subscribe to the Articles, accept ordination in the Church, and still be at liberty to search for such interpretations of Scripture as would furnish foundations for those theological theories he was so desirous of finding—that would reconcile, as he said,

"what was positive in all Christian sects, only leaving out that which is negative in each and incapable of reconciliation."

He who studies the divine word under the guidance of a preconceived purpose, and with any other desire than to ascertain its precise meaning, is tolerably sure to find, not the pure truth, but the truth corrupted by the bias given to his studies by his desire, which acts on his judgment as the neighborhood of a magnet does on a compass. Maurice illustrates this truism in that his eclecticism naturally, if unconsciously, inclined him to propitiate so-called liberal thinkers by giving constructions to some scriptural truths so forced and broad that, if carried to their logical results, they could not be accepted by more orthodox theologians. Perhaps it was because he felt, rather than acknowledged, this difficulty, that he shrank from clearly stating the conclusions to which his premises on inspiration, on the resurrection, on the general judgment, etc., legitimately led, thereby leaving his expectant readers, as he especially does in his theological essays, in a misty nowhere. Possibly, however, he may have reasoned himself into such strong convictions of the truth of his fundamental propositions as to be indifferent to the logical inconsistencies of his writing, since we find him saying, "It is only that which is not truth that trembles at one statement or another, at one contradiction or another." Had he postulated his theories in the light of the fact that truth, especially revealed truth, is never really self-contradictory, he might have avoided the anti-scriptural errors which are to his writings as flies in the ointment of the apothecary.

Mr. Maurice professed, and no doubt cherished, a high regard for the Bible as being, in his own sense, the word of God; that is, as a book in which "God has revealed himself, not dogmas about himself." In stating his theories he strove, he says, to give the words of Scripture their literal signification. He professed to write and preach under the influence of a fear lest his own notions should mix with what is revealed. Yet, when discussing the question of Inspiration in his thirteenth Essay, he presents a theory of it which fairly carried out ranks him, not with orthodox thinkers, but with full-fledged Rationalists. He robs the Bible of its divine authority, by ranking the inspiration of its writers with those impulses which gave

birth to high and ennobling thoughts in the minds of ancient pagan philosophers, and in superior men of modern days. He ascribes the impulses of ancient philosophers, of the writers of the Scriptures, of modern men of genius, and of all Christian men, alike to the Holy Spirit. He failed to see that if "every thing is supernatural nothing is supernatural." By unduly exalting human thought in such men as Plato and Shakespeare, and by confounding the illumination of the Holy Spirit in Christian believers with that true theory of inspiration which teaches that "no prophecy ever came by the will of man; but men spake from God, being moved by the Holy Ghost" (R.V.), he strips the Bible of its claim to be a special and authoritative revelation of God to men, and places it on a level with the best thoughts of uninspired thinkers. He further teaches that what there is of inspired thought in the Bible suited to the instruction of the individual Christian is to be discovered by him through the teaching of the Holy Spirit. Hence its value to the individual is not so much in what is actually taught in it, as in what he is enabled by the aid of his "inner light" to find in its pages. He thus made the "inward light" of greater value than the written word.

Moreover, he still further lowers his conception of inspiration by asserting that "all inspiration was subject to human conditions, and therefore that its records are liable to error." This admission, entirely consistent as it is with his theory as above stated, would have logically led him further into the rationalistic wing of the Broad Church than he was willing to go, and even into the fellowship of such Rationalists as his friend Colenso or Sterling. But happily, in Maurice religious sentiment was stronger than logic; and finding, as one of his friendly critics observes, "so much that was in the highest degree instructive in the very aspects of Scripture that rationalistic critics had fixed upon as embodying conspicuous error, he shrunk painfully from admitting an error even when he was quite unable to find a truth."

This logical inconsistency, arising out of his deep religious feeling, was characteristic of the man. It was his habit to appeal to sentiment in proof of truth. In respect to his theory of inspiration this inconsistency, joined with the fact that he supports it wholly by unproven assertions, renders it, if not

harmless, yet without claim to acceptance. It is a gate sufficiently wide to admit a flood of even atheistic doubts into minds less intensely religious than his own.

The letters contained in the "Life" of Mr. Maurice make it evident that most of his peculiar opinions, though shaped and formulated by his intellect, yet had their roots in his feelings. He was reared in the lap of Unitarianism, yet was never, he tells us, a Unitarian. He became an anti-Unitarian while yet a mere boy, not from intellectual or religious conviction, but because "Unitarianism *seemed* to his boyish logic incoherent and feeble." He despised both it and Universalism, as explained by its disciples, as weak. But for the influence of Coleridge, whom he studied at Cambridge and whose spiritual philosophy delighted him, he would have embraced the liberal, that is, skeptical, ideas for which, he says, he "shouted" at the university. "Coleridge," he wrote, "saved me from infidelity." When his heart was quickened, as it was when he was twenty-six years old, into a discovery of its "overwhelming weight of selfishness," and made to feel the need of something more positive than the aversions on which his pride had hitherto fed, he looked at what he knew of God in search of such a conception of His nature as would meet the demands of his troubled spirit. Unitarianism had given him the idea of a God whom it called the Father. Unable to realize that there could be a Father without an only begotten Son of the same substance with himself, he accepted the doctrine of "the unity of the Eternal Father with the Eternal Son in the Eternal Spirit."

Having thus become a pronounced Trinitarian, his next mental conflict was with the concept of the divine Father as held by the Unitarians on the one hand and the ultra-Calvinists on the other. To his view, the former made God "a mere God of nature removed from human sympathies, merely beneficent, not in the highest sense benevolent;" the latter represented him as an embodiment of an infinite, tyrannical, pitiless self-will. Maurice rejected both. In his recoil from the latter view, of which he had heard so much discussion in his father's house, he was led to think of God as a Being of whom, as he said, "I feel it my duty to assert that which I know, that which God has revealed, his absolute, universal love in all possible ways and without any limitation."

In reaching this concept Mr. Maurice had manifestly consulted his own feelings more than God's revelation of himself. He had made his heart, not his intellectual judgment, his interpreter of the Bible, which most surely represents God, not as love absolutely unqualified, but as love modified by hatred of evil, by impartial justice, and by the exigencies of a law which recognizes the punishment of sin as necessary to the maintenance of moral order in the universe. But Maurice had substituted for this Scripture view of the divine love a conception of his own mind, which by the way was not without certain mystical tendencies, as appears from his writing to a friend: "I did not receive this of man, neither was I taught it. Every glimpse I have of it has come to me through great confusion and darkness." Evidently he fancied that he had by his "inward light" looked through the letter of the Bible into the deeper truth which he imagined it was designed to teach.

This misapprehension of the character of God is the key to all Maurice's peculiar theological theories. It is the basal thought upon which he built his theory of Universal Redemption, which is not that of the Universalist, who, he says, makes salvation depend upon the mere "good nature" of the Deity; nor of the Restorationist, who makes punishment the instrument of salvation; but it is a theory which teaches that "all things were created in Christ Jesus;" that "Christ is the head of every man;" that consequently every man, no matter how ignorant of the fact or how wicked in practice, is actually "joined to Christ," is really a child of God and a member of Christ; that "it is a lie" to affirm that wickedness is any man's real state; and that it is the purpose of Christ's mission to secure the happiness of all by bringing all, either here or hereafter, to believe in God's absolute love as manifested in Christ's sacrifice of himself on the cross.

To support this self-contradictory theory Maurice depends very materially on his interpretation of these expressive words found in our Lord's sacerdotal prayer: "And this is life eternal, that they might know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." His contention is, that the "eternal life" of this text and of the New Testament is not equivalent to "future state;" but that to know God's absolute, universal love, and to be molded by it, is "eternal life." From this definition

he infers that "eternal death" is not endless misery, but simply the want of this knowledge; and that consequently all who have the knowledge have eternal life, and all who have it not have not life. Having thus eliminated the idea of duration from the phrase, he argues that "the revelation of God, and not the notion of rewards and punishments, should be felt to be the end of the divine dispensation;" and that this revelation is simply that "by which God seeks to come into fellowship with the creature."

This theory required the rejection of the facts every-where recognized in Holy Scripture, that the present life is a probation; that persistent sin, especially that chief of all sins, the willful rejection of Jesus Christ, is to be punished in the life to come with "indignation and wrath, tribulation and anguish;" and that "patient continuance in well-doing" is to be rewarded with "eternal life." Indeed, it abolishes all punishment for sin as such, and teaches that all suffering caused by sin is simply "God's protest" against it; and that though such suffering may be continued in the life beyond time, yet it will not be as the legal penalty of sin, but as it is in the present life, a means of bringing about the "reformation of his creatures." In harmony with this part of his teaching, Maurice interprets all that is said in Scripture concerning "that *day* of wrath and revelation of the righteous judgment of God" in which "all nations" are to be judged, as meaning nothing more than that judgment of sin in the human conscience, and in the administrations of Providence, which is now constantly taking place.

This is in truth a great fabric of theory standing on a very small portion of Holy Writ. If the very few texts on which it is built were inexplicable on any other scheme of doctrine—if this interpretation of them were in harmony with the general teaching of Scripture—the paucity of their number would be no objection, since a single clear statement from the lips of Jesus Christ, unqualified by other portions of his teaching, would be sufficient to justify any theory fairly deducible from it. But in this case the whole tenor of God's word is against the theory; and Mr. Maurice, instead of meeting this fact with exegetical developments of the manifold texts which on their face are hostile to his views, contents himself with dogmatic and seer-like reiterations of the dogmas he builds on a few

favorite texts. Indeed, like Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, in whose writings he found the germs of his peculiar views, Maurice speaks of his doctrines as *facts* which he perceives through his deep insight into the nature of God, rather than as truths deduced from revelation by exact exegetical study.

Like all errorists, Maurice gives plausibility to what is false in his theories by linking it to ideas which are true. It is true, for example, that "Jesus Christ tasted death for every man." Redemption *is* universal, as he affirms. But it is not true that every man will certainly be brought into fellowship with God, because the realization of the benefits of that redemption is conditioned on individual faith, and because, as he admits, "there is an unspeakable power of resistance in the human will to God's love." That this resistance might be final he concedes when he adds these words to the above admission, namely, "Not denying that this resistance may be final, but still *feeling myself obliged to believe, when I trust God thoroughly*, that there is a depth in his love below all other depths, a bottomless pit of charity deeper than the bottomless pit of evil." Here it is obvious that Maurice, unable to find positive support in Scripture for his belief in the final submission of all souls to God, turned, as was his habit, from God's word to his own feelings, thus giving to mere sentiment an authority for his opinions which he could not find in that eternal word which teaches that "the wrath of God abideth on him" who "believeth not," or as the Revised Version gives the text, "obeyeth not the Son."

Maurice's habit of mingling his errors of sentiment with the truth of God is very marked in his use of the text cited above, in which the Saviour defines "life eternal" as consisting in the knowledge of God. He is doubtless correct in teaching that to know God—to so apprehend his love as to trust in it and to be brought into fellowship with him—is the essence of that life of faith which is an image of that life of righteousness, truth, and love lived by the only Eternal One. It *may* also be true, as he affirms, though it cannot be certainly proved, that, because the life of faith in man bears this resemblance to the life of the eternal God, the Saviour designated it "eternal life." But when Maurice limits its application to this resemblance, and wholly excludes from it the idea of duration, insisting that it

has no reference to the future life, he forces upon it an interpretation which, however necessary to the support of his theory of God's *absolute* love, is not sustained by its evident meaning in the larger number of texts in which it is found. Jude, for example, did not understand it as Maurice does, when he wrote, "Keep yourselves in the love of God, looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto eternal life." To interpret this latter phrase as signifying nothing more than the knowledge and enjoyment of God, is to make Jude guilty of a most confusing tautology, that is, as saying, "Keep yourselves in eternal life, which is the knowledge of God, . . . unto eternal life." But give this beautiful and expressive phrase the meaning of a present life fashioned after that of the Eternal One in righteousness, truth, and love, and continued into the eternal future, and it becomes intelligible, consistent with itself, and with every other text in which it is found. Nevertheless, it is the exclusion of the idea of duration from this phrase that makes it the key-stone of Maurice's theological arch. Retain it, as every candid, unbiased thinker must, and his presumption that eternal death is not endless separation from a rejected Christ, but only a separation limited to some point here or in the hereafter at which the lost sinner may choose to submit to God, falls to the ground. The key-stone of his arch being gone, his theological fabric becomes a ruin.

The relation of Mr. Maurice's theory to individual religious experience is set forth in a very interesting letter to his mother, to whom he says:

> You wish and long to believe yourself in Christ; but you are afraid to do so because you think there is some experience that you are in him necessary to warrant that belief. Now if any man, or an angel from heaven, preach this doctrine to you, I say, let his doctrine be accursed!

By this energetic, not to say passionate, denial of the need of those mental exercises associated with that penitential faith through which a man is justified, renewed, and brought into fellowship with Christ, Maurice did not intend to affirm that the "man in Christ" has no conscious religious experience. His theory, as stated above, supposes

> that every man is actually in Christ, whether he believe it or not; that he was created in Christ, and nothing can alter that

fact; that the difference between the believer and the unbeliever is not about the fact, but precisely in the belief of the fact. . . . Those who disbelieve it walk "after the flesh." They do not believe they are joined to an Almighty Lord of life, . . . therefore they do not pray, that is, ask Christ to fill, animate, inspire, and sanctify them. . . . The condemnation of every man is, that he will not own the truth.

This view of faith makes it, not a personal trust in Christ as the propitiation for sin, but simply a belief in God's plan of universal redemption in Christ. It is not a belief in Christ as the *vicarious* sacrifice for sin, but as a sacrifice satisfactory to the Father; not because it declared God's detestation of sin, or enabled him to "be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus," but because it illustrated his absolute, universal love, and significantly set forth his sympathy with his human creatures. It is not a belief that looks for forgiveness in the sense of remission of penalty for past offenses, since the theory recognizes neither penalty nor pardon. It presupposes that Jesus, the root of humanity, having taken the flesh of man, willingly endured death, and fulfilled the law of righteousness, God justified him. "*In that act God justified the race* for which Christ died, and *made all men sons of God* in the only begotten Son." Therefore every man is authorized to see his own justification in God's justification of his Son, and faith is simply a belief that claims a privilege secured to every man by the constitution of all things in Christ.

Maurice makes very feeble appeal to Scripture in support of this fantastical conception of justifying faith. The one text he cites is, "God manifest in the flesh, *justified in the Spirit*," which, most assuredly, does not contain even a hint of his doctrine. It only states the fact that Christ's Messianic claims were justified by the miracles he wrought through the power of the Holy Spirit. This justification is a vastly different thing from that purely imaginary justification of Christ as the root of humanity which Mr. Maurice affirms to be the justification of the race. But, here as elsewhere, his peculiar theological notions are more the outcome of his religious sentiment than of sound interpretations of Holy Writ.

It is but just to Maurice to say, that he insists as strongly on the spiritual and ethical fruits of his theory of faith as the most earnest evangelical teacher could desire. In his own active, spot-

less life, it was fruitful of deep, somewhat mystical spirituality and ardent love to God and man. Whether it is likely to be productive of similar fruit in men generally is more than questionable. Looking at human nature as it actually is, one is disposed to regard it as a root upon which the most reckless wickedness is most likely to grow. The theory makes so little of sin and its final results, that the desperately wicked, supremely selfish human heart, being assured of ultimate escape from all the evil consequences of iniquity, will rather be encouraged to sin on than persuaded to submit to a Creator so indulgent that he does not really punish, but only protests, against transgression by means of evils which sinners so far despise even while suffering them, as to continue in the sins of which they are the natural sequences. If, as inspired truth teaches, the hearts of men are set to do evil because sentence against their evil works "is not speedily executed," how much more firmly fixed would be their love of sin if they were assured that in the life after death that sentence is sure, sooner or later, to be remitted?

There is no satisfactory evidence in Maurice's "Life" that his preaching produced any marked spiritual results, but only that a considerable number of individuals, previously inclined to infidelity, were led to look favorably on Christianity as he presented it to their minds. The humanitarian side of his opinions, with his strong assertion of the equality of men in the sight of God, and of the dignity of all men as sons of God, was very attractive to many whose pride revolted from any system of theology which recognized the deep depravity of the human heart, the turpitude of human guilt, and the justice of the endless punishment of those who obstinately reject the mercy of God offered them through the cross of Christ. Many such minds rallied round him as their leader in efforts to awaken in the laboring classes a desire for intellectual and moral development, and for the improvement of their social condition. To them he rendered very valuable service, not only by his preaching, but also by teaching them in Bible classes, by lectures on what he fitly called Christian socialism in contradistinction from the atheistic socialism of France and Germany, and especially by his varied labors as the head of the Workingmen's College. It is likely that some of these parties entered experimentally into the spiritual side of his theories, but one

finds no proof in his "Life" that his preaching ever produced any such wide-spread spiritual results as have constantly followed the faithful presentation of Gospel truth as generally understood by evangelical Christians. Maurice's peculiar theory of divine love, and of the actual justification of every man in Christ, did not demonstrate itself to be, in any marked degree, that Gospel which is "the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth."

The failure of his preaching to produce any such striking spiritual effects as followed the preaching of Wesley, of Whitefield, and of thousands of less gifted men, cannot be attributed to his lack of high qualifications for the work of the ministry. When he stood before his congregation his appearance indicated that he was not a merely professional priest performing perfunctory duties, but a man who both possessed and was possessed by what he believed to be the truth. His countenance bore the stamp of a mind strained to a high degree of tension by its strong perceptions of the thoughts he was about to utter. His manner indicated both humility and consciousness of strength, simplicity of character and depth of feeling. His voice, though monotonous, was yet musical. It was said to sound like the instrument of a message from the invisible world. Its intensity made it thrilling. There was in it a tone of sadness blended with exultation, suggesting that he was "rehearsing a story in which he had no part except his personal certainty of its truth, his gratitude that it should be true, and his humiliation that it had fallen to such lips as his to declare it." As he spoke his eyes were full of sweetness, and were "fixed, as if fascinated, on some ideal point." In his tones there was a union of sweetness and severity. His sermons, like his writings, were characterized by vigor, versatility, originality, acuteness, and independence of thought, by admirable taste, and withal by a certain haziness which often left his hearers in doubt as to the exact meaning of parts of his discourse.

His rare endowments for the pulpit assuredly gave his theories a fair opportunity to demonstrate their power to win men to God. Men heard them from a preacher to whom they were divine facts, which he believed were given him from God. Hence he spoke not only with the power of a highly gifted man, but also in the spirit of one to whom the facts he recited

were not the mere results of reasoning, but visions of faith. Nevertheless, in actual spiritual fruitage, in the quickening and regeneration of men, his preaching did not demonstrate that his peculiar theories were owned of God.

No evangelical thinker will be surprised at this fact. The gospel of Mr. Maurice was not the Gospel of Jesus Christ. That he held firmly, even realistically, to the doctrine of the trinity, to the fact that Christ died for all men, and that men may and ought to live in fellowship with God, does not invalidate this statement. Neither is it disproved by the fact that he was himself a man of much prayer, of strong, courageous, self-sacrificing faith, of a pure and lovable character, and of indefatigable zeal in his labors for humanity, seeing that it has often happened in human history that men who have mingled the errors of their own understandings with the truth of God have, nevertheless, been governed in their lives more by the truth in their creed than by the error they mingled with it. Mr. Maurice is a case in point. It may further be conceded, that, as Dr. Tulloch affirms, Maurice, with Kingsley and Robertson, who accepted his views, by his intense spiritual realism did introduce a current of spirituality into the Anglican Church which saved it from wholly lapsing into dead formality. But Maurice was personally better than his peculiar theories, which so emasculated the Gospel of Jesus Christ as to take from it many truths which are most influential in moving men to seek reconciliation with God. As a system, if this term can be properly applied to his incongruous dogmas, his teaching finds little currency in the theological thought of to-day. Yet his ideas concerning God's absolute love, and its relation to the final destiny of mankind, which have been extensively circulated in the writings of F. W. Robertson and other Broad-Churchmen, are still working injuriously in the religious world. It is visible in the preaching of the "wider hope," in the too slight emphasis placed by many clergymen on the "sinfulness of sin," in that superficiality of repentance, and that absence of intense earnestness in seeking Christ which are but too evident in many of the revivals of the times. These are facts which fall like deep shadows on his character and work. Yet, in spite of his errors and their hurtful influences, who can help loving the memory of Frederick Denison Maurice?

Art. IV.—WHAT OUR ENGLISH FOUND IN BRITAIN.

In the island around which rolls the modern world, are traces of people unknown to history, and baffling all its inquiries. Bracelets of gold and beads of amber are found in such connection with hatchets and chisels of stone as to suggest that these people, while rude in the useful arts, had taste and skill in ornamentation. This rudeness with this lively sense of the beautiful was still in the land in historic times.

Those vanished races so cultivated the island, terracing even its hill-tops, as to make it support a large population. They afterward, or a race succeeding them, made tools of bronze, of which the tin and the copper of the country were the ready ingredients. Who these were it is vain to ask or conjecture. Curiously, one may say parenthetically, within these two years it has been cried aloud by a warm patriot, Mr. Kenny, M.P. for Ennis, as an Irish grievance, that the stone beneath the chair in which for centuries English sovereigns have sat for crowning in Westminster Hall, which served at the crowning of forty successive kings on the hill of Tara, is of vast historic value to Ireland, and is in cruel and unjust exile. On this stone—so runs the legend—Jacob pillowed his head at Beth-el. It was taken by him to Egypt; brought along North Africa by a Greek, Gathelus, eloping with Pharaoh's daughter after her father's drowning in the Red Sea rested in Spain, then on Tara, then at Scone by way of Iona, and now in London! The stone looks not at all like the limestone of Canaan, the nummulite of Egypt, or the carboniferous of Tara, but very like the red sandstone of Scone; and so, for many reasons, its career is credible to patriots only. Like the legend of this stone, dim and shadowy or confused and incredible, are most of things said of Britain, especially of Ireland, before Julius Cæsar. London—"Lake-Fortress"—seems mentioned 2225 years ago, and even then as the great town, which its site justified and a rich region sustained. The earliest traceable inhabitants were probably those Celts known as Gaels, of whom the Irish and the Highland Scotch are to-day the representatives. These seem to have been pushed to Ireland—*Ierne*, *Erin*, "the west"—and to North Britain by the Cymri, who held England and

Wales at the time of Cæsar's invasion. The Saxons, who afterward crowded them to the West, called them *Welsh*, "foreigners," as we in Colorado count Indians to be aliens.

By these *Cymrig*, as they still call themselves, the island, at first named *Alpin*, "White Island," came to be *Britain*, "Land of the Painted," the color-loving, who tattooed even their own bodies. They had left Gaul, driven by pressure of invasion by some stronger people, or animated with hope of plunder and conquest for themselves. Long afterward many of them fled back to Gaul before the English, forming in France the province of Brittany or Bretagne. Thus two races of Celts were—and still are—in the islands, the *Gaels*, "Heroes," and the *Cymrig*, "Strong," or the Scotch (or, as we call them, Irish) and the Welsh.

The Romans laid the strong hand upon Britain, but, by reason of their own civil wars, and of their having other parts of the world to subdue and reorganize, they were long in conquering it. For several generations here was training-ground for generals, and even for emperors. In the third century the conquest was fairly complete, and for more than two centuries Britain was a Roman and not a British land. The Gaels were driven to the islets or the utmost peninsulas. The Cymrig became peasants; that is, slaves. The Romans built towns by the harbors or along the noblest streams, and their villas, with laborers' cottages clustering near, dotted with villages all the fertile land. There was a high civilization, as traces remaining even to our day amply declare. Excellent roads, bridges, and light-houses were, five hundred years later, still doing service. Even remote towns had theaters, temples, and palaces; while in London, temples of Apollo and Diana occupied the sites of Westminster and St. Paul's, where relics are still dug from the rubbish of ages. So productive was the soil, that its Roman lords furnished large quantities of grain to other provinces. Still the invaders were, even after six generations of occupancy, but as a garrison, holding the country by military tenure. The peasantry spoke their own language, and few Latin words made their way into British speech. None at all seem to have come from this into Latin, Caractacus for Caradoc, Druides for Derwydh, and the like, being of Latin termination only.

About the middle of the second century Christianity was

brought into Britain by a native prince, *Lever Mawyr*, "Great Light," whose name takes the Latin form of Lucius. About this time, too, are dated the poems of Ossian. These, as is well known, professing to have been gathered among the Gaels of the Highlands, were in great repute a century ago. Their early composition and their oral transmission for a period three times as long as that assigned to a like treatment of the Homeric poems find small credit now, and McPherson, their "editor," is honored as their author, though he retranslated them so as to have the "originals" to show in Gaelic! These poems are really very harmonious with Gaelic taste and feeling, and, if not authentic, are well invented, reminding one of that witty servant of the Huron missionary who would entertain the Indians with long supplements to their own traditions. The Bible was now rendered into the British tongue, and *Ban-gor*, "Great Circle," congregation, marked more than one center of Christian gathering for instruction and worship, and, as the name of a town, it survives in modern Wales.

A Briton, *Mor-gan*, "Sea-worker," sailor, Grecized as Pelagius, gave his name to a sect which denied the inborn depravity of the human nature, accounting for sin by the force of bad example, "as the Pelagians do vainly talk." The expulsion of this sect from Britain, A.D. 446, by bishops sent from Gaul for that purpose, nearly coincides with the withdrawal of the Roman legions from the island.

The Britons looked up and saw themselves restored to freedom and to the ownership of the land of their ancestors. And now the English (Angles) began to come into the place of the Romans. The Britons rose from the soil to meet them, and the struggle of centuries began. Every foot of English advance was sorely contested, until of all that is now distinctively England it might be said, as the Saxon Chronicle says of Pevensey, in 491: "They slew all that were therein, nor was there one Briton left." The English came to dwell in towns which they builded not, and to use roads and bridges which Roman skill and British toil had made enduring and magnificent. The British from Vortigern to Arthur retreated slowly, but in two hundred years the Welsh and the Irish, with whom the Scotch are identified, were driven to nearly their present limits. Of the words which our English took from these two branches of

the Celtic, most are used in our humble household vocabulary. These are such as *basket*, *bran*, *coat*, *dairy*, *dad*, *pail*, *pitcher*, *lath*, *whey*, and *whisky*. *Pun* (meaning "equal") may be from the Welsh, and *sham* serves us well, as do *happy*, *prank*, *fun*, and near a hundred others. *Sylph* ("genius," "spirit") comes to us from Celtic through the Greek, and *pretty* comes from the Greek through the Celtic (Welsh), and this latter word we could not well spare. No words expressive of law and government, or of the pomp and luxuries of life (*whisky* surely does not), come to us from the Celtic; and this fact, if we look at the style of words which the Norman-French, the language of conquerors, gave us, proves that such part of the British as survived among or near the Saxons were held as inferiors and in servitude. One word, *brave*, is the noblest of all the Celt has given us. It comes from his brighter side, and brings a world of suggestion as to his character. It was first caught in France, but it is now doing service in every modern tongue. If one word could half describe a race, *brave* would do that for the Celts. The word means, with them, "brilliant," "showy," though in our English, and still more in French, it has quite as often a secondary meaning. It intimates to us what was most agreeable and affecting in the Celtic character, and puts us upon the track of what the Celt has done for English literature. The bright, musical, imaginative element therein is mostly of his giving. In Ireland, as early as the third century, there was already a class ardently devoted to literary work. The *bard* ("poet") bore a square staff, on the sides of which he carved the verses which he framed, and sang, and from this came our musical term "staff."

These Gaels were the world's first rhymers. A Latin hymn of St. Ambrose, in 397, the first rhyme preserved in literature, is believed to have been of Gaelic suggestion. The music of these Irish bards, whose long line reaches from the dim, uncertain *Oisin* ("Ossian") to Furlogh O'Carolan, who died in 1737, was wafted across the dark border between Celt and Saxon, "the death-line of heroes," and it touched Saxon ear and Saxon heart. The *gleemen* and *scoops*, the loud English poets, used alliteration, often beginning a line with the initial of the word last preceding: "*Thaer waes hearfan sweg swutol sang scopes*," "There was sound of harp, sweet song of poet." (Beowulf, 89.) And other such rude devices they used. The charm of rhyme

was quickly felt. Its beauty was its own excuse for being, though Carlyle fiercely calls it "fiddling." In spite of race hatred and bloody wars rhyme came among the Saxons to stay, and English rhyme is to-day the finest in the world. It, and the art of using it, we must value highly among the things our language found in Britain. The bards accompanied their songs with the sweet and lively music of the harp, and, ever welcome, they shed the soul of music through the cabins of Arragh or the hall of Tara. Laying by the harp, they soothed the parting soul, as at the death of Roderick Dhu, when

> "The chieftain to his clansman's rhyme
> With lifted hand kept feeble time."

Thus equally in joy or grief, or life's common monotone, the "Calc O'Leary" of the day was as "the beam that comes in warmth and brightness."

Close to the Gael's poetry and music came his wit and humor. His wit is indigenous and irrepressible, and not only in John Erigena, of Alfred's day, and Sheridan, a thousand years later, but to-day and among the rude, it has a grace of its own. In this generation a lady's parasol was wrenched from her hand by a puff of wind. An Irishman digging by the road-side recovered it. "If you were as strong as you are handsome it would niver get away from ye?" "I don't know, sir, which first to thank you for, the service or the compliment." "Och, that look of your beautiful eye did it for both!" Nothing finer could be given. Nor is humor far behind. "And will ye dine wiz me the day, Teddy?" "Now what have ye the loikes of?" "Only a nice bit of carned bafe and parratees!" "Och, me own dinner to a hair, barrin' the *bafe*." These specimens of to-day are good for Duns Scotus and Erigena. This wit told gradually upon the serious, straight-forward, realistic English mind, and Celtic vivacity brought into our literature the metaphoric use of words that had previously been used only in sober earnest.

History, after a fashion, was a favorite Gaelic study. The *Ollamh* (pronounced *Olave*), "Perfect Doctor," could recite seven fifties of historic tales. His profession was in the highest esteem, and was hereditary in his family. The *Driseg*, "Twentier," whose stock was small, was in demand for his

twenty, and their rehearsal enriched the long nights of revelry and ease.

The Gaelic Celts, and, indeed, all Celts, took special delight in gold ornaments, as rings and bracelets, and in bright colors; and in terms expressive of color, their language seems even more abundant than the Greek. They were fond of crimson shirts worked with flowers, and over these, yet revealing them, cloaks fastened with brooches, striped, or divided into many-colored squares. The rude mantles of the lowest were carefully squared in colors, and thus *plaid*, "a sheepskin with its wool," came to mean a cloth garment in the sheepskin's place and colors, and finally that style of coloring. More than any people of their time, or of any time, they reveled in green, blue, yellow, and crimson. Their eyes wanted all things "brave."

The Welsh are of far more sober turn. Their first poems—as far as we find—are of the sixth century, saddened by the hard struggle against the Saxon. The legends of Arthur are concerning men who fought well, but vainly, and went down in the strife for hearth and home with Cerdic and Ethelfrith, when eagles were freshly fed on battle-fields, and drank the heart's blood of "Kyndylan, the fair, by Wrekin, the white town in the valley." Even the bards of years long after could say, in the oft-quoted line: "They learn in suffering what they teach in song." The music of that early Welsh poetry, given under these sad conditions, comes to the ear with a sob like the sough of the sea on the Cornwall coast. Centuries later there was a strange epoch of revival in Welsh poetry, as if the nation had suddenly found the voice after six hundred years of silence. All the Celtic traits of which we have spoken then come out in song. There is profusion of imagery—color, and passion, and delight, and reverence, and a full, glad period of joyous utterance, in tales and songs and dreams and prophecies. This outburst, the like of which is found in the literature of no other people, had its final effect in intensifying the flames of patriotism.

It was in the morn of the thirteenth century, the most glorious of all in the annals of Wales, that this dawn suffused her sky. Bards awoke heroes, and Henry II. was baffled by the energy which this burst of song inspired; and for a hundred years the two Llewellyns maintained the freedom and even the

glory of their country. The deeds of daring done in war found ready fame from the voices of the bards. "The Triumph of Owen," translated by Gray, is the fittest survival of the period. Llewellyn was "the Eagle of Men, loving not to lie or sleep." "Better is the grave," sang the bards loud and clear, "than the life of the man who sighs when the horns summon him to the battle-squares." As they dreamed, "One shall hear that the Germans are moving from Britain back to their fatherland," Cadwallon, the last Celtic conqueror, and Arthur from his grave at Glastonbury, seemed to rise and fight for Wales. Let the worst come, "their speech they shall keep, their land they shall lose, except wild Wales," whose fastnesses were impregnable.

The century of glory went down in darkness. The last Llewellyn, the last prince of Wales, fell on the banks of the Wye; his title passed to the infant son of the English Edward, and the freedom of the land of bards and heroes departed forever. Even in this last surrender, "their speech they shall keep," seemed still remembered, and the Welsh chieftains stipulated that their new prince should be unable to speak a word of English. Edward II., less than a week old, could not but meet their demand. The rock is still shown (were the legend only surer!) where the last Welsh bard, his gray locks streaming on the air, chanted prophecies of ruin upon the ruthless king, foretold Welsh dominion over England (the Tudors were Welsh), and then, harp in hand,

"Deep in the roaring tide, he plunged to endless night."

So ended the line adorned by Taliessin in the sixth century and Gualchmai in the thirteenth, and countless unnamed bards between.

The Welsh language and its music are kept in Wales, and cultivated in the Eistedfodds of this country. Still to-day it looks as if "their speech they shall keep" is a prophecy in peril. Some forty per cent. of the schools in Wales are now teaching English, and the Welsh must disappear before the tongue that is marching on to the mastery of the world. The chief excellence of Welsh and the best qualities of the Cymrig mind have, during the last century, been shown in the preaching of the Gospel. In fire and fluency, in range of imagination

and in clearness of utterance, men like Christmas Evans have come to the first rank of sacred orators. Rude, common Welshmen often express themselves, even in English, with great beauty and power, and one is willing that their language vanish, if only their fervor and flow may enrich that into which it is melting away.

After many centuries the Welsh character shows in at least one direction its ancient and affecting features. It was in the middle of the last century that Wesley and his preachers entered Wales on their errand of evangelization. The fervor of their preaching, the solemn gladness of their experience, marched well with the Celtic temperament. There was no hesitation or compromise, and the Cymrig went over to Methodism with a wild and joyous ardor. Yet even here the undertone of sadness marking the throbs of his ancient poetry qualified his Methodism, and he took it with Calvinistic ingredients that give his religious feelings a secondary element of profound, almost melancholy, mystery. These men of Cornwall are found in mining villages far up among our Rocky Mountains, and one sees in their devotions the mold and temper traceable in their national songs of the far-gone days of the Llewellyns. The Church of England is too strait for their joys and sorrows, and while the restored cathedral of Truro is capable of holding half the towns-folk, its seats are vacant while chapels throng with worshipers. It may also be said that after the fall of the clans at Culloden in 1745 the Presbyterianism of the Lowlands of Scotland entered the Highlands as missionary ground, but even to-day the native churches have with their creeds a tinge, often strange and romantic, of true Gaelic enthusiasm and superstition.

And this leads one to recall what were the first effectual means of approach between Celt and Teuton. Speech is but our vehicle of thought and feeling, something nobler, indeed, than silver, "pale and patient drudge 'twixt man and man"—being the most vital and spiritual of all means for exchange of mind and heart. Still it is but a vehicle, having its chief force and all its perfume from that which it conveys. It was given to the Christian religion, as it came into English through Celtic speech in the north of England, to bring with itself what linguistic and literary elements it had found most valuable in Brit-

ain, as well as to open an avenue by which the races should come near to each other and begin to blend in thought and feeling, as blend, though slowly, they utterly will in all things human.

When Hengist, the first Englishman, set foot on the gravel at Ebbesfleet, the Christian Church was continuous from the Mediterranean to the Frith of Forth. His heathen followers broke, as by a fiercely driven wedge, this long communion. The Church of Ireland was thus cut off from continental fellowship; but, being unharmed by invaders, it developed within itself a fervent zeal in self-sacrifice and devotion to the faith. The Celtic enthusiasm burst forth in a passionate energy. The universities of Darragh and Armagh became centers of biblical learning, surpassing all others in western Europe. In half a century after the death of St. Patrick the island was evangelized, the North yielding to his appeals, as their kinsmen, the Galatians, had yielded to the preaching of St. Paul. When the aged evangelist was baptizing Fionn McCool (Fingal), he, unawares set the spike of his crutch upon the chieftain's bare foot, and pinned it to the ground. At the end of the baptism, as the saint changed his position, "Why did you not cry out?" asked he, in alarm. "I had thought, holy father," was the calm reply, "that this was a part of the ceremony." With such evangelists and such converts the faith spread far and effectually, and Ireland prospered in many ways as never before or since. Irish missionaries went even to the Continent, reviving the wasting churches from which they themselves had received the faith, and St. Gall, in Switzerland, bears the name of "Sanctus Gallus," the Holy Irishman, who made it a religious center. Irish missionaries took in hand the northern islands and the Highlands, and began to supply among the English themselves the lack of service on the part of the Roman mission which Gregory had founded in Kent.

On the west of Scotland the low barren island of Iona has to-day among its gneiss rocks some ruins among which the piety of the tourist may well grow warmer. Here Columba, an Irish missionary, built on the barren rock a monastery at nearly the time (597) when Gregory, possibly "provoked" by what he was learning of Irish zeal, placed Augustine at Canterbury to preach and rear the Church among the regions of the

unbelieving. Columba's house was a home and a school of religion, a light that served well upon a dreary coast. Oswald, who followed upon the throne of Northumbria that noble Edwin who had been the first to welcome Christianity in the north, and who had gone down in battle before the Welsh Cadwallon, being in his youth driven from his realm by the terrible Penda, found with these Irishmen a refuge, and better, a Christian training.

When recalled to the kingdom, he invited to accompany him a missionary from Iona. "Stiff-necked savages, that cannot be converted!" was this brother's sorry report of Oswald's people. "Was it their stubbornness or your severity?" tenderly asked a listening teacher. "Did you forget God's word about giving them the milk first and then the meat?" The speaker, Aidan, was sent to try the task after his own fashion, gentler but more effectual.

At the north-east corner of the England of to-day, on Holy Island—an island now at high tide, and a peninsula at low—he fixed his residence. His comrades went forth on various routes, Chad westward, Melrose northward. Aidan himself, on foot, went preaching through Yorkshire and Northumbria. Oswald went with him, and by his education at Iona rendered Aidan's Gaelic into the Englisc of the peasants. It was a labor new to Saxon kings—to all kings—but Oswald was *regissimus*, a very kingly king.

There were in those days noble Saxon rulers. As Ethelfrith in warlike prowess, and Edwin in law and government, so Oswald in piety. Moral force carries our conceptions of kingship to a goodly height. To gather these qualities and hold them—all at once to be warrior, ruler, and saint—was left for Alfred. Yet Oswald was a warrior. Before him and his small force went down Cadwallon, the last great Welshman of those ages, on "Heaven's Field," so called because it was the first battle-field on which an English king had entered with prayer. For nine years he bore sway successfully. So often were the hands of this first English convert by Irish evangelists upturned in praise or prayer, that such attitude became his unconscious muscular habit. When once he sat to dine with Aidan, his *thegn* (servant) told him of hungry people at the door. Oswald sent them his own meat, and bade his silver dish be broken and

divided among them. Aidan seized the king's hand and blessed it. "May this hand never grow old!" was his prayer. Seven years later Oswald fell in battle at Maserfeld, delivering East Anglia from the heathen Penda. His body was mutilated, but the legend tells how, when the rest of it had long returned to corruption, the hand embalmed in Aidan's blessing remained white and incorruptible.

The Gospel, thus brought to Northumbria by Aidan and cherished by Oswald, came to stay. The region was to abide by the faith of the Cross. Penda, who, like the very Antichrist, let and would let until he should be taken out of the way, reached Bamborough, within sight of Aidan's home. Piling into a heap the cottages outside its wall, he set the mass on fire to burn the town. Aidan cried unto God: "See, Lord, what ill Penda is doing!" There was a change of wind; the smoke and flame came back to blind and baffle those who had kindled them. There was better gain, for Penda's own son was baptized. Oswi, Oswald's successor, unable to buy peace of Penda, vowed to found, with that same money, twelve houses like Aidan's. Penda's army perished in crossing the river at Leeds, in front of Oswi, and the remnant of the old heathenism was swept away forever.

Another Irish evangelist appears, a simple, lowly man, Ceadda (St. Chad) of Lichfield. His death-legend shows the first working of Celtic leaven in the solid Saxon thought. "The voices of singers singing sweetly came from heaven down to the little cell by St. Mary's Church, where the bishop lay dying. Then the same song went up from the roof again, and back heavenward by the way that it came." This was the soul of Cedd, a brother gone to rest before him, and now come with a choir of angels to comfort the dying bed of the self-renouncing bishop. How easy this transition from the "sylphs" of the warm, bright Celtic mythology to the ministering spirits of the Christian verities—so far and yet so near!

The man who most exactly spans the gap between Celt and Saxon—who received the fullness of Gaelic glow in a hard, practical, English nature, who felt the bravery of color, tone, and dash, yet was moved by the sturdy instinct that counts and grasps and builds—was Cuthbert. His piety, his talents, and his toils shed fame on the region that was twelve hundred years

later brightened by the genius of Walter Scott. He was born in Northumbria, but, as it now is, in Scotland, near its southern border. His youthful shelter was a widow's house at Langholm, in the region of the Teviot and the Tweed. Early he showed within a sturdy Saxon frame the lively, poetic sensibility of the Gaelic temperament. Some word caught in a sportive game aroused him to think of higher than boyish things, and his thoughts were long, long thoughts. A traveler in a white mantle coming over the hill-side, and stopping to care for Cuthbert's injured knee, seemed to him a ministering angel. As he, in mood not unlike the young psalmist, followed the sheep along the Cheviot hills, he saw meteors by night flash out and then return into the infinite. To him they were sylphs, ministering angels, escorting homeward and heavenward the soul of the ever blest Aidan. These poetic longings and sensibilities at length marshaled themselves to an earnest, toilsome, religious life, which they filled with light and tone and joy.

Where now for so long has been that witchery of ruin, "Pale Melrose," was in Cuthbert's youth a group of log cabins in a wild, marshy solitude. This was one of the centers of the Irish missionaries, and in time it became the territory of four flourishing abbeys. Years later Melrose Abbey was built, and the crossing-place of the Tweed, not far away on the Edinburgh road, was the Abbot's Ford. Cuthbert joined these missionaries, and at first serving, then sharing, came at last to guide their labors. This was then a dreary region. The rudest of Saxons, "Border-ruffians," were living in huts "all down Teviotdale." To-day the toil of many generations has made here a smiling land, and many a stirring event, the theme of border minstrelsy, has made it the haunt of poetry and romance. The Saxon peasantry were sufficiently barbarous. Under Oswald they had professed Christianity, but they had not forgotten their old gods, and to these they had recourse in times of trouble. In the new faith they were weak, were converts in hardly more than name. Some rafts of timber for an abbey at the mouth of the Tyne (let us remember the abbeys were schools rather than monasteries), floating down the river, drifted with the monks working upon them out to sea. "Let nobody pray for them!" cried the ruthless throng on shore. "Let nobody pity these men! They took away from us our

old worship, and how their new-fangled customs are to be kept nobody knows." Among these fierce unbelievers lay Cuthbert's task of love and patience. The ruder and more remote their dwellings, the more readily he turned his feet thither. He suffered their manners and shared their poverty. He could tell them in their own tongue wherein they were born, with the "bur-r" still found in the speech of the region, the glad-tidings that his sweeter-spoken Irish brethren communicated toilfully through interpreters. His bodily frame was built for the life that he was leading. His wit and sweetness, his patience and his plain, strong sense, told for him upon his humble listeners. When night-fall in the waste once found his little company supperless, "Never yet," said he, "did man die of hunger, who served God faithfully. Look at that eagle overhead! God can feed us through him, if he will." The bird, as in fright, just then dropped a fish from its talons, and the company was not supperless. A snow-storm drove his boat on the coast of Fife. "The snow closes the road along the shore," said his comrades, sadly; "the storm bars the way over the sea." "There is still the way of heaven open," quietly said Cuthbert.

This apostle of the Lowlands thus truly represents the coming upon the Saxon character of the livelier Celtic element which was in Britain before it, and for the union of the two, as middle-term, or *mordant*, the Christian faith thus did peculiar service. The religious houses that now rose in Northumbria were gathered around some devout and illustrious personage, as the Gaelic clans around their several chieftains. This clan system of the Celts was their infirmity; it was little better than the tribal system of our Indians. The Irish tenantry of to-day suffer evils which are the lineal sequence of that early clan-life, the landlord having replaced the chieftain. The clan system was narrow and personal, allowing no political unity such as constitutes a state, and it proved baleful to the Church. Quarrels of clans scattered ruinously the Irish churches at home. Here, now, in this region where Aidan had labored, and Cuthbert had entered into his labors, Oswi, who had been the true friend and helper of the Irish missionaries, was led to prefer the more substantial territorial system of Rome, and Colman, the last successor of such men as Patrick, Aidan, and Ceadda, left

Northumbria and "Holy Island," and with all the Irish brethren in his train went back to Iona, whence the earliest missionaries had come about eighty years before. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, then organized the churches which these faithful men had formed, as he did also the general English Church, into the system which is still retained, territorial rather than personal, feudal rather than clannish, with definite parishes, fixed incomes, and correlated authorities.

It was after a stay thus brief that the Gael vanished from the north of England, but his special influence remained. It had been as sunshine upon the vague, sad, resolute souls of the hard toilers and fierce to whom its errand was directed. Under Oswi's rule, while these men were yet speaking, and as if roused by the music of their lips, arose like one heaving his head from slumber, Cadmon, the first of our long line of English poets. What the Gaels did for Cuthbert in religion, they did in poetry for Cadmon. The place to tell his story is not here; it belongs distinctively to English literature. It is, however, not out of place to follow further the religion and literature of this region where we find the most energetic contact between Celt and English.

In Northumbria, under the impulse given by the Irish missionaries, caught and transmitted by Cuthbert and Cadmon, and fostered by the noble abbess of the house at Whitby where Edwin and Oswi were buried, learning grew, because religion flourished. As language gives the sum of a people's intellectual movements, so the dialect of Northumbria developed a capacity for all uses of poetry and eloquence. It became a vehicle adequate to all thought. Egbert, who was directing a great school at York (700), was urged by Beda to require all the scholars, and (as he was archbishop) all priests and people, to learn by heart the Lord's Prayer and the Apostles' Creed "in their own tongue, if they do not know Latin." Not one in a thousand knew Latin, and Beda, with whose great name English literature begins, gave to priest and people these Christian elements in their own born speech. As far as known, these sacred fragments are the first written English, and the new music of their recital took the place of Gaelic and Latin. Northumbria (or Anglia, having been settled by Angles) gave thus from her dialect the first "book-speech." Her Saxon

neighbors, reading and reciting these, gradually shaped their dialects after hers, and even gave them the name of hers—Englisc. This literary pioneer of the dialects, naming thus the general speech, passed to the land and then to the people thereof. A hundred years after Beda's death Egbert, of Wessex, took the title of "King of the English," in place of "Overlord of Britain," to indicate his authority from the Frith of Forth to the British Channel.

This "Englisc" is singularly retained in the Lowlands of Scotland. A century before the Conquest the throne of North Anglia was given to Kenneth, of the Scoti (Irish), and the name "Scotch" passed from the family to the land and the language. Scotch literature begins with Harry Dunbar, and from him to Robert Burns—four centuries—its poetry kept closely the primal dialect. Nor is "broad Scotch" unknown in our day. A store of "Englisc" literature was soon gathered. Here in Northumbria came to be found translations of Scripture, books of devotion, and even old heroic poems. Here the Beowulf was at least revised, if not first reduced to writing.

Then upon this garden which the Gaels had planted and their converts had watered fell a killing frost. In the regions over sea from which all English had come, kings were ruling with an iron hand. Bold, restless men chose adventure, piracy, and war, before peaceful obedience at home; nor did their rulers regret to lose them. A Harold steered to Iceland, then green and fertile, and founded a state for centuries prosperous and for centuries decaying, until it is now ready to vanish. Others, under the flag of the Black Raven—some from the Norwegian fiords, some from the Frisian sandbanks, but all called Danes—burst upon England. They were of the same blood as their victims, and needed no interpreter. It was the coming of wild beasts upon tame of the same species. First was carnage, then quiet, then unity. But the carnage was terrible. When in their black war-boats the Danes reached homes or towns, these were burned, men slain, women enslaved, children tossed on pikes, priests cut down at the altar, and monks penned in their blazing monasteries. The old heathen England of Denmark came to wipe out the better England of Britain; and when Edmund was shot to death by their arrows

the three centuries since Hengist seemed to vanish, and wild barbarism threatened to waste the land.

As we used the word *brave* to illustrate one side of the Celtic character, so might we illustrate one side of the character of the sailors under the Black Raven. *Havoc* is a terrible word, and it comes to us from those who burned, after slaughter and pillage, the centers of piety and learning at Ely, Crowland, and Peterborough; who martyred St. Edmund, and beat to death with bones of oxen Alfheah, archbishop of Canterbury. Yet the same word, *Havelock*, "Hawk" (Sir Henry), himself in the line of these *Vikings*, "Warriors from over Sea," was worn by one of the noblest of our day. At a later day these invaders, tamed by the great Alfred and his family, became a peaceful, order-loving, and energetic element in the east of England. At the wedding of the Prince of Wales the laureate sang:

> "Celtic and Norman and Saxon are we;
> But all shall be Danes in our welcome of thee."

A thousand years ago a Danish arrival was deprecated with prayer and fasting, as a visitation of the divine displeasure.

The errand of the Danes to Northumbria was precisely opposite to the errand of the Gaels. These latter came as evangelists; those former, as destroyers. Yet the Gaels never assimilated with those to whom they came. They did their good work and departed, and even the form of their work did not long remain, though its spirit did remain. The Danes melted, and were lost in the general population only as they added to its volume and power. The rising Englisc did not take a usage of grammar or hardly a single word from the Gaelic. Its few actually taken either remained unnaturalized, as *pibroch*, *slogan*, aliens still, or, like *crag*, are of later taking. The Danes contributed few special words, but they effectually marked our grammar. The Englisc had six declensions and four cases. The Danes enforced one terminating case, the possessive, and to that our English came. They shaped the general speech of Northumbria, so that to-day the mountaineer of Norway can communicate with the peasantry of the North of England, and Scotch Lowlanders are not "barbarians" to Danes. "*Han said til dem, Folger efter mig*," and "He said

to them, Follow after me," are of family likeness, as sisters should be.

Perhaps a word is still needed to show why the Danes are introduced into this essay when its title should exclude them, since our English did not find them in Britain. They serve us here as a foil and a contrast. The Celts were of alien race; the Danes were kindred. The Celts came as evangelists; the Danes as destroyers. The Celts departed like shadows; the Danes came to stay. The Celts affected our literature; the Danes our language. The Celts brought us color, dash, music; the Danes brought the fierce, sad energy of which we had already too much. The Danes of England have long been undistinguishable; the Celts, whether Cymrig or Gaelic, after thirteen centuries, seem un-English still, resisting assimilation, and yielding, yet unconsenting, to the influences of trade, law, and education, which are sure to prevail with the process of the suns.

Art. V.—AGASSIZ AND HIS WORK.*

Louis Agassiz was born in the village of Motier, Switzerland, in the year 1807, the son of a clergyman, and of the daughter of a physician. During his first ten years he was taught by his parents; the next four were passed at a school in Bienne. It had been the intention of his parents that he should enter the commercial house of his uncle at Neufchâtel, but he was permitted to continue two additional years at the College of Lausanne, and then the commercial plan was abandoned altogether. After this, following the advice of another uncle, his parents sent him to the medical school at Zürich.

But even as a student "the naturalist was stronger in him than the doctor." In an autobiographic sketch of his university career, he tells us that while attending at Lausanne his first course of lectures in zoology, he became aware "that the learned differ in classification;" this discovery opened an immense field of study before him, by which he might be able to tell where the truth lay.

* *Louis Agassiz: His Life and Correspondence.* Edited by Elizabeth Cary Agassiz. In Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 794. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

From Zürich, he went to the University of Heidelberg. He had not yet obtained his degree, and therefore was still obliged to devote part of his time to the study of medicine, though much more interested in zoology and paleontology.

In 1827, a youth of twenty, and with his medical diploma still unattained, we find him at the University of Munich, drawn thither by the fame of its instruction in the natural sciences, to which he had now become almost exclusively devoted. But his parents were not satisfied, and insisted that he should take his medical degree. "I have had," writes his father, "a long talk about you with your uncle. He insists, as we do, on the necessity of a settled profession as absolutely essential to your financial position." This uncle was a brother of his mother, the head of a commercial house at Neufchâtel, who had loaned the money for the education of his nephew.

In 1828, while still a student in Munich, Agassiz published the first work which gave him distinction in the scientific world—a description of the Brazilian fishes brought home by Martius and Spix from their celebrated journey in Brazil. It was written in Latin and dedicated to Cuvier. To his sister he wrote:

In 1817 the king of Bavaria sent two naturalists, M. Martius and M. Spix, on an exploring expedition to Brazil. . . . In 1821 these gentlemen returned to their country laden with new discoveries, which they published in succession. M. Martius issued colored illustrations of all the unknown plants he had collected on his journey, while M. Spix brought out several folio volumes on the monkeys, birds, and reptiles of Brazil; the animals being drawn and colored, chiefly life-size, by able artists. It had been M. Spix's intention to give a complete natural history of Brazil, but to the sorrow of all naturalists, he died in 1826. M. Martius, desirous to see the completion of the work which his traveling companion had began, engaged a professor from Erlanger to publish the shells, and these appeared last year. When I came to Munich there remained only the fishes and insects, and M. Martius, who had learned something about me from the professors to whom I was known, found me worthy to continue the work of Spix, and asked me to carry on the natural history of the fishes. I hesitated for a long time to accept this honorable offer, fearing that the occupation might draw me too much from my studies; but, on the other hand, the opportunity for laying the foundation of a reputation by a large undertaking seemed too favorable to be refused. The first volume is already finished, and the printing was begun some weeks ago. You can imagine the

pleasure I should have had in sending it to our dear father and mother before they had heard one word about it, or even knew of the proposition. But I hope the premature disclosure of my secret (indeed, to tell the truth, I had not imposed silence on M. Schinz, not dreaming that he would see any one of the family) will not diminish your pleasure in receiving the first work of your brother Louis, which I hope to send you at Easter. Already forty colored folio plates are completed. Will it not seem strange when the largest and finest book in papa's library is one written by his Louis? Will it not be as good as to see his prescription at the apothecary's? It is true that this first effort will bring me in but little—nothing at all, in fact, because M. Martius has assumed all the expenses, and will, of course, receive the profits. My share will be a few copies of the book, and these I shall give to the friends who have the first claim.—*Life and Correspondence*, pp. 79–81.

At this time Louis is still willing to continue his medical studies and secure his diploma, but writes to his father:

I occupy myself chiefly with natural sciences. I hope yet to prove to you that with a brevet of Doctor as guarantee, Natural History may be a man's bread-winner as well as the delight of his life.—Page 82.

He hoped that this first volume of the Brazilian Fishes would secure him a name among scientists; the work of finishing another volume awaited him in the near future, and already his fertile brain was planning new works: one, the natural history of the fresh-water fishes of Switzerland and Germany; the other, a general work on fossil ichthyology. We have not space to give a letter which would show that his medical studies did not suffer from the fact that in conjunction with them he was carrying on his two great works on the living and the dead world of fishes. In 1830 he received his medical degree.

He had now to commence his career in the great world; of his prospects as he viewed them, he writes:

The time had come when even the small allowance I received from borrowed capital must cease. I was now twenty-four years of age. I was Doctor of Philosophy and of Medicine, and author of a quarto volume on the fishes of Brazil. I had traveled on foot all over southern Germany, visited Vienna, and explored extensive tracts of the Alps. I knew every animal, living and fossil, in the Museums of Munich, Stuttgart, Tübingen, Erlanger, Warzburg, Carlsruhe, and Frankfort; but my prospects were as

dark as ever, and I saw no hope of making my way in the world, except by the practical pursuit of my profession as physician. So at the close of 1830 I left the University and went home, with the intention of applying myself to the practice of medicine, confident that my theoretic information and my training in the art of observing would carry me through the new ordeal I was about to meet.—Page 157.

His bright day-dreams, in which natural history was to be his bread-winner, had faded: no professorship of natural history had yet been offered him, nor had he been sent by government upon any scientific exploring expedition; yet these studies had not lost their glamour. During the year spent quietly at home he continued the two works already projected, and was not without "patients in the village and its environs." But the naturalist in him was not at ease; already his longings were drawing him to Paris—"the great center of scientific life"—where he might hope for the widest field for comparison and research. Arrived in Paris, his scientific life overshadows his professional one. Henceforth we see him as the naturalist alone—not that he gave up his medical studies altogether, but turned his attention more and still more, as the years went on, to the pursuit of natural history.

The study of fishes was his first scientific love. While yet a little boy he would catch fishes in the lake at the side of his home, using neither "hook, net, nor line," but carefully hunting for them. His hunting ground was the holes and crevices beneath the stones, or in the water-washed wall of the lake shore. No shelter into which his curious finger could penetrate formed for them a safe retreat. He even acquired such dexterity that, when bathing, "he could seize the fish in the open water." These captives, while still alive, were carried by him to the stone basin under the fountain in the back yard, and in this reservoir their habits were carefully watched. When engaged upon one of his great ichthyological treatises, he said:

What I know of the habits of the fresh-water fishes of Central Europe I mostly learned at that time; and I may add, that when afterward I obtained access to a large library, and could consult the works of Bloch and Lacépède, the only extensive works on fishes then in existence, I wondered that they contained so little about their habits, natural aptitudes, and modes of action, with which I was so familiar.—Page 146.

The investigation of living fishes seems to have drawn him to the study of fossil ones, and assisted him in this study. In a letter to Humboldt he tells how his classification of fishes, unconsciously to himself, *built itself up.* The investigation of living fishes had suggested a new classification, and one which he thought more natural, based upon other considerations than those hitherto brought forward.

I did not at first lay any special stress on my classification. . . . My object was only to utilize certain structural characters which frequently recur among fossil forms, and which therefore might enable me to determine remains hitherto considered of little value. . . . Absorbed in the special investigation, I paid no heed to the edifice which was meanwhile unconsciously building itself up. Having, however, completed the comparison of the fossil species, I wanted, for the sake of an easy revision of the same, to make a list according to their succession in geological formations, with a view of determining the characteristics more exactly, and bringing them by their enumeration into bolder relief. What was my joy and surprise to find that the simplest enumeration of the fossil fishes, according to their geological succession, was also a complete statement of the natural relations of the families among themselves; that one might, therefore, read the genetic development of the history of the whole class in the history of creation; in one word, that the genetic succession of the fishes corresponds perfectly with their zoological classification, and with just that classification proposed by me. The question, therefore, is . . . one of distinct structural relations, carried through all these formations according to a definite direction, following each other in an appointed order, and recognizable in the organisms as they are brought forth.—Pages 203, 204.

We have seen that while still a student he published the Brazilian Fishes; and also began his two great ichthyological works on Fresh-Water Fishes and on Fossil Fishes. At that time Baron Cuvier was the great scientific authority on fishes. It was a proud day for Agassiz, a young man of twenty-five, when Cuvier reposed a great trust in him. This trust he describes in a letter to his doctor-uncle:

Last Saturday I was passing the evening there (at Cuvier's home), and we were talking of science, when he desired his secretary to bring him a certain portfolio of drawings. He showed me the contents; they were drawings of fossil fishes, and notes he had taken in the British Museum and elsewhere. After looking it through with me, he said he had seen with satisfaction the manner in which I had treated this subject; that I had indeed

anticipated him, since he had intended at some future time to do the same thing; but that, as I had given it so much attention, and had done my work so well, he had decided to renounce his project, and to place at my disposition all the materials he had collected and all the preliminary notes he had made.—Pages 166, 167.

The acceptance of this trust imposed the preparation of no new book upon Agassiz, but greatly enlarged his plan of the Fossil Fishes, and increased the value of the work. His father, delighted at his son's early recognition by the great *savant*, wrote: "Tell me, now that you are intrusted with the portfolio of M. Cuvier, as much about your work as you think I can understand, which will not be a great deal, after all."

The son answered by a letter which is simply an elementary treatise on geology, closing with this paragraph:

> The aim of our researches upon fossil animals is to ascertain what beings have lived at each one of these (geological) epochs of creation, and to trace their characters and their relations with those now living; in one word, to make them live again in our thought. It is especially the fishes that I try to restore for the eyes of the curious, by showing them which ones have lived in each epoch, what were their forms, and, if possible, by drawing some conclusions as to their probable modes of life. You will better understand the difficulty of my work when I tell you that in many species I have only a single tooth, a scale, a spine, as my guide in the reconstruction of all these characters, although sometimes we are fortunate enough to find species with the fins and the skeletons complete.—Pages 180, 181.

"Mere guess-work," thinks the reader. An occasional, unexpected opportunity of verifying these conclusions convinced Agassiz of their general correctness, and may convince the reader of these pages that they were carefully wrought-out—not guessed-out—conclusions. A study of the Lepidostens among fossil fishes led him to detect the reptilian character of the type, and to see from the articulation of the vertebræ that the head of the creature, when alive, must have moved more freely on the trunk than do the heads of modern fishes. Afterward, in North America, he met the gar-pike among living fishes, and found that it was a representative of the Lepidostens, which he had once supposed to be extinct. To his great delight, "it moved its head to the right and left, and upward, as a Saurian does, and as no other fish can."

His introduction to Fossil Fishes, shows the simultaneous

appearance of the four great types of the animal kingdom—the radiates, mollusks, articulates, and vertebrates. His classification teaches the orderly development of the class by which the vertebrate type was first expressed—the fishes; he shows that the Placoids and Ganoids, with their combination of reptilian and fish-like features, characterized the earlier geological epochs; while in the later the simple bony fishes take the ascendency.

The technicalities of this work, at once so comprehensive in its combinations and so minute in its details, could interest only the professional reader [for whom we are not writing], but its generalizations may well have a certain kind of attraction to the uninitiated. It treats of the relations—anatomical, zoological, and geological—between the whole class of fishes, fossil and living, illustrating them by numerous plates, while additional light is thrown on the whole by the revelations of embryology.—Page 241.

But leaving these technicalities to the professional reader, let us study some of his general conclusions:

Notwithstanding striking differences, it is evident to the attentive observer that one single idea has presided over the development of the whole class, and that all the deviations lead back to a primary plan, so that even if the thread seem broken in the present creation, one can reunite it in reaching the domain of fossil ichthyology.—Page 241.

He taught development, but not according to the Darwinian theory. To him development meant development in plan as expressed in structure, not the change of one structure into another. [What about "plan," as contradistinguished from *structure?*] To his apprehension the change was based upon intellectual, not upon material, causes.

Such facts proclaim aloud principles not yet discussed in science, but which paleontological researches place before the eyes of the observer with an ever-increasing persistency. I speak of the relations of the creation with the Creator. Phenomena closely allied in the order of their succession, and yet without sufficient cause in themselves for their appearance—an infinite diversity of species without any common material bond, so grouping themselves as to present the most admirable progressive development to which our own species is linked—are these not incontestable proofs of the existence of a superior Intelligence whose power alone could have established such an order of things? . . . More than fifteen hundred species of fossil fishes, which I have learned to know, tell me that species do not pass insensibly one into another, but that they appear and disappear unexpectedly, without direct

relations with their precursors. . . . All these species have a fixed epoch of appearance and disappearance; their existence is even limited to an appointed time. . . . An invisible thread unwinds itself throughout all time across this immense diversity, and presents to us as a definite result a continual progress in the development of which man is the term, of which the four classes of vertebrates are intermediate forms, and the totality of invertebrate animals the constant accessory accompaniment.—Pages 244, 245.

These theories of development he never changed. Just before his death, he undertook a series of papers to be published in the "Atlantic Monthly" on "Evolution and Permanence of Type." These papers were never completed. They were to have contained his own convictions regarding the connection between all living beings, upon which his studies had led to conclusions so different from the philosophy of the day. Of these papers only one was finished. It was his last work upon science. The correction of the proof-sheets was the last act of his working life, and the article was published after his death. In it he claimed that the law of evolution—in a certain sense as true to him as to any so-called "evolutionist"—was a law "controlling development, and keeping types within appointed cycles of growth." He maintained that this law acts within definite limits, and never infringes upon the great types, each one of which is, in his view, a structural unit in itself. He adds:

Even metamorphoses have all the constancy and invariability of other modes of embryonic growth, and have never been known to lead to any transition of one species into another. . . . There is nothing more striking in the whole book of nature than the power shown by types and species to resist physical conditions. . . . One thing only we know absolutely, and in this treacherous, marshy ground of hypothesis and assumption, it is pleasant to plant one's foot occasionally upon a solid fact here and there. Whatever be the means of preserving and transmitting properties, the primitive types have remained permanent and unchanged, in the long succession of ages, amid all the appearance and disappearance of kinds, the fading away of one species and the coming in of another, from the earliest geological periods to the present day. How these types were first introduced, how the species which have successively represented them have replaced one another—these are the vital questions to which no answer has been given. We are as far from any satisfactory solution of the problem as if development theories had never been discussed.—Pages 778–780.

We turn our attention next to a sketch of his glacial researches, and to some account of the conclusions he reached:

The summer of 1836 was an eventful one for Agassiz—the opening, indeed, of a new and brilliant chapter in his life. The attention of the ignorant and the learned had alike been called to the singular glacial phenomena of movement and transportation in the Alpine valleys. The peasant had told his strange story of bowlders carried on the back of the ice, of the alternate retreat and advance of glaciers, now shrinking to narrower limits, now plunging forward into adjoining fields, by some unexplained power of expansion and contraction. Scientific men were awake to the interest of these facts, but had considered them only as local phenomena. Venetz and Charpentier were the first to detect their wider significance. The former traced the ancient limits of the Alpine glaciers as defined by the frame-work of *débris* or loose material they had left behind them; Charpentier went further, and affirmed that all the erratic bowlders scattered over the plains of Switzerland and on the sides of the Jura had been thus distributed by ice, and not by water, as had been supposed. —Pages 260, 261.

Agassiz was doubtful of this theory. Needing a vacation, he decided to spend it in the valley of the Rhone, and examine in this place the theories of Charpentier. "He went expecting to confirm his own doubts, and to disabuse his friend of his error; . . . he came away satisfied that a too narrow interpretation of the phenomena was Charpentier's only mistake."—Page 261.

When the Helvetic Association assembled at Neufchâtel, in the following summer, the young president, from whom the members had expected to hear new tidings of fossil fishes, startled them by the presentation of a glacial theory in which the local erratic phenomena of the Swiss valleys assumed a cosmic significance. In this address he announced his conviction that a great ice-period, due to a temporary oscillation of the temperature of the globe, had covered the surface of the earth with a sheet of ice, extending at least from the north pole to Central Europe and Asia. He said:

Siberian winter established itself for a time over a world previously covered with a rich vegetation and peopled with large mammalia, similiar to those now inhabiting the warm regions of India and Africa. Death enveloped all nature in a shroud, and the cold, having reached its highest degree, gave to this mass of ice, at the maximum of tension, the greatest possible hardness.—Page 264.

The winter of 1840 was fully occupied by the preparation for the publication of the "Etudes sur les Glaciers," which appeared before the year was out, accompanied by an atlas of thirty-two plates. The volume of text consisted of an historical *résumé* of all that had been previously done in the study of the glaciers, followed by an account of the observations of Agassiz and his companions during the last three or four years upon the glaciers of the Alps. Their structure, external aspect, needles, tables, perched blocks, gravel cones, rifts and crevasses, as well as their movements, mode of formation, and internal temperature, were treated in succession. But the most interesting chapters, from the author's own point of view, and those which were most novel for his readers, were the concluding ones upon the ancient extension of the Swiss glaciers, and upon the former existence of an immense unbroken sheet of ice, which had once covered the whole northern hemisphere. No one before had drawn such vast conclusions from the local phenomena of the Alpine valleys. 'The surface of Europe,' says Agassiz, 'adorned before by a tropical vegetation, and inhabited by troops of large elephants, enormous hippopotami, and gigantic carnivora, was suddenly buried under a vast mantle of ice, covering alike plains, lakes, seas, and plateaus. Upon the life and movement of a powerful creation fell the silence of death. Springs paused, rivers ceased to flow, the rays of the sun, rising upon this frozen shore (if, indeed, it was reached by them), were met only by the breath of winter from the north and the thunders of the crevasses as they opened across the surface of the icy sea.' The author goes on to state that on the breaking up of this icy shroud the ice must have lingered longest in mountainous strongholds, and that all these fastnesses of retreat became, as the Alps are now, centers of distribution for the broken *débris* and rocky fragments which are found scattered with a kind of regularity along certain lines and over given areas in northern and central Europe.—Pages 295–297.

No wonder that scientific men who had given these subjects careful consideration, and who had expounded these phenomena upon the principle of floods, freshets, and floating ice, should treat these new views with indignation and even with contempt; nor that others more interested in his work on fishes should beg him to stick to his chosen subjects and let these theories alone. Agassiz had had a view of what he felt to be the truth; he could not keep silent, nor refrain from investigation. He did not then know that new views, if founded upon that truth, would commend themselves gradually to final acceptation. The time came when he could smile at the difficulties which first beset his theory of glaciers, and feel that the scientific world had accepted it.

His study of the Alpine valleys taught him the "handwriting of the glacier;" he knew the grooved, polished, scratched surface it left in its path; it became as legible to him as the hieroglyphic to an Egyptian scholar. Henceforth he hunted for these marks, as the hunter watches for the track of a wild animal whose foot-prints have grown familiar to him. He found them, as he had expected, in the highlands of Scotland, the hilly lake country of England, the mountains of Wales and Ireland.

When in after years he had an opportunity to examine various parts of North America about New York, Brooklyn, Boston, Lake Superior, Maine, he read the same tale. "To me," he says, "who have been so many years familiar with these phenomena in Alpine valleys (paradoxical as the statement may seem), the presence of the ice is now an unimportant element in glacial phenomena; no more essential than is the flesh to the anatomist who studies the skeleton of a fossil fish." He even obtained direct proof that the prairies of the West rest upon polished rock, happening to have seen the native rock, when laid bare for building purposes, as distinctly furrowed by the action of the glacier, and by its engraving process, "as the Handek, or the slopes of the Jura."

There was, however, one kind of evidence wanting to remove all doubt that the greater extension of glaciers in former ages was connected with cosmic changes in the physical condition of our globe.

All the phenomena relating to the glacial period must be found in the southern hemisphere, accompanied by the same characteristic features as in the north, but with this essential difference—that every thing must be reversed. The trend of the glacial abrasions must be from the south northward, the lee-side of abraded rocks must be on the north side of the hills and mountain ranges, and the bowlders must have traveled from the south to their present position. Whether this be so or not, has not yet been ascertained by direct observation.—Page 694.

Afterward Agassiz had an opportunity to make personal inquiry into these questions, and his decision was that in the Strait of Magellan

Every characteristic feature known in the Alps as the work of the glaciers was easily recognizable here, and as perfectly preserved as anywhere in Switzerland. The rounded knolls to which De Saussure first gave the name of *roches moutonnèes* were

smoothed, polished, scratched, and grooved in the direction of the ice movement, the marks running mostly from south to north, or nearly so.—Page 728.

This sheet of ice (a glacier in Magellan's Strait), even in its present reduced extent, is about a mile in width, several miles in length, and at least two hundred feet in depth. Moving forward as it does ceaselessly, and armed below with a gigantic file consisting of stones, pebbles, and gravel, firmly set in ice, who can wonder that it should grind, furrow, round, and polish the surfaces over which it slowly drags its huge weight. At once destroyer and fertilizer, it uproots and blights hundreds of trees in its progress, yet feeds a forest at its feet with countless streams; it grinds the rocks to powder in its merciless mill, and then sends them down, a fructifying soil, to the wooded shore below.—Page 732.

Respecting the place of glaciers in the economy of nature, he remarks:

One naturally asks, What was the use of this great engine set at work ages ago to grind, furrow, and knead over, as it were, the surface of the earth? We have our answer in the fertile soil which spreads over the temperate regions of the globe. The glacier was God's great plow: and when the ice vanished from the face of the land it left it prepared for the hand of the husbandman. The hard surface of the rocks was ground to powder, the elements of the soil were mingled in fair proportions, granite was carried into the lime regions, lime was mingled with the more arid and unproductive granite districts, and a soil was prepared fit for the agricultural uses of man. I have been asked whether this inference was not inconsistent with the fact that a rich vegetation preceded the ice period—a vegetation sufficiently abundant to sustain the tropical animals then living throughout the temperate regions. But the vegetation which has succeeded the ice-period is of a different character, and one that could not have flourished on a soil that would nourish a more tropical growth.

The soil we have now over the temperate zone is a grain-growing soil—one especially adapted to those plants most necessary to the higher development and social organizations of the human race. Therefore I think we may believe that God did not shroud the world he had made in snow and ice without a purpose, and that this, like many other operations of his providence, seemingly destructive and chaotic in its first effects, is nevertheless a work of beneficence and order.—*Geological Sketches*, Second Series, p. 100.

In 1832 Agassiz became professor of natural history — a place created for him by his countrymen—in the institution at Neufchâtel. From the beginning his success as an instructor was undoubted.

He had indeed now entered upon the work which was to be the occupation and the delight of his life. Teaching was a passion with him, and his power over his pupils could be measured by his own enthusiasm.

Let us see him among the young:

Besides his classes at the Gymnasium Agassiz collected about him, by invitation, a small audience of friends and neighbors, to whom he lectured during the winter on botany, on zoology, on the philosophy of nature. The instruction was of the most familiar and informal character, and was continued in later years for his own children and the children of his friends. . . .

When it was impossible to give the lessons out of doors, the children were gathered around a large table, when each one had before him or her the specimens of the day, sometimes stones and fossils, sometimes flowers, fruit, or dried plants. To each child in succession was explained separately what had first been told to all collectively. The children took their own share in the instruction, and were themselves made to point out and describe that which had just been explained to them. They took home their collections, and, as a preparation for the next lesson, were often called upon to classify and describe some unusual specimen by their own unaided efforts. There was no tedium in the class. Agassiz's clear and attractive method of teaching awakened their own powers of observation in his little pupils, and to some at least opened permanent sources of enjoyment.—Pages 209–211.

He first addressed an American audience at the Lowell Institute, Boston, in 1846. As the institution was liberally endowed the entrance was free, and the tickets were distributed by lot. This audience, composed of strongly contrasted elements, and based upon purely democratic principles, had a marked attraction for Agassiz, who here, for the first time, came in contact with the general mass of the people.

Never was his power as a teacher more evident than in his first course of Lowell lectures. He was unfamiliar with the language, to the easy use of which his two or three visits in England, where most of his associates understood and spoke French, had by no means accustomed him. He would often have been painfully embarrassed but for his own simplicity of character. Thinking only of his subject and never of himself, when a critical pause came he patiently waited for the missing word, and rarely failed to find a phrase which was expressive, if not technically correct. . . . His foreign accent rather added a charm to his address, and the pauses in which he seemed to ask the forbearance of his audience, while he sought to translate his thought for them, enlisted their sympathy. Their courtesy never failed him. His

skill in drawing with chalk on the blackboard was also a great help to him and to them. When his English was at fault, he could nevertheless explain his meaning by illustrations so graphic that the spoken word was hardly missed. He said of himself that he was no artist, and that his drawing was accurate simply because the object existed in his mind so clearly. However this may be, it was always pleasant to watch the effect of his drawings on the audience. When showing, for instance, the correspondence of the articulate type, as a whole, with the metamorphoses of the higher insects, he would lead his listeners along the successive phases of insect development, talking as he drew and drawing as he talked, till suddenly the winged creature stood declared upon the blackboard almost as if it had burst then and there from the chrysalis, and the growing interest of his hearers culminated in a burst of delighted applause.—Pages 404–406.

In the summer of 1848 a party consisting of several of his special Harvard pupils and of some volunteer members, mostly naturalists, went with Agassiz on an expedition to examine the eastern and northern shores of Lake Superior:

Agassiz taught along the road. At evening, around the campfire, or when delayed by weather, he would give to his companions short and informal lectures, it might be on the forest about them, or on the erratic phenomena in the immediate neighborhood—on the terraces of the lake shore, or on the fish of its waters. His lecture-room, in short, was every-where; his apparatus a traveling blackboard and a bit of chalk; while his illustrations and specimens lay all around him wherever the party chanced to be. —Page 463.

In the Summer School of Natural History established at Penikese, in 1872, we see him successfully overcoming obstacles and arranging a place where teachers from our schools and colleges could make their vacations serviceable, both for work and recreation, by the direct study of nature. This scheme of education received its first impulse from Agassiz; younger friends took up the plan and carefully considered and discussed it, but nothing came of it till, in March, the Massachusetts Legislature made their annual visit to the Museum of Comparative Zoology. For the proposed school Agassiz possessed no means, no apparatus, no building, nor a site for one, yet with the undying fervor of his intellectual faith he urged upon the Legislature the embodiment of his ideal project as one of deep interest for science in general, and especially for schools and colleges throughout the land. A wealthy New York merchant read in

the evening paper the appeal spoken in the morning to the Massachusetts Legislature. During the next week he offered Agassiz the island of Penikese, in Buzzard's Bay, with the dwelling-house and barns upon it, as a site for such a school, and $50,000 for its endowment.

Mr. Anderson's gift was received toward the close of March. Before the school could be opened dormitories and laboratories were to be built, and working apparatus provided for fifty pupils and a large corps of teachers, yet the opening of the school was announced for July 8.

Agassiz left Boston on Friday, the 4th of July, for the island. At New Bedford he was met by a warning from the architect that it would be simply impossible to open the school at the appointed date. With characteristic disregard of practical difficulties he answered that it must be possible, for postponement was out of the question. He reached the island on Saturday, the 5th, in the afternoon. The aspect was certainly discouraging. The dormitory was up, but only the frame was completed; there were no floors, nor was the roof shingled. The next day was Sunday. Agassiz called the carpenters together. He told them the scheme was neither for money nor for the making of money; no personal gain was involved in it. It was for the best interests of education, and for that alone. Having explained the object and stated the emergency, he asked whether, under these circumstances, the next day was properly for rest or for work. They all answered, "For work." They accordingly worked the following day from dawn till dark, and at night-fall the floors were laid. On Monday, the 7th, the partitions were put up, dividing the upper story into two large dormitories, the lower into sufficiently convenient working-rooms. . . . When all was done, the large open rooms, with their fresh pine walls, floors, and ceilings, the rows of white beds down the sides, and the many windows looking to the sea, were pretty and inviting enough. If they somewhat resembled hospital wards, they were too airy and cheerful to suggest sickness either of body or of mind.—Page 770.

Agassiz had arranged no programme of exercises, trusting to the interest of the occasion to suggest what might best be said or done. But, as he looked upon his pupils gathered there to study nature with him, by an impulse as natural as it was unpremeditated, he called upon them to join in silently asking God's blessing on their work together. The pause was broken by an address no less fervent than its unspoken prelude.—Page 771.

Here we see Agassiz in an entirely new phase of teaching, among mature men and women, some of whom had been

teachers for years. In this school he not only taught the truths of nature, but taught his pupils how to teach them to their pupils:

> You will find the same elements of instruction all about you, wherever you may be teaching. You can take your classes out, and give them the same lessons, and lead them up to the same subjects you are yourselves studying here. And this mode of teaching children is so natural, so suggestive, so true. That is the charm of teaching from Nature herself. No one can warp her to suit his own views. She brings us back to absolute truth as often as we wander.—Page 775.

Among his assistants at this summer school were some of his oldest friends and colleagues—one, Professor Arnold Guyot, his comrade in earlier years, his companion in many an Alpine excursion. It is pleasant to picture an informal meeting at a little hill, which was their favorite sunset resort, while the whole community listened as these two friends, Agassiz and Guyot, told of their earlier glacial explorations, "one recalling what the other had forgotten, till the scenes lived again for themselves and became almost equally vivid for their listeners."

School girls and boys of to-day are reaping the benefits of the lessons in learning and in teaching given at this summer school at Penikese. If their teacher were not himself one of the pupils here, the influence of such instruction has filtered to him through many rills. The school at Penikese died with its founder, yet its spirit lives anew in many a sea-side laboratory, organized upon the same plan, in many summer schools in botany, and in many field classes of geology.

A few facts of Agassiz's life, to which we have not yet alluded, must close this sketch. He was no financier. "He could never be brought to believe that purely intellectual aims were not also financially sound." In order to have his ichthyological works properly illustrated he burdened himself with an expensive lithographic establishment, and kept for many years his special artist. At one time, just after Cuvier had intrusted his portfolio to his care, thus adding to his "scientific happiness," he felt "in constant terror lest he should be obliged to leave Paris, to give up his investigations on the fossil fishes, and stop work on the costly plates he had begun."

From this sacrifice an unexpected gift from Humboldt of 1,000 francs, a sum given to enable him to pursue his scientific studies "with serenity," saved him for awhile.

The first number of Fossil Fishes was brought out with this help, but the publication of the second, although the plates were finished, was embarrassing him; he could see no way to print a sufficient number of copies before the returns from the first should be paid in. Again scientific friends, knowing nothing of his special needs, came to the rescue. One thousand pounds sterling had been left to the London Geological Society that its interest might be spent "for the encouragement of the science of geology." This amount, known as the Wollaston Prize, was conferred by the society upon Agassiz's Fossil Fishes. This "unexpected honor" and "welcome aid" was received by him with "tears of relief and gratitude." "I need not," he says in a letter to the society, "be ashamed of my penury, since I have spent the little I had wholly in scientific researches."

In 1843 his affairs again reached a crisis. His glacier work and his costly researches in zoology, added to his lithographic establishment, had been beyond his means. In this extremity he wrote to the Prince of Canino:

> I have worked like a slave all winter to finish my Fossil Fishes. You will presently receive my fifteenth and sixteenth numbers. . . . Possibly when my work on the Fossil Fishes is completed the sale of some additional copies may help me to rise again. And yet I have not much hope of this, since all the attempts of my friends to obtain subscriptions for me in France and Russia have failed. . . . The French government takes no interest in work done out of Paris; in Russia such researches are looked upon with indifference. Do you think any position would be open to me in the United States, where I might earn enough to continue the publication of my unhappy books, which never pay their way because they do not meet the wants of the world? —Pages 362, 363.

Another letter to the same correspondent, two months later, announces an excellent piece of news from Humboldt. This savant had interested the king of Prussia in Agassiz's scientific pursuits, particularly the thought of a journey to America, and the king had granted him, for this object, 15,000 francs. He sailed for America in the summer of 1846.

Before coming to America he had planned for a course of

lectures, hoping as a public lecturer "to make additional provision for scientific expenses beyond the allowance he was to receive from the king of Prussia." He wrote to a friend in Europe soon after his arrival:

> Never did the future look brighter to me than now. If I could for a moment forget that I have a scientific mission to fulfill, to which I will never prove recreant, I could easily make more than enough by lectures, which are admirably paid, and are urged upon me, to put me at my ease hereafter. But I will limit myself to what I need to repay those who have helped me through a difficult crisis, and that I can do without even turning aside from my researches. Beyond that all must go again to science—there lies my true mission. I rejoice in what I have been able to do thus far, and I hope that at Berlin they will be satisfied at the results which I shall submit to competent judges on my return.—Page 431.

He never returned. But the Old World did not forget him. A call was received to the recently established University in Switzerland, and its acceptance urged upon the ground of patriotism; the chair of paleontology in the Museum of Natural History in Paris was also offered him, "but gratitude kept him in the New World, where he found such immense territory to explore and such liberal aid in his work."

Not the least attractive among these aids were the vessels of the Coast Survey, which were at his command from Nova Scotia to Mexico, or along the coast of the Pacific. As a guest on these vessels he studied the formation of our New England shores, the reefs of Florida and the Bahama Banks, undertook his first dredging experiments, and made his last long voyage around the continent from Boston to San Francisco.

Another attraction to America was the belief that he could here give form and substance "to the dream of his boyhood and the maturer purpose of his manhood"—the establishment of an ideal museum. In looking over the museums of the Old World, he saw how they failed of this ideal; how they were mere accumulations, gathered at immense expense in the great centers of civilization, yet affording "no clew to the great labyrinth of organic life." He recognized the great good done by the men who had accumulated them, acknowledged that they had done the best possible to them in their day and generation, yet contended that *we* have no longer the right to build after this fashion. "The originality and vigor of one generation become,"

said he, "the subservience and indolence of the next, if we only repeat the work of our predecessors." Let us see his sketch of the true ideal museum:

> If I mistake not, the great object of our museums should be, to exhibit the whole animal kingdom as a manifestation of the Supreme Intellect. Scientific investigation, in our day, should be inspired by a purpose as animating to the general sympathy as was the religious zeal which built the Cathedral of Cologne or the Basilica of St. Peter's. The time is passed when men expressed their deepest convictions by these wonderful and beautiful religious edifices; but it is my hope to see, with the progress of intellectual culture, a structure arise among us which may be a temple of the revelations written in the material universe. If this be so, our buildings for such an object can never be too comprehensive, for they are to embrace the infinite work of Infinite Wisdom. They can never be too costly, so far as cost secures permanence and solidity, for they are to contain the most instructive documents of Omnipotence.—Pages 670, 671.

Even before the settlement of his European debt, Agassiz's desire for the enlargement of scientific knowledge had urged upon him the publication of the mass of original matter which had been accumulating in his hands ever since his arrival in America, but the costliness of a large illustrated work for awhile deterred him. His experience with fossil fishes had shown him the peril of entering upon such an enterprise without capital. An American friend, anxious for the success of this enterprise, proposed an appeal to the public spirit of the country in behalf of a work devoted entirely to the natural history of the United States. This friend "assumed the direction of the business details, set the subscription afloat, stimulated its success by his own liberal contributions, by letters, by private and public appeals, and so completely engineered the plan that though the work as originally designed was never completed, being cut short by ill health, the four large quarto volumes published never embarrassed him financially.

We must very briefly mention only the gifts toward the museum, beginning with the first one from school-girls of $7,000, its legacy from Mr. Gray of $50,000, its legislative grant of $100,000, its private benefactions of over $71,000, its subsequent legislative grants of $10,000, $75,000, and $25,000, and the munificent gift of $100,000, a birthday present to Agassiz given on his last birthday to the institution

he so much loved, to be controlled by no official body, but expended on "collections, publications, or scientific assistance" as he should judge best.

But we must pause sufficiently long to tell how its plan differs from the "accumulation" museums of the Old World; how arrangements are made for the convenience of the casual visitor and of the special student. Such a visitor has an opportunity to walk though exhibition rooms, not simply crowded with objects to delight and interest him, but so arranged that the selection of every specimen has reference to its part and place in nature; while the whole is so combined as to explain, as far as known, the faunal and systematic relations of animals in the actual world, or, in other words, their succession in time and their distribution in space. The special student finds in the laboratories and work rooms all the needed materials for his investigations, stored in large collections, with duplicates enough to allow for that destruction of specimens necessarily involved in original research.

But he did not live to work out his own ideal. His son Alexander, having had those outlines fully explained to him, has carried many of them out, and "the synoptic room, and in great part the systematic and faunal collections, are now arranged and open for exhibition, and the throng of visitors during all the pleasant months of the year attest the interest they excite."

Agassiz passed away on December 14, 1873. His remains were buried at Mt. Auburn. The bowlder that makes his monument came from the glacier of the Aar, not far from the spot where his hut (for glacial investigations) once stood. And the pine trees which are fast growing up to shelter it were sent by loving hands from his old home in Switzerland. The land of his birth and the land of his adoption are united at his grave.

Art. VI.—POLITY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.*

We have regretted that it has become so much the fashion among Methodists—both ministers and laymen—to abstain from all questions relating to their Church polity. Questions of this character have no doubt sometimes come to be in bad odor by reason of the unhappy uses to which they have been put by injudicious or designing persons, and some have also feared to have them agitated, however carefully and kindly, lest they should become occasions for divisions where harmony is especially desirable, or, at least, for diversions from the all-important specifically spiritual designs of Church affairs. And better still, our people have been so much occupied with practical religious work in the Church, and have been so well satisfied with their occupation, that they have not been much concerned about forms of Church government. All this is good and honorable, and it may largely compensate for any loss incurred by reason of the lack of broader and more intelligent considerations of questions of this nature. But while freely conceding the greater value of the spiritual and practical in Church life, it may still be claimed that the outward affairs of the Church should not be entirely neglected.

We were accordingly gratified when, a short time since, we received a little volume devoted to the subject, or rather, some of its details, "By a Layman" (of Philadelphia), who also gives his name in full at the end of his "Preface," John A. Wright. The name will be readily and favorably recognized as that of a highly respected citizen of our sister city, who, having resided in the South, has come to be familiarly known as "Colonel" Wright. On reading the book, which we did with a lively interest, we found cause to regret that its tone and spirit displayed an unnecessary, and we think an unwarranted, readiness to reflect unfavorably upon certain facts and those who favor them, and to attribute to such persons not only mistaken views, but also unworthy motives. The manifestation of such a spirit in such a case is quite as impolitic as it is uncharitable,

* *Preachers and People of the Methodist Episcopal Church.* By a Layman. 12mo, pp. 314. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company.

since, while there may be a willingness among a portion of the more thoughtful of our people to listen to discussion of the Church's affairs, there is a decided disinclination to have that discussion deformed and embittered by accusations or intimations of corrupt practices or designs. The undeniable success of the work of the Church, especially as a soul-saving agency, makes it certain that, on the whole, its machinery is not very bad, and that it is operated with a fair share of wisdom and zeal and fidelity. It seems, therefore, only just to presume that the workers have very generally been faithful in their actions and purposes, and that this should be practically conceded in all discussions of such a subject.

The title of the book, "People and Preachers of the Methodist Episcopal Church," is suggestive of what seems to be an ever-present thought and feeling in its statements and intimations—that is, of a real antagonism and opposition of purposes between these two classes of persons. In this we have no doubt that the writer is entirely wrong; and yet, because it is with him a conviction and a sentiment, it tends to distort his mind's vision and to color all his observations. And this is the more to be regretted since the subjects discussed are important, and many of the suggestions that are made are entitled to careful, and indeed to favorable, consideration. And therefore, though inclined to be repelled by the querulousness of its tone, and an occasional acerbity of spirit, we have gone through the volume, carefully considering all that it has to say, mentally noting what seems to be its mistakes, and applauding its wise maxims and its valuable practical suggestions. And in that spirit we come now to review the book for the benefit of our readers.

It begins very naturally with what may be styled the *origines* of the Methodist Episcopal Church—the facts of its earliest history, and the principles of its life, which at length developed into the existing organism. Its remarkable growth being a distinguishing and very obvious fact in its career, it was quite pertinent that the cause of that fact should be indicated, and this the author does, no doubt correctly, by ascribing it, "after the acknowledgment that all success comes from God," to "the character of the doctrine preached," "the active co-operation and employment of the laity in religious exercises," "the whole-souled singing," "the religious character and zeal of its minis-

try, and the frequent changes of ministers." All this is approved; and it is further claimed that the effects of these advantages, great as they were, were less than they might have been but for the faultiness of the original form of the Church's governmental polity, that is, the absence of the lay element. The original form of the government of American Methodism was imported from Great Britain, a copy of that exercised by Mr. Wesley in the government of his "societies"—the "assistant," and later the Bishop, taking the place of the great "founder." But when the formal organization took place, at the end of 1784, the ministers in a body, constituting the "Conference," asserted their authority, and so made the aggregate body of traveling preachers the supreme rulers of the Church. The laity were in no condition to participate to any extent in either the legislation or the administration of the affairs of the body; and as to its judicature, there was none, for the members were "read in" or "read out" of the Church by the minister at discretion. This seems to be recognized by our author when he says: "The peculiarities of the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and the distribution of power, are, perhaps, more immediately due to the fact that the early ministers were evangelists, and that the form of the government of the Church slowly crystallized on the basis of the most effective evangelistic work." Since the laity were at first in no condition to take any part in the administration, the whole necessarily devolved on the ministers. But just as fast as the laity became capable of receiving and using administrative power in the Church, it was given to them, and the history of the Church is a continuous record of the advance of the participation of the laity in the government; and in every case the increase of their power came by the ready, and more than willing, concession of the ministry. The sovereignty must abide somewhere, and the liberty-loving fathers of the Christmas Conference chose to diffuse it as widely as possible, and so they placed it in the whole body of the ministers in Conference assembled. And in the same spirit their sons in the Gospel have gone onward, diffusing more and more widely the governing power. And if it shall at any time become clearly apparent that a still wider diffusion is practicable, there is good reason for believing that it will be freely made.

Respecting the distribution of governmental power in the Church between ministers and laymen, our author hints and implies, rather than openly affirms, that any given number of ministers are entitled to no more authority than the same number of the laity, male and female—that the ideal Church government is that of a pure democracy, in which each member stands on the same footing, and no one can possess any larger share of power, except as it has been given to him by the votes of the brotherhood. By this rule, he tells us, the proportion of ministers to laymen (including, of course, women) would be not much more than one to a hundred and fifty. But, it may be asked, why discriminate between ministers and laymen at all, if there is no real distinction as to rights in government, and then probably the proportion of laymen in the General Conference would be less rather than greater than it now is. In not a few instances Lay Electoral Conferences have preferred to be represented by ministers.*

The assertion that "a call to the ministry does not carry with it any power in the management of the Church itself," may mean much or little according as it shall be construed; but as the writer does not apply it in his argument, we need not stop to determine either its scope or its correctness. Nor do we see the offensive "priestly arrogance" and "high-Churchism without limitation" in the newspaper paragraph quoted by him, which says: "Whatever the legislation on the subject, ministers will be in the future, as they have been in the past, practically the legislators and the executive officers of the Church; and why should they not be?" Sure enough, why not, if

* If the Church is to be governed on purely democratic principles, then there should be an entire disregard of the distinction of ministers and laymen in the selection of delegates; the local churches should be grouped in electoral districts, each district to choose its delegate by a free ballot, just as members of Congress are chosen by the people. But with such an arrangement it is probable that there would be a larger proportion of ministers in the General Conference than there is at present, for, if the selections were to be made simply from personal and professional considerations, the ministers would, in nearly all cases, have the advantage. In not a few instances our Lay Electoral Conferences have chosen ordained local preachers, and, in some cases, men who had been traveling preachers. In both of the two General Conferences of 1876 and 1880 the same man was present as a delegate—first as a ministerial and next as a lay delegate. It is known, too, that William Taylor was a lay delegate in the General Conference that elected him to the position which he now holds.

chosen by the electors, as pretty surely they would be if the elections were conducted on purely democratic principles? The additional sentence of the same paragraph explains why ministers would in any probable case come to the front and appear as leaders in Church work: "It is pre-eminently their work, as overseers of God's heritage, and they ought to attend to it." Waiving any question respecting a divine right of government, the fact that ministers are in the front in all Church affairs, will secure to them a predominating influence, for "my people love to have it so."

Seeming to concede, at least practically, that there should be an equal division of power between the ministry and the laity in the councils of the Church, which is a recognition of the distinct and relatively larger powers of ministers, *ex officio*, over those of the same number of laymen, our author still finds that great injustice ensues from the constitution of the General Conference. In that body at its last session there were 263 ministers and only 154 laymen. The complaint is just, provided an equal distribution of seats is a *natural* right—which the law does not concede—and that the laity as a distinct class should have equal power with the ministry. This last is secured by their right to a separate vote. Nor do the laity ask this; but instead, the lay delegates in the last two General Conferences voted against any increase of the proportion of their own order in the General Conference, and also against their admission into the Annual Conferences. Respecting the right or the expediency of these measures, we say nothing (this writer, as a delegate in those Conferences, voted for both of them), but it is not just to represent the defeat of those measures to the "grasping" after power by the ministers. Had the lay delegates agreed to ask for the proposed changes, there is good reason to believe that they would have been made. They were not made because the laymen opposed them.

In discussing the constitution of the General Conference, as to both its ministerial and lay delegates, our author brings into view certain rather remarkable anomalies—which have been, however, all along recognized and deprecated—in the practical operations of the law regulating the apportionment of seats to delegates from the Annual Conferences.

The fundamental law, which ordains the existence of the

General Conference and indicates its personal constitution and describes its powers, first of all declares that that body "shall be composed of ministerial and lay delegates, and that the [body of] ministerial delegates shall consist of one delegate for every forty-five members of each Annual Conference," with a provision made in another place that "when there shall be in any Annual Conference a fraction of two thirds of the number which shall be fixed for the ratio of representation, such Annual Conference shall be entitled to an additional delegate for such fraction," and a further provision is made, that "no Conference [however small in numbers] shall be denied the privilege of one delegate." This rule, which seems at first sight to be just and wise, shows some less favorable features in its practical operations. The large central Conferences of the Middle Atlantic States average one ministerial delegate to forty-eight or fifty members, while in the smaller Conferences, situated in the South, and on the Western frontier, and in foreign countries, the average ratio of ministerial delegates to members is one to about thirty-five. And in respect to lay delegates this disproportion is very much greater. Nine Annual Conferences, with an aggregate lay membership of nearly three hundred and fifty thousand, are entitled to only eighteen lay delegates, and thirty-seven other Annual Conferences, with an aggregate membership of less than one half of that number, have forty-three lay delegates—the former at the ratio of one lay delegate for about 19,000 lay members; the latter one for less than 3,500. It may seem invidious to say any thing about the relative value *per capita* of the ministers and members, and of their delegates, from these two classes of Conferences, but all will concede that the ministers and laymen in the older and larger Conferences are entitled to as much influence or consideration as their brethren in the newer and smaller ones.* These ine-

*There are 10 foreign missions organized as Annual Conferences: 1. Germany and Switzerland; 2. Foochow (China); 3. Italy; 4. Japan; 5. Liberia; 6. Mexico; 7. North India; 8. South India; 9. Norway; 10. Sweden. In these there are altogether 385 ministers, which would, *pro rata*, entitle them to eight ministerial delegates instead of the 11 awarded to them (one each, except the first, which had two). The combined lay membership of these 10 Conferences was a little less than 30,000, making constituencies for three lay delegates, the third representing a fraction, instead of 11, the number to which they were by law entitled. The delegations from these bodies, considered as a whole, were just double their

qualities, which have come about unsought for and undesigned, have, however, grown to such proportions that they seriously derange the representation of the Church in the General Conference. But while all will grant that they call for a readjustment, no one has, as yet, seemed to be able to find out a way to satisfactorily solve the difficulty. The volume before us, while displaying and denouncing these anomalies, brings forward no scheme for even their mitigation, much less for their cure, which is not much more objectionable than the evils now prevailing, because of the revolutionary and wholly un-Methodistic character of the measure proposed.

The processes by which this anomalous condition of things has come to be, though not written down in our histories, nor much discussed in the public prints, are not difficult to trace, since they have occurred during the life-time of many who are still living. Previous to the General Conference of 1868 there was a class of ecclesiastical bodies in the Church called

equitable proportions. There were in the United States in 1884 (the number has since been increased) 26 Annual Conferences, each entitled to one ministerial and one lay delegate—26 of each order, 52 in all. In these Conferences there were about 1,000 ministers, forming in the aggregate a constituency for 22 ministerial delegates, which is four less than the number assigned by law, which was, therefore, one sixth too large. The lay members in all these Conferences amounted to less than 104,000, a constituency for 10 delegates, instead of 26. There were seven Americo-German Conferences, with an aggregate ministerial membership of 476, and a lay membership of less than 41,000. There were also a Swedish and a Norwegian Conference, with a joint membership of 79 ministers and 8,102 of the laity, making for the nine Conferences 555 ministers, constituencies for 12 delegates, which was the number actually on hand; the equitable number of lay delegates would have been nine instead of 12. There were 14 Conferences composed wholly or chiefly of colored members, with an aggregate membership of 833 ministers and 125,463 lay members, entitling them numerically to 19 and 11 delegates respectively, instead of 22 each, their legal allotment. Tabulated, these things show the following:

	By Law.		By Numbers.		
	Min.	Lay.	Min.	Lay.	Excess.
Ten Foreign Missionary Conferences	11	11	8	3	11
Twenty-six Small Conferences	26	26	22	10	20
Nine German Conferences	12	12	12	5	7
Fourteen Colored Conferences	22	22	19	11	14
	71	71	61	29	52

Compare with the above the seven largest Conferences: Philadelphia, with 47,476 lay members; New York East, 45,181; New York, 44,182; East Ohio, 44,287; Central Pennsylvania, 36,908; New Jersey, 35,346; Newark, 34,550: aggregate, 288,130; and yet these great Conferences were entitled to only two lay delegates each—14 in all—or less than one to 20,000 members.

"Mission Conferences." The first of these, in the order of time, was Liberia, which had previously existed as a foreign mission, with only the rights of the presiding elder's district, but which was, by the General Conference of 1836, constituted a "Mission Conference," with all the rights of an Annual Conference, *except the right of representation in a General Conference*, and one or two other slight exceptions. In 1848 the work in Oregon and California was also organized as a "Mission Conference," with the same limitations of power; and in 1864 provision was made for the organization of two similar Conferences of colored members; and it was also ordered at the same time that the Bishops should have authority to organize Annual Conferences—with the same limitations of powers—in the States and Territories outside of any existing Annual Conferences. This was done; and the whole unoccupied area of the country, except that of the Rocky Mountains, was covered with such organizations. At the opening of the General Conference of 1868 there appeared before that body, certainly not by any accidental coincidence, representatives from nearly every one of these bodies, asking to be admitted as delegates; and in open disregard of the plainly written and well-understood laws of the Church, both statutory and constitutional, they were admitted; and, afterward, all the limitations of power in the Mission Conferences were removed. "This was the beginning of sorrows." The admission of lay delegates in 1872 doubled the representation of these small and outlying bodies, and their number has also greatly increased with the expansion of the Church's work; and out of these things have grown naturally the anomalous state of the representation of the Church in the General Conference.

The inequalities of the present scheme of apportioning the lay delegates among the Annual Conferences is sufficiently obvious, and certainly they are such as to demand that some remedy for them shall be devised. But our ecclesiastical statesmen who have especially concerned themselves with these matters, have never seemed to be equal to their requirements. They who remember the General Conference of 1868 cannot have forgotten the kind of monstrosity that was brought forth by the Committee of Lay Delegation—a scheme whose absurdities can be appreciated only after a careful examination

of the document itself; and yet so intent were the friends of the measure that something should be done—and the Conference was warned by the "reformers" that no constitutional difficulties would be permitted to effectually bar its course—that they were ready to accept almost any thing that would "concede the principle," leaving to the future the correction of any infelicities in the details of the measures to be adopted. There were those in that body, however, who still had some respect for the constitutional law of the Church, and who could not see by what authority the General Conference, itself a delegated body, could reconstruct itself, and those were therefore very solicitous that whatever might be attempted in respect to the admission of a new order of delegates should be done according to law. They had seen how ready a majority of the body were to disregard the fundamental law by which the General Conference is constituted, when they admitted to membership in that body a class of men who had never been chosen to any such place, and behind whom there were no legal constituencies, while some of them were personally disqualified for the places to which they were admitted, and therefore it might seem doubtful whether the flagrantly revolutionary character of the committee's scheme would suffice to prevent its adoption. The plan which at length took the place of that proposed by the committee, and was adopted by the General Conference, was prepared by persons not of the committee, and with whom it was a governing purpose to conserve the constitutional law of the Church; and it was considered by those who devised it as only a temporary expedient, and both defective in its organic basis, because it made no provision for a real representation of the laity of the Church, and also incomplete at almost every point of its details. It was intended by its friends, and those who were the most earnest friends of lay delegation, to serve only as a temporary make-shift, by which "the principle" might be adopted, with the expectation that very soon its many and obvious imperfections would be remedied. It was accordingly sent down to the Annual Conferences by that General Conference, and, in pursuance of its provisions, in 1872 lay delegates were admitted to seats in the General Conference. Every one who understood the case at all confessed the faultiness of the law as it then stood, but no one un-

dertook to remedy its defects. The same person who now writes these words wrote out, in the form in which it stands, with only the slightest changes, the fundamental law of the Church under the authority of which laymen have occupied seats in the last four General Conferences. When he proposed, among those who prepared that paper, to make the number of lay delegates the same with that of the ministers, they of the company who were the recognized friends of the new scheme said, "Not now"—fearing that asking so much would defeat the whole; and when it was further proposed to give a really representative character to the lay delegates, by providing for the choice of the lay electors by the votes of the whole Church, that too was objected to as impracticable—perhaps, indeed, undesirable. The Church has no doubt profited by the presence of certain laymen having seats in its chief council, which has perhaps been compensated for by some real disadvantages; but the rank and file of the Church—the unofficial laity, men and women—have now really no more formal representation in the body than had their fathers and mothers of fifty years ago. And some such may suspect that they were quite as well represented by their ministers, whom they knew, and who knew them, as they are by strangers of whom they have never heard. We do not, however, speak of this thing as an evil—certainly not as an occasion for blame—but to recognize a fact. The Church lived and prospered before there was any pretense of lay delegation in its councils, and it has continued to prosper since the change has been made—whether by the help of, or in spite of, or irrespective of, lay delegation, need not concern us—and there is good reason to believe that it will continue to prosper, either with or without further modifications of its organic law, about which evidently the people generally care very little. Our people, both ministers and the laity, seem to be too well suited with their spiritual privileges, and too much occupied with their active duties, to very much concern themselves with questions of Church polity.

We are not, however, at all inclined to treat the matters brought to view in the volume before us as of no account, and we repeat the expression of our gratification that such a book has been written, though we would have preferred that its temper should have been a little less censorious, and especially that

its uncalled-for, and, we believe, essentially unjust, imputations of unworthy purposes had been avoided. We are free to confess, that the fundamental law of the Church by which the *personnel* of the General Conference is provided for does not operate entirely satisfactorily; that the apportionment of seats in the body is, in practice, inequitable; that the classes of persons upon whom the practical effectiveness of the Church's work must chiefly depend are the most scantily represented; that those whose relations and positions and associations are the least intimately connected with the great interests of the Church are endowed with much more than their due proportion of numerical strength in the great council of the Church. Some practical mitigation of these confessed infelicities of affairs seems to us, therefore, to be called for. But having gone thus far with those who have gone before us in the recognition of these infelicities, as they have all done, so do we, —stop and ask, What can be done? The deficiencies in the plan at first adopted for bringing in lay delegation not only remain, but they are now very greatly magnified by the changed condition of the Church's affairs, and they have become so monstrous that they ought not to be tolerated.

The evil of small Annual Conferences, with disproportionately large representations in General Conference, is entirely within the power of the administration. The twenty-two delegates from foreign missions have their places by virtue of a set of legislative and administrative acts, adopted under certain strange influences which were neither wise nor wholesome; and this unwise and unwholesome order of things has been perpetuated till it now threatens to become unendurable. A spirit of ecclesiastical "jingoism" seems to have seized the mind of the Church some twenty years ago, which aspired to universal empire for our own denomination, and expressed itself in the dream of "a session of the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church under the dome of St. Peter's, at Rome." It will be wise if, in a more sober frame of mind, we shall have the moral courage to undo this folly, and return to the spirit of the fathers who called their new organization the "Methodist Episcopal Church in the United States." It would be manifestly better for both the foreign missions and the Church at home that the former, when grown beyond their

state of pupilage, should set up for themselves, and become localized and naturalized in their own lands. That policy carried into practice would remove the evil of the non-equitable representation as found at one of the places of its most unnatural developments.

The multiplication of small and feeble Conferences in the United States has certainly been carried to a most unreasonable and damaging extent. Small Conferences are liable to be very weak bodies, and they will, of necessity, perform their work feebly, and often dangerously improperly. It is not strange, therefore, that under the advice of their own best men some of these diminutive bodies have sought to be merged with some others, or to be changed from the status of a Conference to that of a mission district, which is a form of organization nearly akin to the repudiated "Mission Conferences." A judicious exercise of the administrative power of the General Conference in this department of its work might very considerably reduce the number of small and feeble Conferences of the Church, and, in doing this needed work, also mitigate the evils arising from the inequalities in the representation in the General Conference. By these two methods our hundred Annual Conferences might be reduced to seventy five or eighty to the advantage of the usual work of the Church, and also to the better adjustment of the representation. His suggestions that some means must be found by which to get rid of the "Brother in Black" may, perhaps, be traced back to certain "south side" associations of our Philadelphia brother, but they will not be likely to find favor with the Church generally, nor with either of its racial sections. We have gone too far in that direction to retreat from our positions without bad faith and dishonor. Even our successes have brought upon us obligations the most sacred to abide faithful to, and to continue to labor strenuously for, those whom we have taken into our family. If our colored brethren are too largely represented in the General Conference the fault is not of their devising; and should a more equitable system, applying alike to all parts of the Church and to all classes of persons, be devised and propounded, there is no reason to believe that they would not cordially agree to it.

These, it is granted, are only expedients for relieving pres-

ent embarrassments, without touching the deeper and more difficult infelicities of the subject; but to consider these adequately would carry us beyond our assigned limits. The inequality of numbers between the two orders of delegates in the General Conference, though it deserves to be considered, is rendered of less importance by reason of the privilege of voting by orders, and thus mutually checking the opposite vote, should class interests bring them into opposition.

Opposition to the increase of the number of lay delegates in the General Conference, so as to make them equal to the ministers, has been urged on a number of distinct grounds: It would make the body too large—about 550 members in 1884—so rendering the body less able to deliberate and act wisely and judiciously, and also greatly increasing its expense. The plea sometimes heard, that laymen could pay their own expenses, is to many especially objectionable, since it implies that only rich men can afford to be delegates– an evil that is already somewhat felt. The proposition to reduce the number of ministerial delegates by increasing the basis of representation would still further aggravate the evil of the over-representation of the smaller Conferences; it would also, it is claimed, effectually destroy the properly representative character of ministerial delegates; and, since to make that change requires the affirmative votes of three fourths of all the traveling preachers, the probability of its success, if attempted, is exceedingly doubtful. The evil lies deeper than such remedies can reach, and its cure calls for more radical treatment.

In respect to the introduction of laymen to seats in the Annual Conference, it is notable that the subject seems never to have awakened much interest, and it was voted down in both of the last two General Conferences, and in both cases by the lay delegates—in the latter one the two orders voting separately. The manner in which our friend Colonel Wright speaks of this subject, charging its defeat to the opposition of the ministry, makes it necessary for us to conclude that he is not well informed as to the history of the case, for we cannot suspect him of a willful misrepresentation, though he evidently writes in no friendly animus toward "the parsons." If he will consult the Journal of the General Conference of 1880 (page 310), and that of 1884 (page 260), he will be con-

vinced, not only that he is in error, but also that he has been misled into bearing incorrect testimony as to matters of fact, with the deduction of unjust inferences, for in both these cases the opposition in the discussion was led by laymen, who also contributed their full share to the negative vote. From the beginning of the agitation of the subject we have personally favored the introduction of laymen into the Annual Conferences, because there is work in those bodies for them to do, and which they can best perform; and through the lay delegates in the constituent Conferences the development of a system of real lay representation might have come about as a normal growth. But Annual Conferences are *working* bodies, and afford not much opportunity for display or for sight-seeing, and somehow our lay brothers have not been drawn toward them, nor to the District Conferences, in which they might operate to excellent effect.

Chapter third of Mr. Wright's book, of over forty pages, is devoted to a discussion of the "Charitable Work of the Church," and of "its Publishing Interests." As it is very desirable that our people, both ministers and laymen, who are not themselves officially concerned with these things, should feel an interest in them, and that there should be great freedom of examination and criticism as to their methods and processes and results, we are well pleased that our brother has directed his attention to these things; and for the same reason we regret that such are his prepossessions, that he is evidently disqualified for coming to any fair and intelligent conclusions respecting that of which he writes. Most of these "benevolent" agencies of the Church originated as voluntary "societies," which were afterward, at their own solicitation, adopted by the General Conference, and so made parts of the regular working machinery of the Church. As "societies," with their membership scattered over every part of the country, it was physically impossible to bring the body together for the transaction of business, or the election of officers. And yet the fiction of annual meetings was long continued, at which a quorum of a score of members, brought together by special efforts for that purpose, would by their votes, using regularly prepared tickets, give validity to the elections of officers. But how absurd to claim that these twenty or thirty persons gathered up for the

nonce, were in any proper sense the laity of the Methodist Episcopal Church! The infelicity of this mode of procedure was all along recognized, but so long as the General Conference consisted exclusively of ministers, there was an unwillingness on its part to assume the complete control of those bodies by shaping their constitutions and appointing their officers. But in 1872, after the composition of the body had become laic as well as ministerial—when in theory at least, though in fact only by a legal fiction—the entire laity of the Church had come into the General Conference in the persons of the lay delegates, then introduced, the formerly existing objection to its assumption of the control of those bodies seemed to be removed. Accordingly the

> General Conference of 1872 adopted the plan of boards of managers to be appointed by the [General] Conference, *in place of managers elected by the societies to conduct their affairs*, ostensibly for the purpose of bringing these societies "into organic union with the Church, instead of being under the uncertain control of members made such by voluntary contributions."—Page 144.

The foregoing quotation fairly indicates the facts of the case, with a suggestion of the reasons why such action was taken; but the intimation that all this was brought about "in compliance with the wish of the clique of office-holders at 805 Broadway, New York," for purposes equally insincere and unjust, is about equally uncharitable and preposterous. The conception of such suspicions indicates a state of mind that we do not wish to characterize. The "office-holders" in compliance with whose wishes this arrangement was made were probably, more than all others, Dr. Durbin and Bishop Janes. The former of these two venerable and now sainted men was then just closing his long and very fruitful career in the service of the Church, and especially of its missionary work, and his whole history shows that he was not himself disposed to exalt the ministry by sacrificing the rights of the laity. Bishop Janes was especially active in promoting these changes. He knew the infelicities and the liabilities to abuses of the old system, and he also believed that these great benevolent organisms should be immediately and constructively wrought into the organism of the Church, of which the General Conference had now become by its composition the completed embodiment.

Nor had he any fear of too much centralization of power; in respect to which last, some who were in accord with him as to the measures under notice were a little more distrustful. The Church will be slow to conclude that these grand men, Durbin and Janes, acted in such highly important affairs, with their far-reaching relations, from sinister motives, and with intent to defraud the laity of the Church of their rights.

But the most preposterous count in this strange indictment is, the charge that of these changes "the real object was to get rid of any possible opposition by the laity to the absolute control of these societies by the ministers of the Church." Should we concede all that is intimated in respect to the designs of the promoters of these measures, that their dominant purpose was to unduly exalt the ministers over the laity, that making them "was an insult to their [the laity's] Christian manhood," and that the argument for it was "a miserable apology for a great wrong," still we would fail to see wherein the measures adopted accomplish the purposes of their authors. By the amended constitution adopted at that time, the Board of Managers of the Missionary Society (the old name "Society" was retained, though only to express a legal fiction) was made to consist of an equal number of ministers and laymen, which unalterably secures the equality of the two orders in the body, unless the Bishops, who are *ex officio* members, are included among the partisan ministers. How then these things can be said to have placed the "boards under the control of the ministry," or why it should be said that in their constitution "the ministers have guarded every point . . . so as to prevent the laity from having any influence in its legislation" [administration?], and that there is great "danger in leaving the control of these interests in the hands of the ministry," we entirely fail to understand. How a board of managers made up of an equal number of the two orders should be placed entirely under the control of one of these, leaving the other half helpless, we confess our inability to understand. We therefore read with surprise and blank astonishment such a sentence as this:

This violently taking out of the hands of the laity the control of the charities of the Church, without notice to the members of the societies, and placing them almost absolutely under the control

of the ministry, was a great wrong, not only to the laity and the Church, but to the cause of Jesus Christ, and [it] was followed by other acts of questionable character.—Page 145.

All through the book there is an ever-present assumption, open or tacit, that in all the legislative and administrative bodies of the Church in which there are both ministers and laymen there is a clearly defined and a constantly effective antagonism between the two orders, than which nothing can be farther from the truth. During a service of nearly forty years in the Missionary Board, this writer has never seen the two orders in that body divided, as such, on any question great or small; nor have we ever heard of any thing of the kind in respect to any other of the Church's boards. Such declarations as the following—and these are only specimens of a great multitude found all through the book—are equally incorrect and unjust:

They [the ministers] hang together and defend each other; their class feeling and jealousy of the interference of laymen are quickly excited. All laymen who have been members of boards of managers in any religious or church society understand what this class feeling means, and how thoroughly it operates *to prevent the proper examination of finances*, of management, and of policy.—Page 149.

This is, indeed, a grave impeachment, and it involves either purposed and systematic fraud in the use of funds on the one hand, or gratuitous defamation on the other. Between the two, let those concerned decide.

The latter half of chapter third is devoted to "the Publishing Interests" of the Church; and while the disposition to find faults, and to refer these to unworthy and corrupt motives in the ministers, is still prominent, it nevertheless discusses a range of thought that ought to be seriously pondered. In the prosecution of its aggressive work, the use of the press has been an ever present factor in all forms of Methodism, for which policy very satisfactory and cogent reasons are given. It may also be claimed that the publishing interests of the Methodist Episcopal Church have been, on the whole, successfully and satisfactorily managed. The present generation found the "Book Concern" an established fact—an agency in full operation—which has simply been kept going with only such modifications as seemed to be called for by the changes of its

conditions. Whether or not it would be deemed advisable, were the work now to be undertaken anew, to originate a complete printing establishment and manufactory of books, is not the question to be considered; but instead, whether, now that these are in successful operation, it would be wise to discontinue their use, and have all the work of the Book Concern done by outside parties? To make such a change has not been deemed advisable, and so the prescriptive order of things has continued. Our observations, extending over a quarter of a century, and made at short range, while they have begotten great confidence in the integrity of the administration, and a corresponding cautiousness in respect to violent changes, have also given rise to a feeling that the whole subject of the publishing interests of the Church needs to be thoroughly re-examined. As a financial operation it has been eminently successful, which fact sufficiently disposes of the objection, often heard, to ministers as book agents, and also to the mode of their appointment. In respect to the higher purposes of supplying a wholesome religious and general literature, it has accomplished a good work, though not all that is both desirable and, we believe, also practicable. The policy of making all the newspapers of the denomination, as far as possible, "official," to be owned and governed by the Church, is a subject respecting which very much may be advanced both for it and against it. There can be no question that it was, at first, mightily effective in building up the periodical press of the Church, and in carrying a valuable kind of Christian literature to multitudes, and large classes, of readers that could not have been reached with nearly the same thoroughness by any other means. And up to a certain elevation the system was, no doubt, favorable to the growth of the literary character of the papers, and, through them, to the education of the masses of Methodism; but it may be doubted whether *official* papers can possibly attain to the best capabilities of that class of publications.

We once heard Dr. Olin remark—speaking thoughtfully, but not complainingly—that the use of an exclusively official newspaper press by our people was full of peril. Court journals and official bulletins are not the best vehicles for political intelligence, and especially not for the discussion of either the principles of government or the acts of the administration; and

although the position of an official editor is as free as he dares to make it, there is still the liability that his environments will circumscribe the free expression of his convictions, and so compel him to fall below his own best possibilities: in short, to become, not a free inquirer and critic, but an "advocate"—a *martinet* rather than a *free lance.* Some may think that this is just what an official editor should be; but, if so, then surely other than official papers are desirable. These things are canvassed with no little force and freedom by our author; and while the same mingled acidity and acridity that have been noticed in other places still abound—and with these are manifest some very decided partisan predilections respecting certain well-remembered facts—still his remarks are suggestive, and the subject presented calls for the most candid, and not timid, consideration.

The things that we have noticed form the chief features of the work we are considering. At every point we detect the assumption that the entire government of the Church, in all its departments, is in the hands of the ministers, who stand together as a party to assist and defend their exclusive privileges; while the laity, also arrayed as a party against the ministers, are utterly helpless. To all this the law of the Church and the administration of its affairs render the sufficient answer. The right of the laity to equal representation in the General and Annual Conferences, and the expediency of that arrangement for the best interests of the Church, are insisted upon with perpetual iterations, all of which may or may not be granted; but the further assumption, that this consummation has not been reached because of the self-seeking resistance of the ministry, is so clearly disproved by the record, that its assertion can be excused only on a presumption of ignorance, which itself would be, in such case, scarcely excusable. In two successive General Conferences the lay delegates successfully resisted the introduction of laymen into the Annual Conferences, which a large minority of the ministerial delegates (this writer among them) favored. And the proposition, made in the last General Conference, to equalize the numbers of the two orders in that body received its *coup de grâce* from the same hands. How, with these things certainly not unknown by him, our good brother can write as he does is beyond our com-

prehension. He is certainly all wrong; and yet we hesitate to charge it to any lack of either intelligence or truthfulness.

In his closing chapter our author gives a brief sketch of the form of government for the Methodist Episcopal Church that he would favor. It is a rough outline, drawn on a *tabula rasa*, made up of ideals that have never been realized—like one of the Abbe Sieyès's French constitutions—the whole proposed in complete oblivion of the practical truth that constitutions, in order to have any available vitality, must grow instead of being made to order—that they must come as developments rather than by creation. Many of his suggestions are good enough in themselves, and some of them might be advantageously grafted into the existing system; others, though not essentially bad, would be found incompatible and out of harmony with its genius; while not a few of them are alike impracticable and undesirable. With remarkable *naiveté* our good but critical reformer, with abounding good feeling toward his erring brethren, the ministers (except the old and incorrigible ones), in a single paragraph seeks to express at once the spirit and the purpose of his production. We extend to him the privilege to speak for himself:

> It is hoped that these pages will be of service to those in the ministry who in all good conscience have been led astray in their judgment, by opening their eyes to the existence of facts and dangers they may not have seen. To the younger and abler men in the ministry (*sic*) it opens a way by which they may escape from the humiliating process of being kept down and hampered in their usefulness to make way for unacceptable men who demand the best places. To active ministers it secures the honors as well as the burdens, and places them on a higher platform by recognizing that the work of the pastor is the highest on earth.—Page 311.

Pro Christo, pro ecclesia, pro populo!

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

A "NEW ORTHODOXY."

THEY who have observed the drift of theological speculation in the Reformed or Calvinistic Churches, of both Europe and America, know very well that changes have occurred since the promulgation of the Westminster standards that in the aggregate amount to a revolution. These changes have been especially conspicuous in this country, since the Old Orthodoxy, was at first very clearly and forcibly declared, especially in New England, and there it was at length repudiated by the unorthodox; and more recently it has been modified out of its identity by some who still claim to be, in spirit, faithful to the traditions of the fathers. The appropriation of the term and style of the New Orthodoxy to their own little coterie by the professors and adherents of a single theological seminary (Andover) is not warranted; for neither is their one distinctive article, Future Probation, original with them, nor is that article the distinguishing feature of the system. Back of that is the more general question of individual freedom and responsibility, with the attendant condition of a "fair chance;" and that applied with scant respect for the divine element in the affairs of the soul, it is contended, calls for a properly conditioned probation for every one, Christian or heathen, and logically it ought to include infants and imbeciles, though here we notice a marked reticence. It is conceded by those who contend for it that the idea of probation after death is not very clearly taught in the Scriptures, and its support is not after the nature of a direct and positive proof, but rather it is an implication, so clear and direct, it is claimed, as to be unavoidable, if its premises are granted.

The unadulterated Old Orthodoxy embraced among its essential elements the eternal decrees of unconditional election and reprobation, of which decrees the events of the world's history are only the normal and necessary developments. Adam's sin and Christ's atonement were equally parts of the system. This simple putting of the case, which many think is the only logical one if absolute predestination must be accepted at all, has not been found generally acceptable. It was rather disfavored by both the Synod of Dort and the Westminster Assembly, though many of the master minds in both of these venerable bodies accepted the manifest logical outcome of their own premises. And now for more than two hundred years the "Reformed" theology of Protestantism has been moving like the sure trend of a glacier, slowly, steadily, and irresistibly, away from its original position. An observation, by sun and stars, would seem now to be necessary to determine its latitude and longitude, while refer-

ences to the headlands of other forms of theology may be requisite to ascertain its place in the comparative orthodoxy of the times.

This transition of thought in so large and able a body of Christians, and one which has held so conspicuous a place on the better side, in the conflicts that have been carried on about the great truths of religion, cannot but be a matter of the deepest interest. The discussion has come to a stage in which it is no longer confined to speculative matters, but instead, it touches upon the great and vital principles of experimental and practical religion. Our old and respectable churches and their ministers are no longer content to simply proclaim what they presume to be God's truth, and there leave the matter; they have, instead, become aggressive revivalists, and they are especially and intensely concerned about the results of the preaching of the Gospel in the life and experience of those to whom it is sent. They are accordingly discussing the nature of "the conviction of sin," and this naturally leads them to the consideration of the nature of sin itself, including the fundamental distinction between *sin* and *sins*. And then man's duty under that conviction becomes an important practical consideration, as does also the nature of faith, and the relations of the individual to its saving work. The substance of regeneration, and the shares severally of the divine and the human agencies in that work, here come into view; and back of these, the crabbed philosophical conceptions of free-will and its opposites or modifications will thrust themselves into view.

It is quite natural, therefore, that these subjects should awaken a very lively interest, and elicit not a little lively discussion. We have been meeting them in periodicals and books during the past months and years, and are free to grant that the tendency toward a better appreciation of the matters in hand is, on the whole, gratifying: nor will we indulge in any words of triumph because the tendency has been all along to a nearer and nearer approach to the doctrines that have from the beginning sounded out from the Methodist pulpit. But lately our attention has been especially drawn to these things by the reading of a single issue of "The Independent," which perhaps better than any other paper is an index to the course of the thought of the times. To three distinct matters in that paper we will now give attention.

First of all comes an article from the pen of Dr. Theodore Cuyler, responding to one whom he designates "An Honest Inquirer," asking for practical directions in respect to his duty as one who is not a Christian in experience, though he is in no sense an intellectual unbeliever. It is very easy to answer such a one in the words of the apostle, "Believe on the Lord Jesus Christ, and thou shalt be saved," but that would probably be to him no real answer at all; for, in the first place, the inquirer would have no adequate notion as to what *faith* is; and next, if he had that, he would still find himself spiritually incapable of its exercise. While Dr. Cuyler wisely abstains from any attempt to teach the way of faith through the understanding, to our seeming he still mistakes, perhaps not less dangerously, when he proposes to make the operation of faith

effectual by personal obedience. It is quite safe to declare that "yielding the heart" is not identical with the faith that saves the soul, though it is very nearly related to it; and were it so, to yield the heart is a work that calls for much more than the natural will-power of the individual; and therefore we should hesitate without a very careful definition of terms to subscribe to his statement—"It is a *doing* that must save you," for the faith that saves is only in its last and least manifestations a *doing* at all.

And then the purposed interposition of *repentance* and *holiness* as prominent conditions essential to salvation, is not quite in harmony with Paul's doctrine of justification "without the deeds of the law," or our Lord's unqualified declaration that "He that believeth on the Son hath [not shall have] eternal life." The illustration used by Dr. Cuyler, of escaping from a burning building by trusting one's self to a rope, is not a happy one in respect to salvation by faith, for that would be an act of desperation, and quite compatible with a large share of doubt, or even of positive unbelief. The awakened sinner may be impelled to think of Christ as a Saviour, and to reckon him the only hope for lost men, while as yet he is without the truly Christian faith in which the saving power abides. When the soul accepts Christ, it is not that—at that supreme moment—he still does so with some uncertainty in respect to his sufficiency. Christ is accepted without any lingering misgivings as amply sufficient, and as neither needing nor admitting any other condition or trust. "Only Christ" is always the language of faith, with assured and steadfast hope, never of despair. It is not a venturing *on* the rope, which after all might break, because there was no other way of escape, but an act of undoubting self-surrender, resting in the Everlasting Arms.

There is one thing, and only one, for the awakened sinner to do, and that is TO PRAY, as "the Spirit giveth utterance," and chiefly for one thing, the increase of faith. We are not forgiven because we *repent;* we are not rewarded with eternal life because we consent to *trust Christ.* Our reading and hearing of the utterances of many that are esteemed the most decidedly evangelical of the religious teachers of these times have made us very jealous for the simple truths of the Gospel, and for the honor of Christ, who saves only and absolutely graciously, giving salvation without price or condition to those who will receive it; and yet how slow are even Christians to believe this! We sing, "In my hands no price I bring," but still would like to bring with us the beginnings of penitence and the germs of inwrought holiness. We pray, "Just as I am," but still would like to have a little better preparation of heart in which to come before God.

In another place we have written something about saving faith, a few sentences of which we will here reproduce, as pertinent to the subject indicated above.

In its last analysis, faith appears to be less an active than a quiescent state of the soul—its subjective spiritual estate. As in our sensations and perceptions we are acted upon rather than ourselves act, so in the processes of faith we are illuminated, taught, led, by something not of our own personality. The great things

ascribed to faith are not of its own efficiency, but rather of that to which the soul willingly submits itself. And while continued unbelief is always the result of a vicious resistance of the truth, entailing personal guilt, the only possible merit of faith is the negative one of submitting to be saved. High as is the office assigned to faith in the soul's salvation, it nowhere rises above the character of a willing receptivity and earnest acceptance of proffered mercy. When it is said that we are justified by faith, it is not intended to ascribe to faith any thing really meritorious, for it neither purchases any thing nor performs any *active* service in its acceptance.

The exhortation to "keep Christ's commandments" is never out of place, whether addressed to the saved or unsaved; but doing this, as far as it may be done in each case, neither procures justification to the sinner nor continued acceptance to the believer. If, in the beginning of the state of salvation, the Spirit is received, not by the works of the law but by faith, so, having begun in the Spirit, the completion of the work is not to be sought in the flesh.

In the same number of "The Independent" there is, in the editorial department, an article on "The Conviction of Sin." With what the writer has to say about the old-time manner of treating the cases of the "convicted," in most Calvinistic Churches, we have no concern, except to notice in the manifest disfavor here shown to that method evidences of the changes we at first alluded to. "Conviction" is described as having the three elements of—1. A deep realizing sense of one's own sinfulness; 2. The essential guilt of sin; 3. The impending wrath of God against the sinner. After making these statements, with accompanying deprecations of the unskillful manner of treating the subject, the writer proceeds:

> Our object in alluding to this matter is not to ridicule nor in any wise make light of that form of religious experience, nor to slight in any degree the genuineness and nobility of the Christian character, which was often, and even usually, found in association with these experiences. It is the rather to direct attention to what we believe was, and is, a mistake in the popular view of conviction of sin, and to point out a superficial characteristic of modern conversions, which indeed is the result of a reaction from that form of experience to which we have been alluding.

A question may be asked respecting the use of the terms "sinfulness," in the first of the items comprised in conviction, and "sin" in the second one. The natural implication of the form of words is, that the two words mean the same thing; and in that case, since man's sinfulness is an inheritance, by virtue of which all men are constituted sinners, and since the "wrath of God" is "impending" against all sinners, then is "original sin" not only something real, but also an occasion of the wrath of God, which is the very substance of guiltiness before him.

The abiding condition of the soul, being thus determined as one of sin and guilt, conviction of sin is simply the detection by the individual of his proper spiritual and legal condition before God. How this is effectuated the writer proceeds to point out:

> It is the work of the Holy Spirit to make that sentence of conviction true to man's consciousness, and to persuade him of the moral and spiritual condition

which he is in, not by making him *feel* that it is so, but by clearly *showing* him that it is so, whether he feels it to be so or not. An *emotional* realization of the truth is not necessary to conviction, although it is quite apt to follow upon an *intelligent* realization or persuasion of the truth.

And it may be added that it is pretty sure to accompany such "*intelligent* [spiritual] realization."

In the terminology of the Methodist pulpit in the days of the fathers no word was used more significantly and emphatically than "conviction," and its cognate "awakening;" and it was generally thought that a deep and pungent conviction of sin, with something of the forebodings of the "wrath to come," was a not unprofitable experience. Methodist hymnology abounds with the idea that it is good that a man should know and feel his own sin and guilt, and his danger before God, as thus:

"Fain would I all my vileness own,
And deep beneath the burden groan;
Abhor the pride that lurks within,
Detest and loathe myself and sin."

Or thus again:

"I tremble lest the wrath divine,
Which bruises now my sinful soul,
Should bruise this guilty soul of mine
Long as eternal ages roll."

Such, indeed, were the litanies which our denominational fathers provided for the use of those who through their ministrations, made effective by the Holy Spirit, might be awakened to just convictions of their sin and guilt. But it never was their policy to purposely hide for a moment from awakened souls the provisions and promises of the Gospel. And as the same divine Teacher who convinces of sin also reveals Christ in the soul, so a protracted and excruciating course of spiritual depression was no part of their prescriptions or regimen for souls diseased. It might indeed happen that, as conviction of sin precedes in the order of sequence, the vision of faith and the power to appropriate this grace of salvation, there will sometimes be an interval of painful suspense and of spiritual depression between the two manifestations. A man may have a clear, and intelligent, and scriptural theory of the way of salvation through Christ, and a painful sense of his need of salvation, and yet find himself unable to so take hold upon these things that through them he shall find peace for his soul and escape from the fear of wrath. The kind of believing which is the one and indispensable condition of salvation is only in its lowest and least effective form a predicate of the understanding. "With the heart man believeth unto righteousness;" and the exercises of the heart are not directly subject to the volitions. The awakened conscience may realize guilt, but it cannot break the power of sin; it may cause the cry for deliverance, but the effectual help must come from Christ himself, for which man can only pray. The power to see how that help may come to the sinner is the gift of the Spirit, who also gives effect to the soul's struggles for its realization.

Mr. Joseph Cook's lecture of February 15 is a remarkable, and also a characteristic, production. It is remarkable in that it indicates a very wide departure from the ruling traditions of the New England theology as it was proclaimed, and as it dominated the religious thought of that locality from the beginning until the comparatively recent past; and it is characteristic in displaying the strength of the lecturer's hold upon his convictions, which are at the same time, as stated by him, both ambiguous and incomplete. Setting out to answer his own question, "What is God's part in conversion," and indicating the "three kinds of knocking," as symbolizing the parts respectively of the divine and the human agencies in the process of conversion—though the last one of the three, "knocking that is too late," has nothing to do with the matter in hand, for it never results in conversion—he attempts in five propositions, which should be but are not axiomatic, to lay down a sure foundation for his further argument. Nearly all his leading terms, however, need to be further defined before his propositions can be either assented to or denied. One cannot be quite certain what he means by the phrase "vital orthodoxy," whether it implies essential truth, or conventional assent as to doctrine; nor is it clear, beyond doubt, what is intended to be the effect of the predicate "vital," as here applied to that uncertain something. So the required "philosophy" is an uncertain quantity, for a philosophy may be either the essential nature of that to which it is applied, or it may be simply the mind's conception of that nature, and we are left to doubt and guess in which of these senses the term is here used. The two (not three) "kinds of knocking," while they recognize two agents, still fail to settle the question whether or not the human agency is original or only secondary—whether or not man's will is at all a primary factor in the process. The most thorough *monergist* concedes the agency of the human will in conversion, but denies that it selects its own way of proceeding. And so long as that question remains an open one, all deductions about "responsibility" and of a "sound theodicy" are gratuitous. The advice to preachers, to let their philosophy be biblical, is a good one; and as the Bible makes no attempt to formulate a philosophy of regeneration, nor to bring into view the elements out of which such a system can be constructed, the preacher who would emulate the biblical method will let its philosophy alone.

It is needful in the discussion of this subject to remember, that neither of the contestant parties respecting the relations of the divine sovereignty and of human free agency, has a monopoly of the truth. Mr. Cook seems to recognize this fact, and he attempts a kind of allotment of each one's share, to which distribution probably neither party would entirely agree. In behalf of one of them we should certainly insist upon a somewhat different form of statement. With only the verbally brief, but really important, qualification expressed by the words in brackets, we heartily accept his putting of the case:

> The enlightened Arminian does not deny the sovereignty of divine grace, nor that God is the first [and only *efficient*] cause, or the author of regeneration. So

the enlightened Calvinist does not deny that man has a part to perform in conversion. The mischief is in placing undue emphasis on half of the truth [and excluding the other half], and so teaching in effect the worst kind of falsehood—that is, a half truth.

It is said by theologians of several [all truly evangelical] schools, that God bestows regeneration by an act of sovereign grace. He gives no reasons why he bestows regeneration on one soul and not on another [but refers the difference in the outcomes to the misuse of free-will]. He has reasons. Various schools of theology tell us that these reasons are inscrutable [because the primary influences that determine men's actions lie back of the range of the consciousness].

Abuse of man's free-will is every-where represented in Scripture as the sole cause [the inseparable condition] of the loss of the soul. No soul is lost by God's fault. This is every-where the prevailing and final impresion of the Scriptures. Conscience holds us, and does not make God responsible for our sins; and so ethical science [the intuitions of the conscience] is in harmony with Scripture at its central point. The ultimate mystery is not the continuance, but the origin, of evil.

In the little world of the individual finite life the problem of the origin [the propagation and continuance] of evil can be solved to the satisfaction of the conscience; and so perhaps it can be in the great world of all finite lives. In the microcosm we find the origin of evil in [associated with] the abuse of free-will. We infer that in the macrocosm it had the same source.

But the two cases, those of the "microcosm," this world, and the "macrocosm," the moral universe, differ in their historical and essential conditions, and therefore no analogy between them can be maintained. According to the biblical record, the sin that curses our race did not originate in this world, but was itself an importation from the great world beyond. In the history of the temptation and fall of the original pair there is the implication that if left to themselves they would not have transgressed; nor are we able to conceive how a spiritual being, made in the image of God, "in righteousness and true holiness," all of whose impulses were by all the forces of its nature in harmony with the divine will, could originate other and opposite moral tendencies. In man's case, although the abuse of free-will was a condition without which the catastrophe could not have occurred, still the positive influences that brought it about did not originate in man, but were brought to him, and made effective in him, by the tempter. In the "microcosm" sin became a fact, by reason of an exotic and extra-mundane power; but that fact affords no solution of the origin of sin, where before it had no existence. In his attempted solution of this great mystery the lecturer does only what many others have done, darkened "counsel by words without knowledge"—gone beyond his own depth.

The lecturer's statement of the case, respecting God's knocking at the door of the sinner's heart, is characterized by similar felicities and infelicities of conception and expression, but with a decided balance toward the better side. The knocking by God for admittance into the soul is happily expressive of the prevenient and unsolicited seeking of sinful souls by the Saviour of lost men. No soul goes out after God except in response to the invitation and in compliance with the inward impulses of the Divine Spirit. And more than this, contrary to what the lecturer says next (but he says just the opposite in the very next sentence), though it is for "man to open the door," yet the power to do this is not his

"natural" power. The knocking is much more than an awakening of the sinner's attention, and an announcement of God's readiness to save him if he wishes to be saved. It also "invites, persuades, *enables*" (so says Mr. Cook), and surely these divine invitations and persuasive appeals, with their accompanying "gracious ability" to "open the door," are not "natural," but above nature as to their origin, and in their operations against all the impulses of the fallen and sin-enslaved soul. Every conversion is a conquest by the power of the Spirit over the rebellious preferences of the willing slaves of sin, who strive against the strugglings of the mighty conqueror till constrained to cry out, "I yield, I yield, I can hold out no more." We receive Christ by our own free consent; but our consent is itself the result of a divine conquest in the soul, which proceeds by "preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will." "God does not force the door," nor compel the choice, but he persuades the heart, and gives the needed power to make its choice effectual. In effect, though not in all cases in the happiest form, Mr. Cook seems to concede, and indeed to assert, all these things, and in so doing he places himself precisely upon the grounds of Wesleyan Arminianism, which, however, is not the same with the Arminianism of the later Remonstrants, and of the Church of England in the eighteenth century, in whose sight Arminius himself was essentially a Calvinist.

Following the lecturer in his presentation of the human side of the processes that lead to and result in the conversion of the soul, we find it necessary to move circumspectly, lest undue concessions shall be made to man's personal ability "to turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith and calling upon God." No doubt "to knock is an act of man's free-will"—not, however, of a will naturally free, but a divinely emancipated will. Nor do the non-spiritual impressions made by the invitations to repentance and salvation of the divine word and providence inspire the gracious desires that bring the man to Christ; but, instead, it is the inward working of divine power in the soul. All this is stated alike clearly and beautifully in one of our hymns; for in these it may be said one may find an unequaled system of evangelical theology:

"Long my imprisoned spirit lay,
Fast bound in sin and nature's night;
Thine eye diffused a quickening ray,
I woke, the dungeon flamed with light:
My chains fell off, my heart was free,
I rose, went forth, and followed thee."

Here is the whole situation. The soul imprisoned, and bound fast in unbelief, a very nightmare of unspiritual godlessness, is visited, unasking and unasked, by the light and life-giving power of the Holy Spirit, by which the man is awakened to the perception of spiritual things, and especially to a realizing sense of his own sinful character, and consequent condemnation and enslavement. And with the divine light comes also

delivering power (which may, indeed, be refused), and this accepted brings deliverance, and leads to a joyful self-consecration to God.

Just when and how the human element enters into this gracious process it is not easy to pronounce with certainty. Its presence in that work is presumed in all the practical teachings of the Scriptures, but whether the act of the will in accepting Christ precedes or follows the transformation of the spiritual nature by the Holy Spirit is not certainly determined. Manifestly, however, no one can live the life of faith unless he is of the "willing" as well as the "believing," nor is it any more difficult to suppose that salvation may be refused after it has actually entered into the soul than while, as yet, he that brings it stands without and knocks. And just here we must enter our decided dissent from the position of the lecturer, that "repentance" is the special contribution which the individual is to make to the conditions of his personal regeneration. Repentance is, indeed, very closely related to the work of the sinner returning to God, but not as a procuring cause or condition, but rather as a resultant consequence, like all other forms of good works.

In the rebound from the overstrained doctrines of the divine sovereignty, of irresistible grace, and man's entire passivity in the work of his own salvation, which is so marked a fact in the "New Theology," there is a perilous possibility that quite too much will be made of natural ability, and good works, and free-will—all excellent in their proper places, but none of them co-ordinate, in the farthest degree, with the merits of Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. Being found in Christ, the soul is "complete in him," and needs no supplementary grace; and, being in Christ, the man will abound in all goodness.

Looking then at the "New Theology" in its better, and we may add its more prevalent, manifestation, and especially contrasting it with that which it supersedes, we find very much to approve, and but little to condemn. In the transition from the high grounds of the Westminster standards to the present broad expanse of catholic Protestantism, the Calvinistic Churches of America have tried a variety of doctrinal schemes; but all in turn have been abandoned soon after the decease of their promulgators. Such was the case with the sublapsarianism of the elder Edwards, and the successive "New Divinities" of Hopkins and Emmons, of the New Haven school and the Oberlin school, and such no doubt will be the career of that of the latest Andover school. But in all these movements there has been a clearly marked tendency toward all that is essential in genuine Arminianism. How all this has been brought about it is not easy to determine very exactly. Perhaps a variety of causes, constituting together the tendency of the religious thought of the age, may be credited with the result. The claim that very inconsiderable influences affecting this result have proceeded from the presence of Methodism, and from the teaching of the Methodist pulpit, may perhaps excite only a smile from those who have never thought of looking to that source for the influences that shape the thinking of the times. But it is known that while these changes have been in progress, a set of religious teachers hav-

ing the Bible chiefly, "without note or comment," and Fletcher's Checks, were spreading the leaven of a more scriptural form of faith among the "common people," who demanded and would have a less repulsive Gospel than that of the "Platforms."

Just how largely these influences may have contributed to the changes that all must recognize it is not needful to inquire very closely. The conquering party can afford to be generous; and as we are satisfied with the results, we will rejoice that by some means the theology of English-speaking Protestantism is shaping itself into a form at once biblical and evangelical, and distinguished equally for its recognition of God's paternal sovereignty, of Christ's universal grace, and the gift of the Spirit with the proffer of salvation to all men.

NON-CLASSICAL METHODIST THEOLOGICAL SCHOOLS.

After a long and earnest discussion, beginning about fifty years ago, Theological Seminaries were added to the educational institutions of American Methodism. They have already done excellent service, and have become indispensable. They should be more amply endowed and equipped for their work. After the fashion of Andover, provision should be made for a fourth year's course of study for the few who wish to pursue some specialty, or to prepare for a theological professorship without the peril or the expense of seeking such advantages in the unwholesome atmosphere of German rationalism.

Our classically trained young men should be encouraged to attend these schools, and our people should be taught to supply our societies for ministerial education with abundant funds for the aid of promising young men of scholarly aspirations and aptitudes [presumably] called to the ministry.

But when all these things shall be done, it will be seen that a large majority of our candidates for the sacred office have not been reached. At the present time about seventy-five per cent. of the preachers who are admitted to our Conferences have had no institutional education in theology. This proportion will not soon be greatly diminished. The high vocation comes to many who are too poor, or too old, to go through a full course of study extending through ten years. A man of twenty-five, with only a plain English education, at length convinced that he is called to the ministry, ought not to remain in school till thirty-five, nor yet to enter upon his work without further preparation; and yet the Church makes no provision for such cases. He needs guidance in the study of his English Bible, of the doctrines, discipline, and history of his Church, in the art of correct reasoning, and of persuasive speech. The Conference Seminary is doing another kind of work, almost wholly literary and scientific, except a few like Wilbraham—we wish the exception may soon become the rule—which insists on a comprehensive course of Bible study. The existing theological schools are for college graduates.

Though others are admitted, they are not permitted to be graduated to the same degree with the collegians. Then, again, the presence of Bachelors of Arts in the lecture-room dominates the diction of the lecturer, which is too learned to benefit the non-graduate.

It must be noted that the exegetical instruction, which is the most important, inasmuch as it is the foundation of the systematic theology, is all given in the recitations in Hebrew and Greek. These languages many young men cannot wait to learn. Hence they should be instructed out of the English version, comparing the Authorized with the Revised. They desire to be drilled in the most effective use of the sword of the Spirit, the word of God. They should be taught to look at the history of the Bible through the two eyes which are alone capable of seeing it aright—chronology and geography. The literary beauties of the sacred oracles should be pointed out to these eager students, and their style of public address should be imbued with the terse vigor of Saxon speech—one of the many excellences of our English Bible. For these reasons the non-graduate is not attracted to our classico-theological seminaries. He cannot be drawn by a modified course of study, a system of electives, for the atmosphere of the school is too bracing, the culture is above him, and painfully contrasts with his scholastic deficiencies. The Congregationalists and Baptists of England have found that a system of lower ministerial education cannot be successfully carried on in a theological school of high grade, and so have established separate institutions for this class of candidates, such as those at Bedford, Bristol, Nottingham, Cottonham, and in London (Spurgeon's). Their course of study omits the Hebrew language entirely, reduces the Greek to the minimum, and substitutes street-preaching and house-to-house visiting several hours each week, the aim being to keep the student in close sympathy with the hearts of the common people. Paley's Evidences, a model of simple, idiomatic English, Wayland's Moral Science, Whately's Rhetoric, are specimens of the text-books in use. German theology and translations from German are eschewed. The full course is two years.

Methodism needs similar schools, especially in the older parts of our work, where the circuit, under some wise preacher in charge, has ceased to be a training-school. There is room for a less learned ministry, full of faith and the Holy Ghost—a reservoir of eloquence ready to be poured out upon the thirsty multitudes through the spigot of street language. If Methodism affords this ministry no training-school, and maintains a literary standard which excludes it, the Benjamin Abbotts and the Taylors (E. T. and W.) of the future will be trained by the Salvation Army, or by some other organization near to the popular heart, and our grandchildren will be discussing how our Church can arrest her steady decline, and bridge the chasm between her and the unsaved masses. The mission of Methodism is to all men, not exclusively to the poor, but to those who need us most, whatever their social status. Beginning with the lower and middle classes, she has lifted many to affluence and its attendant culture. These should not be handed over to denominations which, by a more or less complete

segregation from the masses, affect more refined tastes. Methodism should be able to carry its members to the highest social altitudes without loss of spirituality or laxity of discipline. At this our educational system should aim. But while we are doing this work up toward the apex of society we are in peril of neglecting the ever-increasing multitudes nearer the base on whom fortune has not smiled.

The highly educated preacher naturally shrinks from the uncultured and vicious. Only perfect Christian consecration, as in the Wesleys, Fletcher, and Coke, can counteract this tendency. There is also a sense in which great erudition disqualifies for the highest success in the lowest social stratum. The well-educated man grows cool and self-possessed. He fears to become impassioned, represses feeling, and ties down the safety-valve of emotion, and then deadens his fires lest there be an explosion. Culture staunches the fountains of his tears, and moderates action, the natural language of thought, and especially of emotion. This puts a gulf between the preacher and the people. It has been well said, "Few men can reason, but all can feel." Hence, Emerson tells young orators to go into the markets and note the directness and impassioned naturalness and true eloquence of men in the stalls debating some question of gain—"their words," said he, "go straight to the mark like bullets." For this reason the Oxford-trained Wesley, intent on saving the semi-heathen of England, when Samuel Bradburn would hasten away in disgust from a frantic, brawling fish-woman, belching out Billingsgate, said, "Stay, Sammy, and learn how to preach." The scholastic preacher finds a still wider gulf between himself and the toiling millions in the unknown tongue which he has learned in the haunts of science and philosophy. He has at his tongue's end such Grecisms as anthropomorphism, anthropology, soteriology, eschatology, archæology, and all the other *ologies*, which make our dictionaries corpulent and the minds of ordinary hearers empty. If the gift of interpretation of tongues is not somewhere in the audience in the form of a fervent exhorter, and he is not heard after the unknown tongue ceases, the poor people will go home with a dreary roaring in their ears as of a Niagara of words, but with no cry for mercy in their hearts. The hiatus still widens when we consider that high culture costs much money and fosters costly tastes. How can such a preacher be expected to step down from the platform of the high-toned theological seminary, with his diploma in hand and a thousand-dollar debt on his back, and with cheerfulness go down into the city slums and mingle freely with humanity foul with moral ulcers? We know that the grace of God has raised up Christian heroes of this kind in every age of the Church; but they are exceptional and altogether too few for this vast harvest-field at the bottom of society. And the few who go down from the heights of culture find a chasm between them and the people in a lack of experience of their peculiar temptations, and of sympathy with their sufferings and trials. They are easily outdone in effective labor for the conversion of sinners by such men as Jerry McAuley, Francis Murphy, William Noble,

and other reformed men whose testimony to the power of Christ is more convincing, and whose sympathetic eloquence is more persuasive.

It is evidently the design of the Head of the Church to use rough instrumentalities to save rough men and women. I am not pleading for the literary polish of these agencies, but for their barest biblical and doctrinal training to enable them to do the greatest possible good with the least possible evil arising from the matter and manner of their teaching. They should be well guarded against heresies and fanaticisms. This end can be accomplished by low-keyed theological schools in all our great cities, from Boston to San Francisco, open to men and women who are indorsed by some Christian Church. Will these schools be filled with students? We answer there are hundreds and thousands of consecrated young men and women longing for any kind of work for the Master, not daring to look so high as the pulpit because of literary deficiencies. They are waiting for the Church to give them the training which they are qualified to appropriate. If Methodism is as wise as Romanism she will make ample provision for laborers of widely diversified talents, and will supply the unchurched masses with an agency adapted to their necessities. We are not advocating a school for preachers only, but for all kinds of lay workers, male and female—Bible-readers, Sunday-school superintendents, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, Gospel temperance laborers, zenana visitors, colporteurs, evangelists, missionaries, home and foreign. Whether the refusal of our General Conference to license women to preach is wise or not, is not material to our argument. A great host of them have been encouraged by Methodism to open their mouths and proclaim in an informal way the glad tidings. They should have every possible preparation for their work to secure the highest efficiency with the least possible error in doctrine. I have included missionary training in these proposed schools, as a temporary expedient. The time is coming when our missions will be conducted on so vast a scale that missionary seminaries—like that at Basel, Switzerland—will be needed. Dr. J. T. Peck, in projecting the Syracuse University, included, under a separate board of trustees, a "college of missionaries." In the financial straits through which the University has passed, that wisely planned college was unwisely eliminated, and its funds were put into the treasury of the University. It was intended to do work of a much lower grade than the regular theological school. Dr. Peck was only about twenty years ahead of his age. It gave him great pain to see this child of his brain and heart strangled in its birth.

We have lately noticed, with a very lively interest, the establishment in Chicago by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, of a school for training female missionaries for both the home and the foreign work. This is a step in the right direction. May God grant it great success, and may the Church see to it that it lacks nothing requisite to its highest efficiency!

But we are pleading for institutions on a broader basis, limited to neither sex, and restricted to no specialty in the form of Christian work.

Can this want in Methodism be supplied by existing institutions? Not adequately. We have shown that our regular theological schools fail to supply this need. The non-graduate theological course is more germane to our Conference academies, and could with better success be engrafted upon them. But such an arrangement would be attended by certain great disadvantages: 1. A loss of a proper theological *esprit de corps* in a body of students of diverse aims. The school for which we plead should be intensely evangelistic in its spirit, and far removed from mere scholastic rivalries and ambitions. 2. The absence of such opportunities for daily practice, in various forms of Christian work, as abound in our great cities, for our academies are wisely located in country villages. The theological students who aim to reach and save the masses should be schooled in outdoor preaching, Christian temperance work, Young Men's Christian Association operations, Bible and tract distribution, Bible-reading, and evangelistic services, and mission-chapel preaching, all under the eye of competent teachers. Those seething caldrons of vice, our great cities, will for a long time to come afford ample opportunities for such work, unless our municipalities, under the political rule of Romanism, forbid outdoor preaching, as Boston has recently done, beneath the shadow of Faneuil Hall, "the cradle of liberty!" The Methodist Episcopal Church may be roused to action in this matter by seeing what others are doing. Dr. Talmage, of Brooklyn, several years ago, established such a school, from which good results have come. If I mistake not, Thomas Harrison, the evangelist, is one of its graduates. Dr. Cullis has for ten years maintained such a school in Boston, in which hundreds of young men and women have been fitted for Christian work at home and abroad. Rev. David A. Reed, of Springfield, Mass., has founded a "school for Christian workers," for which a magnificent building has just been dedicated. It is called a union school, but Congregationalism predominates. It is exclusively for men, laymen, and aims chiefly to train Sunday-school superintendents, Young Men's Christian Association secretaries, and city missionary workers. Rev. Mr. Hepworth, while a Unitarian pastor in Boston, started a training-school for developing laborers among the masses, but failed, because, first, Unitarianism has little or nothing to carry to the masses, and, secondly, it has no such imperative motive for carrying its meager Gospel as is furnished by the evangelical faith. Through the kindness of Rev. J. B. Paton, D.D., principal of the Congregational Institute, Nottingham, England, I have full reports of that school during the twenty-one years of its history. Of the four hundred and fifty students received it has found one hundred competent to complete a college course, and has sent them forward for that purpose. Two thirds of its graduates have become village and rural pastors, who are doing excellent work; the remainder are doing the work of evangelists and missionaries. Those trained for the pastoral office begin Greek in the school, and read a very little of the Greek Testament in the second-year course. This is not required of the others. Evangelistic or mission work is required of all. As a result, six additional Congregational churches have been raised up in

Nottingham alone; others have been established in England and Scotland, and many dying churches have been revived.

In the discussion which may follow this paper we predict that objections will be made, in the interest of our collegiate theological schools, that their financial resources will be tapped and needed offerings will be diverted from their treasuries and students will be drawn away from their classes.

To these objections we reply, that movements near to the popular heart in the interest of those who are low in the social scale, always open new fountains of benevolence in the hearts of wealthy men and women, who have a lively sympathy for the class from which they have so recently arisen. Methodism has a vast reservoir of accumulated wealth, which, for her spiritual health, needs a large and constant outflow for the benefit of the thirsty world. It may be that the present outlets are too high up to receive copious streams, and that an outlet lower down may be needed in order to deplete our hoarded riches. Excessive giving is the most distant peril to which Methodism in our day is exposed. Any thing which stimulates giving in one direction will incline her to give more liberally in other directions.

With respect to students, our proposed schools would help our Theological Seminaries in three ways: 1. They would sift out of them earnest and zealous men who have not the natural or acquired ability to master the course of study, but who are attempting it to their own detriment and that of the school which they have entered because no lower school is provided. 2. Some, beginning in the lower school, would develop the desire and the ability to advance into the higher institution, just as the Chautauqua course of reading has waked up some to prosecute a collegiate course. All schools of a lower grade are directly or indirectly feeders of those above them. 3. The less learned preachers, by their successes in saving souls and building churches, will create a demand for more preachers of higher culture, and in this way will fill our best theological schools.

DANIEL STEELE.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

HUGUENOT DOCUMENTS.—The memories of the sufferings of the Huguenots, revived by the anniversary of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, have called into life a large amount of documentary matter regarding the history of that eventful period in the story of French Protestantism. There has just appeared a new edition of the great work of Beza, entitled "History of the Reformed Churches in the Kingdom of France from 1521 to 1563." This work first appeared in 1580, in Antwerp, and was finally incorporated in the collection of the classics of French Protestantism published in Cologne in 1686, in a work by Claude, bearing the title, "Lamentations of the Cruelly Oppressed Protestants of France."

This "document" presents thrilling pictures of the devastations of the Church of the Reformation which were inflicted on it before the Revocation of the Edict. The author was a preacher in the "Temple" of Charenton near Paris, which, after the repeal, was destroyed by a fanatical mob. The author was then driven beyond the French lines, as being a peculiarly dangerous fanatic. His work, being a recital of his own personal experience, added much to the sympathy for his Church, and inspired both hearts and hands to accept and welcome the poor fugitives in foreign lands. The very documents of the State persecutions are given. The destruction of Protestantism had been in process of execution for a long time; numerous edicts and laws and declarations had been issued, and with the edict of 1685 it was thought the end was accomplished. But not so; for the ordinances reach into the middle of the following century, issued from time to time to smother the smouldering germs as they would again appear.

The necessity for a compilation of these papers made itself felt at an early period. For in 1686 three of the Romish clerical scholars published a glorification of the "Grand Monarch" for his work of annihilation of the "so-called" Reformed Church—for the official designation of the Protestant Church stood thus in State documents as early as 1570, that is: "*Religion prétendue Réformée.*" Collections of these were made for official use of the authorities in Paris, Toulouse, Rouen, and Grenoble.

Following these, the well-known Leon Pilatte, of Nice, has published the decrees against Protestantism in a new edition. These are naturally the most important, and are generally accompanied by explanations and notes to a series of individual cases. Although the documents of some entire Parliaments are left out of this collection, there are still not less than 336 decrees in it, which were issued from 1662 to 1751—that is, in a little more than ninety years — and which were thought worthy of publication; 206 of these belong to the government of Louis XIV. We thus, in authenticated words, are made acquainted with the weapons which the State and the Church in this highly refined France, in the flourishing period of its arts and sciences, felt no scruples in using in order to crush out those believers in the faith before committing them to the dungeons or the galleys.

THE CHURCH OF SWITZERLAND seems just now to be passing through a period of great activity, notwithstanding much antagonism. This life is best seen in the manifold conventions of the believers in the Protestant Gospel pure and simple. At one of these the theme of the preacher was "The Evangelization of the Masses," and his teachings were the many examples of Jesus the Lord while in the flesh. The highest Christian duty he declared to be to carry these tidings to those who will not seek them; and these are ringing words when we consider time and place and surrounding circumstances. The tendency is every-where to more and better work in the cause of religious instruction. In Geneva there is a demand for more thorough instruction in the elementary truths of Chris-

tianity of those about to be confirmed, and also for a greater number of services during the Sabbath. There is also a call for more open-air meetings to attract those who never hear the Gospel otherwise. In Basel there is a call for more Church services, and a "missioner" has gone thither from Argau to engage in the work. In Zürich the home mission work is being cultivated with great success.

Toward the close of last year there was a conference of the Church Aid Societies, which presented a scene of great activity. The first work reported was that of gospel preaching at the summer resorts, which in Switzerland are of course crowded with foreigners. In this enterprise the Swiss join with the Germans, and the pastors who had finished the season's work reported very satisfying success.

The increased demand in Switzerland for secular elementary schools makes it more and more necessary that the pastors of the Protestant Churches should care for the religious needs of the children of their parishes. Under such circumstances, nothing but great diligence on the part of religious teachers can make good the loss entailed on the children. In this interest the committee of the Young Men's Christian Associations has issued an appeal to the clergy and the Protestant teachers to redouble their efforts in behalf of gospel work among the young. This will greatly increase the necessity for conscientious Sunday-school work.

In German Switzerland, within the last few years, the number of students of theology has considerably increased. In French Switzerland, on the contrary, Protestant pastors are wanted. In the Canton of Vaud the Synod recently decided to render the admission of candidates more easy, and to make the pay of pastors better. For the aid of needy students nearly 4,000 francs were collected. The Seminary of Basel, containing about thirty students of theology, is rejoiced and strengthened by the fact that hereafter its pupils will be admitted to State examinations in some of the German kingdoms, as this State recognition will make the position more desirable to students. The foreign mission spirit is also rapidly growing in Switzerland, and is also gaining more and more of State recognition. Only a very few years ago public missionary meetings met with great opposition in Berne; but now these meetings can be held in the school-houses without interruption; and in the latter city, as in Zürich, the ordination of missionaries is permitted. In the Grisons the Synod lately resolved to establish missionary Sundays, and take up collections for the cause. All this is regarded as great progress.

A GERMAN THUCYDIDES.—Leopold von Ranke, the revered master of German historians, recently completed his ninetieth birthday, sound in body and in mind as he was forty years ago. All that could be gained in honor and distinction as a scholar was his long ago; but on his last birthday, at the advanced age of fourscore and ten, he received even greater homage. Many of the great men of his own and other lands vied with academies, universities, and other associations to do him reverence. From all parts of the German Empire, and far beyond its borders, there

came to him numerous addresses and letters of reverence and sympathy. The Emperor and Empress honored him with their portraits for his stern and just judgment of Prussia's history, and for the light in which he had placed his country for the present and the future. The Crown-Prince came to greet him in person, and other German princes gratefully confessed themselves his pupils; while the entire ministry of the State, in a special address, expressed the hope that his life might be spared, with the wisdom of age and the unconquerable vigor of youth, to finish the work in which he is now engaged, namely, a universal history.

In Vienna and other European capitals special celebrations were arranged in his honor to testify to the royal significance of his historical studies of the present age. Peculiarly affecting was the greeting that he received in his own home from numerous notabilities of science, who uttered words of gratitude and affection. To these the venerable scholar replied, as from his own chair to his own pupils, in an address full of surprising beauty and flashes of genius—a confession of faith as to his scientific life, and the course of culture and thought that led him to a conviction of his life vocation.

No German scholar ever celebrated a birthday like this, because Germany never had a scholar like him. His activity has occupied a space of sixty years, and yet it is not finished. In his presence the strength of younger men in the professional chair has waned, while the hoary sire in his eighty-fifth year began to solve the problem of historical science with one grand finale of universal history. The separate histories of nearly all European states had passed under his eye and treatment, when he resolved to cap the climax of his individual monuments with a harmonious crown to the whole. In 1824 he opened his career with the history of Romanic and Germanic nations; then followed that of the Popes of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the German history of the period of the Reformation. In all this work he labored among the fountains of information, and thus brought to light very much from original sources. For four years he worked in Venice, Rome, and Florence, and presented the result of his labors in a form and style of uncommon depth and perspicuity. He treated of statecraft, royalty, democracy, religion, and literature in a style of historical development that delighted his hearers and entranced his readers. At his desk in the University of Berlin thousands of pupils, young and old, listened to him almost as to one inspired, and the gray-haired men of to-day were his pupils when he already seemed old. And still he lives, and thinks, and works, though an old man of ninety years.

Alcoholism in France is beginning to assume alarming proportions, as it is indeed raging as a pest in various European nations. Hitherto the French have had the reputation of being a comparatively sober nation, owing, they say, to their good and cheap wines; and they themselves have been foremost in the expression of disgust at the drunkenness of other nationalities. But the period seems to have passed when they

can consistently do this, for the latest statistics show an immense and alarming increase in the consumption of alcoholic drinks. Within the last fifty years the consumption of these has increased threefold, without any very great increase in the population.

It is clear that for the last few years, especially in the large cities, the use of wine has been on the decrease and that of ardent spirits on the increase, the former falling off about four per cent., while beer and liquor have increased about thirty-five per cent. Of course the evil effects of this change have not tarried in their coming, especially since it has been helped on by imported liquors from Germany and Holland. Rum and gin, which were comparatively little known to the French before the Franco-German war, are now quite familiar terms. French political economists have already observed that in those regions of the north and north-east of France where alcoholic drinks are most indulged in, there crime has greatly increased. The suicides, that in 1830 amounted to 1739, now amount to nearly 7,000 annually, and among these cases it is statistically reported that an overwhelming percentage is due to alcoholism.

And all this occurs under the heavy weight of large taxation on liquors of a spirituous nature; indeed, the taxes seem to have no influence in lessening the consumption, for to-day three times as much brandy and other ardent spirits are drank as was consumed fifty years ago. Added to this, the trade in spirituous liquors is absolutely free since 1880. No legal permission is now required to open a liquor shop; it is sufficient to give fourteen days' notice of the fact, so that the police may prepare to look after the disorder that may occur in the neighborhood. The natural result is an immense increase of liquor shops in Paris. There are now about 30,000 in that city.

Since 1873 there is a law that punishes public drunkenness and that forbids the sale of liquor to notorious drunkards or minors, but the report is, that this law is by no means strictly enforced. At last, however, there is a moral reaction against this vice; the chosen few who see the imposing danger to the state and society are endeavoring to stem the tide. A few temperance societies have been formed, mainly by the influence of the Protestant clergy, for the Catholic hierarchy seem as yet to ignore the fact of this growing and all-consuming vice. The Swiss society of the "Blue Cross" has been invited into France, and has there founded a few branches, mainly in Paris. This society demands complete prohibition as the only means of curing the drunkard and preventing the increase of the vice. But it must be said that most of the thoughtful and Christian men of France have little confidence in aught else as an effective antidote than the revival of the Spirit of God.

From Italy we learn that the ministry has gained a victory over the opposition, and still holds the reins that threatened to fall from its hands. The arbitration of the Pope between Germany and Spain seems to have served the Germans rather than the Italians, and therefore brings no great eclat to the Vatican. The Cardinal-Secretary of State, as the Pope's

Chancellor is still called in memory of the past, recently gave a grand State dinner, from which were omitted all the Cardinals that are hostile to Prussia. The object of this strange proceeding is not so clear, except that it be to cultivate kindly feelings with Prussia in order to make an end of the past as far as the Kulturkampf is concerned. But no mortal can get a satisfying glance of the secret threads that in so masterly a way move the policy of the Vatican.

In the late Encyclical, now known in history as the "Immortale Dei," a special copy of which was sent both to Bismarck and the Emperor, every one who understands the business language of the Vatican sees a virtual declaration of war on all constitutional states, especially those in which parity of religions is allowed. For when the foreign office of the Curia speaks of the "Christian Church" it means, of course, the Church of the Pope by the grace of God. In these late negotiations it was observed that the Prussian embassador negotiated with the Pontiff in the name of the Empire rather than of Prussia; all of which shows a great *rapprochement*, to speak diplomatically, between the two powers. The Italian students in the State universities are quite inclined to be troublesome, just now; for which reason the Minister of Public Instruction is also inclined to draw the reins more tightly. The youth of Italy are forbidden to form associations for political purposes, an order which has caused a storm of opposition from these sons of the Muses. But they seem to obtain but little sympathy and support from either the people or the press, since the demonstration of the students of Rome in favor of Overdank, the assassin.

The History of the Reformation has become almost a watch-word among German scholars since the recent "Luther Days." At that period they formed an association to cultivate study and investigation referring to the great event, and this society has just finished and reported on its second year of activity. The number of members has largely increased, and the outlook for continued literary activity is quite encouraging. The ultramontane press is inclined to belittle its efforts, and gives periodical assurance of the failure of its aims. But this is only seemingly so, because most of the members of the association in foreign lands think it best to send what they may collect and prepare from archives and libraries without giving the visible source of the communications, which proceeding spares them much unpleasantness.

It is observed, however, that these documents are not passed over in silence by the foreign camp; a fact which makes it the more desirable to continue the work, as the sons of the "Reformers" have a good and valid right to all the sources which may give insight and intelligence to the history and fate of the great uprising. The result of these labors is, a series of histories and biographies of the most prominent witnesses and workers for the true Gospel at isolated points. Among these we quote "Schott's Revocation of the Edict of Nantes," and the "Life of Heinrich von Zütphen." We are also mindful of the fact that many of the insinua-

tions of Romish authors, as well as falsifications of history, are to be examined and rectified. That there is great necessity for labor in this line is proved by the misrepresentations of the history of the period of the Reformation in Wurtemberg, and also the attacks on Luther in the latest Romish tribunal. The president of the association expresses a desire that this conflict may go on valiantly, as it uncovers many hidden and unworthy attacks on gallant Christian workers of other days. The corps of investigators, now containing such names as Köstlin, Kawerau, and Jacobi, will, it is hoped, be increased by members from all gospel lands, so that the body will be a veritable "*corpus evangelicorum.*"

THE GERMAN workers for the Protestant cause in Italy are a very compact and loyal body of men. Their main object is to keep the many Germans settled in various Italian cities within the bosom of their gospel faith and their home Church, and also to give what aid they may to the Protestant work among the Italians themselves.

They recently held their sixth annual convocation in Genoa, the last being in Rome. They came to northern Italy that those working in that section of the peninsula might have a more easy opportunity to meet all their brethren and participate in their proceedings. All the workers of northern Italy were present except those from Bergamo, Milan, and Venice, who gave valid reasons for their absence, one of which, we surmise, was want of funds for the journey, as they receive but a very meager support. Several fine addresses were delivered, which show the bent of their investigation and the line of their reading, namely: "The Proof Bible," which is virtually their revised version; "The Propaganda Fide;" and "Ancient Christian Art."

In the practical portion of the proceedings we see every-where an appeal for more help from the Fatherland for the extension of their work; and for this purpose they resolved to apply for recognition from the central committee of the Gustavus Adolphus Association of Leipsic. It was gratefully announced that the General Synod of the Evangelical Church in Prussia had taken up a collection for their aid, and that the Gustavus Adolphus Association of Eisenach had appropriated 1,500 marks for the support of one of the circuit preachers of Italy. Some of the ministers proposed a system of circuit preaching throughout the land, the only objection to which seemed to be the want of money to pay traveling expenses. Monthly meetings were announced as being held in Messina and Palermo when not interfered with by the cholera quarantine. It is quite a revelation to know that there are so many German settlements in Italy, and gratifying to learn that those who serve them are so loyal under great tribulation. These organizations must be maintained by the aid of the home churches, for which these evangelists now earnestly plead.

THE SECULAR SCHOOL IN FRANCE is still the main weapon with which the clergy wage their war against the government. The Conservatives largely owe their recent victory in the late elections to these schools as a watch-

word. Indeed, many of the large political journals of the country openly announce, that in certain towns in the west and south-west of France teachers give instruction in the Catechism in spite of the laws against it. And strange as it may seem, the Protestant schools and seminaries for teachers suffer in this struggle more than do those of the Catholics, because the Catholics are numerous enough to maintain their own religious schools outside those of the parish, while the Protestants are not.

According to a recent report the primary schools are on the increase, and teachers for them and the secular schools are becoming more abundant. Education in these is now compulsory up to the thirteenth year. But in addition to these, the Catholic orders maintain elementary schools with well nigh 1,000,000 pupils. Regularly examined teachers with diplomas are increasing very rapidly, and the system of savings-banks in the schools is making great advance; the last report in regard to this matter gave a total deposit of over 11.000 francs. The greatest improvement in the year past has been in the character of the teachers, owing to the numerous normal schools recently established. The male graduates of these institutions are nearly all employed; many of the female graduates are without employment because the French do not take kindly or rapidly to the system of women teachers in the elementary schools. There is now a normal school in nearly every department of France.

THE JEWS in various parts of Europe seem extremely active at present. In Rome they have received new laws granted by the government, which virtually form them into a separate community. They have about forty councilors that decide on all matters regarding them, except the election of rabbis, which must be by the voice of all the voters. The separate synagogues remain independent, but new ones will soon be needed as the Jews' quarter, known as the "Ghetto," is being demolished for sanitary and civil purposes. A *Talmud-Thora*—that is, a seminary for the training of rabbis—was recently opened in Rome. The Jewish congregation at Leghorn recently inquired of the superior synagogue of Turin as to whether cremation would be permitted among them; a negative answer was received. The college of rabbis declared that cremation is incompatible with the requirements of Jewish burial. In the new French Chamber there are now four Jews, an increase of two over the last. In Russia it has been announced that students of non-Christian confessions have no claims to State aid in the form of stipendiums. The chief of police of St. Petersburg has also decreed that no Jews may now settle there without a permission, granted on the basis of presentation of their case. The emigration of Russian Jews to Palestine continues in goodly numbers. Most of this is directed to certain Jewish colonies near Jaffa.

THE CATACOMBS OF ROME have at last fallen into excellent hands for a treatment on the Protestant side of the question. The chaplain of the German embassy at Rome, a gentleman of rare attainments, has under-

taken the task of investigating them in the interest of Christian archæology rather than that of the dogmatics of the Romish Church. After the meritorious services of Dr. Piper of Berlin and Professor Schultze of Greifswald in regard to the inscriptions and figures of subterranean Rome, this work of Dr. Karl Romke comes in as a very desirable sequel. His numerous notes show that he is well versed in the literature pertaining to the subject, besides being at home in the labors of Rossi, Armellini, and Martigny. He uses with care Kraus's Encyclopedia of Christian Antiquities, and seems to digest all the labors of his predecessors into a volume that will henceforth be very desirable to those who would be well and wisely guided in all that pertains to the Catacombs in a broad Christian sense.

THE "FREE CHURCHES" of France—the so-called "*Eglises libres*"—seem to hold their own, notwithstanding the indifference of friends and the hostilities of enemies. At a recent synod they reported over 200,000 members who had contributed 260,000 francs for their support. The most important resolution taken by the body was that in regard to the establishment of parishes in the broader sense, besides their congregations. The members of the body also resolved not to move a step from the two principles of separation of Church and State and individual confession of faith founded on conversion. Thus the Church of the masses and the Church of the confessors are for the moment two bodies, that cannot be united. This last resolution is very significant, and will more than ever show the *Eglises libres* in their right light. Pastor Soulier was the bearer of greetings from the semi-official Synod of the Reformed State Church, Jacatot from the independent Church of Neufchâtel, and Rev. Mr. Brown from the Free Church of Scotland.

"THE CATHOLIC MISSIONS" of Paris, a missionary journal, contains many letters regarding the Christians in Annam. It goes without saying, that the Catholic priests could not expect much mercy from the people of the country that the French were ruthlessly invading. The result was a fierce conflict against all natives who sympathize with the French missionaries, or who were in any way under their influence or on their side. This led to a virtual war between them and the natives, in which three of the French fathers or priests led a column of three thousand of their followers against the attack of thousands of well-armed rebels, as the French call them. In one of the provinces Père Auger organized an expedition and went at the head of a column of "Christians" who proceeded to release another community of Christians that were besieged. The sum of all the losses was the slaughter of seven thousand Christians and the destruction of seventy Christian settlements. But what a crowd of Christians these French priests seem to have made. And what do they mean by the appellation of Christian?

PALESTINE continues to be the scene of repeated failures in the line of Jewish settlements with a view to possess the land. Another colony of

Jews, started there by the money of benevolent Englishmen, has just gone totally to pieces. During the late Jewish persecutions in Russia and Roumania many poor families were induced to find shelter by means of English money in the abandoned village of Artuf. More land was bought for them, a goodly number of provisional houses were constructed, and a synagogue and a school-house were built. But the new settlers, who seemed to rely more on English gold than on the fruit of their labors, obeyed with no good grace the orders of the overseer, who became so disgusted with them and discouraged with the undertaking that he gave up his position. At present only two families remain there, and it looks as if the colony were completely prostrated. A desperate effort is now being made to revive it from Jerusalem, under the guidance of assistance from there. But it will probably go the way of all Jewish colonies in Palestine. The Jews who go there are of a poor, helpless class—they go to die rather than to live.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE DEATH OF BISHOP HANNINGTON.—After weeks of anxious suspense concerning the fate of Bishop Hannington, the rumor of his assassination near the Victoria Nyanza has been so far confirmed that only the faintest hope is entertained of his being still alive. It was on New Year's day that the Secretaries of the Church Missionary Society received the first intimation that the Bishop and his company had, in the country of the Wasoga, lying east of the northern end of the Victoria Nyanza, been sacrificed to the native fear of a European invasion. The Bishop was trying to reach Rubaga, the capital of Uganda, at the northern end of the lake, the seat of the great Central African mission of the Church Society, by a shorter route than that usually traveled. The journey from Zanzibar by way of Mpwapwa and Uyui to the southern end of the Victoria Nyanza, thence by boat to Rubaga, at the north, is a journey of about 800 miles. It is the route heretofore taken by the missionaries. Bishop Hannington was anxious to find a shorter route, and decided to start from the coast at a point considerably north of Zanzibar, and go direct to the northern end of the lake, skirting the base of Kilimanjaro, and marching through the country of the Masai, the most savage of all the African tribes. It is known that with his attendants and a large company of carriers he escaped the perils of the journey, which had previously been taken by but one European, Mr. Joseph Thompson, and arrived in the country of Usoga, which lies directly to the east of Uganda, to which it is tributary. Mr. Jones, an African clergyman, who accompanied the Bishop, appears, for some unknown reason, to have been left at Kavirondo, a district on the east side of the lake. Mr. Thompson had stopped at a point on the border of the Uganda territory, and as he had no permit to enter it he deemed it prudent to turn back. The Bishop, however, pressed on into Usoga.

Here, according to the various accounts which the Society has received, the travelers were arrested and imprisoned, and messengers were sent to the king of Uganda, Mwanga, to ask what should be done with them. The first intelligence received in London on New Year's day came by telegram. On February 7 Mr. Handford telegraphed from Mombasa on the coast, north of Zanzibar, as follows: "Jones returned. Bishop undoubtedly murdered." A telegram asking who witnessed the murder, and when and where, was immediately sent by way of Zanzibar, and on February 12 a reply was received which the Secretaries of the Society interpret thus: Bishop Hannington was murdered in Usoga, October 31. He was proceeding with fifty men when he was arrested and imprisoned, and on the return of messengers from Uganda, on the eighth day, was with his company, led out to execution. Four of his men escaped, besides Jones, who had been left at Kavirondo. Two of the four who escaped, and who were eye-witnesses of the murder, were in Zanzibar when the reply was sent. There can be little doubt, in the face of these explicit accounts, that the Bishop has perished; but the Secretaries refuse to give him up yet. They say: "The hope that he has been spared is faint indeed; but yet, so far as we at present know, no one has actually seen him killed." The Secretaries have also received letters from their missionaries in Uganda, dated October 27, four days before the execution is said to have taken place. One, by Mr. Mackay, is addressed to Consul Kirk, at Zanzibar, by whom it was forwarded to London. Mr. Mackay says the report reached Rubaga on the 24th of October that Bishop Hannington and party were at Busoga, four days' journey from Rubaga. On the 25th, a gang of men was sent by King Mwanga to kill the Bishop and his company, and bring their goods to the capital. This order was given secretly, and the court tried to mislead the anxious missionaries, telling them that the Bishop was simply to be turned back, for Uganda must not be entered from the back door. The Wasoga might possibly kill the party, but the Uganda court could not be held responsible for that. The arrest was made by a marauding party sent out previously by the king, and the Bishop was put in the stocks, and was, it was learned, suffering from illness. The prisoners were under the control of Luba, chief of Usoga. The missionaries went every day to the court, but the king would not receive them. He was impressed with the belief that the Bishop was only the forerunner of a European invasion, and feared that his country was to be annexed, as territory in the neighborhood of Zanzibar had been claimed by Germany. The chiefs are all unfriendly, and on the suspicion of being political agents the missionaries were arrested by their order in June last, and were to be sent out of the country, and only escaped by paying a heavy indemnity. The feeling against foreigners is running higher and higher, and the missionaries are in imminent danger.

Since the above was written a letter has been received by the Church Missionary Society from the Rev. William Jones, one of the company who escaped, dated Rabai, Feb. 15, 1886. It confirms the reports of the kill-

ing of Bishop Hannington. It is thought that ten or more of the company escaped. Fuller details from the scene of the massacre will be anxiously awaited.

MISSIONARY SOCIETY OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.—The sixty-seventh Annual Report of this Society is quite a bulky volume. It consists of 325 pages, against 288 last year. The increase, however, is not to be taken simply as indicating growth in missionary operations, for the report of 1881 embraced 333 pages. Some years the reports from the various fields are fuller than usual, though they may not be years of extraordinary missionary activity. The natural tendency is, of course, to larger volumes as new missions are opened and existing missions extended. Korea was added last year to the list of foreign missions, which now number seventeen, an increase of seven in fourteen years. The ten missions of 1871 were Africa, South America, China, Germany, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, India, Bulgaria, and Italy. For these missions there were 168 missionaries, 96 assistants, and 139 helpers. It is to be observed, however, that 18 of the 168 missionaries were female and native missionaries. We had last year only 116 foreign missionaries, a decrease of 13 from the previous year, and of more than thirty from the year 1871. There were, however, last year 72 assistant missionaries (the wives of missionaries), 68 missionaries (female) appointed by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society, besides a very large native force. These are encouraging evidences of growth. As the native agencies increase the demand for missionaries from this country becomes less pressing except for new fields. The whole working force reported in 1871 was only 403; now it is 2,259, an increase of more than 1800. The strength of the native element of this working force is a fact of tremendous significance. There are, for example, no fewer than 709 native preachers, besides 694 native teachers, exclusive of the 334 native workers reported by the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. So large a native working force implies a large membership, and we find that the increase in the fourteen years has been of the most encouraging character. The total of members and probationers in 1871 was 16,795. Last year it was 49,575, indicating an almost threefold increase, or an average net gain of 2,341 a year.

In nothing, however, has healthy growth been more apparent than in the matter of contributions. The total of collections for missionary and current expenses returned in 1871 was $14,771 16. Last year $9,283 was given for the Missionary Society alone. Adding to this the gifts for the other benevolences—$5,228—we have $14,511 for the general schemes of the Church collected on the foreign field, a sum nearly equal to the whole amount contributed in 1871. Besides this, there was raised last year, $74,377 for self-support, $54,180 for church building and repairing, and $74,871 for other local purposes, making the magnificent total of $217,909 raised by our foreign missions last year. While, in fourteen years, we have only been able in any one year to get $200,000 beyond the missionary receipts of 1871, our foreign missions have added more

than $200,000 to their annual contributions for all purposes. Is there not food for reflection in these showings?

Africa occupies the first place among our foreign missions in order of time; but it is among the least productive. It covers but little more than two pages in the Report. Bishop Taylor held the Liberia Conference in January of last year and again this year. The Church is looking to the Bishop's enterprises for the encouragement which Liberia has failed to give.

The superintendent of our South American missions says, that while 1884 was reported as the "most prosperous year ever known in this mission," the past year has been still more prosperous. The salient features of the progress of the year are, he says, the "conversion of souls, the ingathering of members, the founding of new congregations, Sunday-schools, and day schools, the increase of funds raised, both in the aggregate and in the average per member, the growth and reliability and zeal in the new workers, improvement in the operating of the Discipline, and a sensible gain in our *hold on the public mind.*" The total membership has risen to 898, a gain of 142 the past year. The contributions were $12,557, a clear gain of over $3,000.

The reports from the four missions in China occupy 45 pages, and are full of interest. In the Foochow Conference two revivals are mentioned as having occurred in the Foochow District with very satisfactory results. The native preachers have little confidence in protracted meetings, which are strange to them. They believe in regular methods, but are beginning to see the value of special efforts. The six presiding elders in the Conference are all natives. Little persecution is reported in any of the districts. In Yong-ping District there has been a marked improvement in this respect, and the people are looking with some favor on the new doctrine. The missionary in charge on this district says the Chinese are more zealous in church building than any other form of self-support. If they could be induced to take the same interest in supporting the preachers, a great point, he thinks, would be gained. Within the Conference $1,225 was raised last year for church building and repairing, and $754 88 for self-support. The net increase of communicants was only 87. In the Central China it was nearly 100. In the North China mission a determined effort is being made toward self-support, three of the preachers having pledged one tenth of their salary to this purpose. There have been ten conversions during the year in our new mission in West China, and there are 64 day and 94 Sabbath scholars. The dispensary work in Chung-King is very large, and attracts much attention. It more than pays for itself.

The increase in the Germany and Switzerland Conference of communicants was 514. The work is also in a very prosperous state in the Scandinavian missions.

The reports from the North India Conference are full and of good tone. Every charge or circuit is mentioned, and there seems to be prosperity in them all. This appears in definite form in the statistics, which show a

net gain of 527 communicants. The increase of probationers was 365, including 248 who were baptized at a *mela*, and are reported in connection with the Oudh District. Presiding Elder Johnson, in his report for this district, says interest in the Gospel message is becoming more general, and the number of those rejecting heathenism is rapidly increasing. The day to expect great things is at hand. Speaking of the conversions at the *mela* he says:

> The baptism of 248 in three days at the Adjudiya *mela* has probably awakened more thought and discussion than the baptism of ten times that number will a few years hence. The fact that the people baptized at Adjudiya were from distant parts of the country, and their place of residence unknown, has nothing to do with the genuineness of the work at the time. We must, however, keep a careful record of all who are baptized, and make their care and instruction our chief work, even should it revolutionize all our present plans.

There are three English-speaking churches in the Conference—one in Cawnpore, one in Lucknow, and one in Naini Tal. These churches have a total of 133 members and probationers. All the rest of the 4,977 communicants returned by the Conference are natives, and one district, the Amroha, is entirely native, with native presiding elder and native preachers. The sum raised for self-support in the Conference was $6,102, showing an increase of upward of $1,800.

For South India the Annual Report is able to give little except what is found in the Minutes of the Conference for 1884, when there were 1,888 members and probationers.

The superintendent of the Bulgarian mission states that the past year has been "one of quiet activity, considerable encouragement, and some gains." The total of communicants is now 96, against 76 in the previous year. As to the outlook the superintendent says:

> Judging by the experience of the past, we may expect a slow increase, to go on indefinitely, slightly accelerated from year to year. But another factor enters now into the problem. What of the war? It would be hazardous to prophesy, but note the fact! Russia, whence our opposition gained most of its inspiration, seems likely to be entirely eliminated as an important factor in the Bulgarian problem. The union with Eastern Roumelia brings us the moral support of a strong and rapidly growing community there, raised up by the labors of the missionaries of the American Board. The bereavement of Bulgarian homes is softening the hearts of the people under the discipline of sorrow, and must lead many of them to turn to their neglected Bibles for comfort. The substantial moral support they are receiving from England must shake the faith of many of them in the infallibility of "orthodoxy," and tend to convince them that Christianity and not "orthodoxy" must characterize the platform of a universal faith.

Japan, one of the most promising of our foreign missions, is prospering in every department. In the eight districts into which the Conference is now divided there are 1,648 communicants, a net increase of 221 during the year. Italy is growing slowly, and Mexico a little more rapidly, the net increase being 127. The growth in Mexico is described as being a healthful one. The total of members and probationers is 1,361, with 36 congregations and increased contributions for self-support.

Korea is the newest of our foreign missions. There is little to say of it

except that a beginning has been made by Dr. Scranton and Mr. and Mrs. Appenzeller in Seoul. Mr. Appenzeller reports the abolition of slavery by royal edict, a very important step toward reform.

THE TONGAN SECESSION.—Our readers will remember the accounts which we gave some months ago of the secession in Tonga from the Wesleyan Church, and the formation of a new Church, calling itself the National Church, with the king at its head. The Friendly Islands, to which group Tonga belongs, are attached to the New South Wales Wesleyan Conference, forming a district by themselves, while Fiji, Samoa, and New Britain and New Ireland form another district in the same Conference. The Conference at its annual session in Sydney in January received a report of a deputation which had been appointed to investigate the causes of the secession, and discussed the subject on the basis of the report at great length. It appears from the statistical report of the Friendly Islands District that the secession has almost destroyed the Wesleyan Church. In the four districts composing the mission only 852 out of 5,113 members remain in the Wesleyan Church. In Tonga 2,555 out of 3,151, and in Vavau 1,858 out of 1,862, have gone over to the new Church, the total loss being 4,413. The new Church is called the Free and Independent Church of Tonga. The deputation, which consisted of the Rev. Messrs. John Watsford, Frederick Langham, and William T. Robane, were appointed by the General Conference of the Australasian Wesleyan Methodist Church in 1884. They were instructed to visit the Friendly Islands and examine into the affairs of the Church with a view to the recommendation of such measures as would put an end to the troubles which King George of Tonga had brought to the attention of the Conference in a letter asking that the Tongan mission be detached from the New South Wales Conference and united with the New Zealand Conference. The deputation were instructed to report to the New South Wales Conference in 1886, and that Conference was empowered by the General Conference to transfer the Tonga District to the New Zealand Conference if it were deemed advisable so to do. The deputation submitted a long report with a copy of the evidence taken. After the deputation had been appointed news of the secession reached them, and they hastened their inquiry, visiting Tonga in May last instead of October, as they had originally intended. They went, they say, as peace-makers, determined to make any concessions not opposed to the interests of right. They had an interview with the king and heard the statements of Messrs. Baker and Watkin, leaders of the secession, and made full inquiry into all the alleged cases of persecution. They found Mr. Baker, they say, supreme, king in all but name of Tonga. On every side they heard, "Tubau is king, but Mr. Baker rules." The deputation saw nothing to give them any other impression. Mr. Baker would not deny it. Nothing could be done in State or in the new Church without his permission. They found that a great deal of persecution had been used in behalf of the new Church. The plan adopted was this. Meetings were called in

towns and villages and the king's letter was read and his will was made known, sometimes by Mr. Baker himself, that they should join the new Church. Those who remained in the old Church were persecuted. Men and women were driven from their homes and land. Some were banished to uninhabited islands, some received personal violence, and churches in some cases were taken possession of by force. The deputation charged the responsibility for this persecution on Mr. Baker, and he did not deny it. They asked the king whether each man would be allowed hereafter to worship God in peace, but he would give no direct answer. There could be no peace, he said, while Mr. Moulton (the chairman of the district) remained. Mr. Baker charged that Mr. Moulton was opposed to the government, and that the people were persecuted, not because they were Wesleyans, but because they adhered to Mr. Moulton. Though the deputation had little hope of effecting a reconciliation, they resolved, after they had learned the history of the secession, to make four propositions, as follows :

1. That the Tongan District should be separated from the New South Wales and Queensland Conference, and be connected with the Victoria and Tasmania Conference.
2. That Mr. Moulton's request made two years ago and which he was prepared to repeat if by that a reconciliation could be affected—that he be allowed to remove from Tonga to a circuit in New South Wales—be complied with.
3. That Mr. Watkin be allowed to withdraw his resignation; that he suffer no disabilities because of any thing that had taken place: and that his request presented two years ago, to be allowed to remove from Tonga to a colonial circuit, be complied with.
4. That the most suitable ministers that could be found in any of the colonies be sent to carry on the work in Tonga.

Mr. Baker expressed his willingness to accept all the propositions except the third, asserting that the king would never consent to Mr. Watkin's removal. If Mr. Moulton and Mr. Crosby were removed he would be willing to have the district annexed to one of the Annual Conferences in two or three years. The deputation could not, however, give way any further, and Mr. Baker positively refused to accept their compromise. They then considered the question whether they would recommend the withdrawal of the Wesleyan Church from Tonga, and quickly decided it in the negative. It would be unjust and cruel to the persecuted people to abandon them. It would not heal the breach, because the remnant of the people would not join the new Church.

This is the substance of the report laid before the New South Wales Conference, the recommendation being that an experienced minister should be sent to Tonga and Mr. Moulton be relieved. Subsequently two of the three members of the deputation withdrew their approval of the recommendation so far as it concerned Mr. Moulton, and ultimately a resolution was passed by the Conference refusing to accept the recommendation, and declaring that the retention of Mr. Moulton is indispensable to the preservation of the Wesleyan Church in the Friendly Islands. No disposition was shown in the long discussion on the report to censure Mr.

Moulton, but some of the speakers for the minority thought there had been imprudence of administration.

One of the speakers, referring to the losses by the secession, said that at the last General Conference the Wesleyan Church had in Tonga, according to the published returns, 18,500 adherents; but now there were only 2,100, so that since the last General Conference they had lost 16,400 adherents of their Church. At the last General Conference the returns showed 7,386 full members at Tonga. At the present moment there were 852. That meant that since the last General Conference they had lost 6,484 full and accredited Church members. The Conference by its action retains Mr. Moulton as chairman of the Friendly Islands District, and leaves the situation unchanged.

Explorations on The Congo.—Mr. Grenfell, of the English Baptist mission on the Congo, is making, in the mission steamer *Peace*, some interesting explorations of the great tributaries of the Congo. In one of his journeys he ascended the Mobangi River several hundred miles, and went up the Congo as far as Stanley Falls. He also ascended the Itimbiri to Lobi Falls and the Lomami, which leaves the Congo near the Falls. His most recent trip was up the Black and Lulango rivers, which flow from the south into the Congo, the former at the point where the equator crosses it, the latter a short distance above. Mr. Grenfell went up the Lulango a distance of 400 miles, and found the country a rich one, especially in ivory, and the people generally friendly. Some of the districts are very populous, and towns of ten thousand inhabitants are not infrequent. The curse of the region is the slave-trade. On the upper half of the river Mr. Grenfell was warmly welcomed, and he recommends that a mission station be established at Masumba. At Ditabi, upward of a hundred miles beyond Masumba, a different kind of people were met with.

Near the head of navigation an important market was found, but it contained nothing indicative of communication with civilization beyond a few brass ornaments. Cloth was of no account with the natives. A few beads or a tin can were, however, as current as coin in London. On the Black River, with its tributaries, the Bosira and the Juapa, both of which Mr. Grenfell ascended, there were startling evidences of cannibalism. Mr. Grenfell learned that a canoe had gone up the Bosira on a trading expedition a short time before, but had not returned. The natives had captured the canoe and killed and eaten the crew. Mr. Grenfell, however, succeeded in making friends with the people at most of the points. At Bunginji, near the head of navigation on the Bosira, a race of dwarfs were seen. They are from four to four and a half feet high, with short thick necks, big heads, and black beards. It was hard to gain their confidence. Mr. Grenfell considers the Bosira the least promising of all the rivers he has yet visited. On the Juapa he found a good report had preceded him for some distance, and the people were quite friendly.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

It cannot be said that our publicists are making no study at all of the socialist and labor problems, but it can be said that no one of them brings to these matters the penetration and breadth of some foreign students of economical questions. This is no doubt due, in part, to the longer prominence of socialistic and labor problems abroad. But it is also due to the fact that England, for instance, has a large class of men whose leisure and taste lead them to be disinterested students of affairs. In the "Westminster Review" (English) for January there is a most vigorous paper on "Socialism and Legislation," in review of some of the most recent works on the subject, which deserves the study of the thoughtful. This paper pays especial attention to the doctrines of Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, who is "*facile princeps*" among the younger English statesmen. This paper is one of the best in respect of its able exhibition of the economic fallacy which underlies socialism. It is also noteworthy in finding much worthy of consideration in the teachings of socialistic apostles.

While the general tone of the Westminster is always unfriendly to the Christian religion, it yet gives aid to Protestants by defending and illustrating the Protestant spirit. The second article in the number under notice, is a review of the Hibbert Lectures for 1885, by Ernest Renan, on "The Influence of the Roman Empire on the Roman Catholic Church." Renan follows the well-known saying of Hobbes, "The Pope is the ghost of the deceased Roman Empire sitting crowned on the grave." Renan cannot, of course, be trusted in his interpretation of facts, but generally can be as to the facts. It is of slight importance to Protestant principles that so eminent an historian agrees with Milman and Martineau, that the Church at Rome was founded neither by St. Peter nor St. Paul. It is not Paul, "but Aquila and Priscilla, who founded the Church at Rome" —a product of Jewish Christianity. To M. Renan it is a vastly more important question whether Paul came to Rome than whether Peter did. Of the first there can be no doubt; of the last there is little reason for belief. The papal theory which brings Peter to Rome in the year 42, and gives him a pontificate of twenty-two or three years, has not now a single rational advocate. "Peter had not yet arrived in Rome when Paul was brought there, about the year 61. The Epistle of Paul to the Romans, written about the year 58, . . . shows that it is impossible, if Peter had been the head of the disciples at Rome, that no mention should be made of him. . . . The last chapter of the Acts is still more decisive. Verses 17–29 are unintelligible if Peter was at Rome when Paul came there." This review exhibits the great value of Renan's work when read with care.

The paper on Mr. Gladstone and "Genesis" is a sharp review of that production, the sum of which review is in the question, "What was the Genesis account intended to teach if not science?" The article on "Missions to the Jews" is well worth study, showing the forces which have

led the higher classes of Jews to secede, and yet exhibiting the apparent inutility and decay of the great English societies for the conversion of the Jews.

The Edinburgh for January opens with a cheerful review of the relations between England, Afghanistan, and Russia. To our readers, the article most worthy of study is that on the "Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt," in review of the work of that title by Alfred J. Butler, M.A. Oxon. For some reason these Coptic Churches have been inexcusably neglected. Their insignificance in numbers and poverty have, no doubt, much to do with the neglect of them. But he who begins to study will find himself intensely interested. The present position of the Copts is exceedingly painful. "Cairo affords a shelter for the indigent patriarch and a remnant of ten bishops; forty monasteries have survived the inroads of the Arabs, and the progress of servitude and apostasy has reduced the Coptic nation to the number of twenty-five or thirty thousand families, a race of illiterate beggars, whose only consolation is derived from the superior wretchedness of the Greek patriarch and his diminutive congregation." Mr. Butler reminds us that these Copts represent the people who built the pyramids; that their ancient tongue is spoken at every Coptic mass, and their ritual is now less changed than in any other community in Christendom. They achieved a distinct style in architecture and art, and yet the Copts at present have lost every trace of artistic tendency and skill. The rascally priests have sold some of the most valuable carvings to European bric-a-brac hunters. A very remarkable fact is, the absence from all Coptic paintings of the torment of sinners, which has such prominence in Greek and Latin art.

The "Quarterly Review" (English) for January opens with a long and stirring paper on Church and State, which is as noteworthy for the number of books and pamphlets it puts at its head as for the importance to Englishmen and the Christian world of the question of disestablishment. The article is very "churchly," as becomes the Quarterly. Apropos of the disestablishment question, the writer quotes from several tourists who report the comparative failure in America of the voluntary principle. One writer quoted says, that "many stately city establishments pass under the hammer as financial failures,"—a statement by no means true. It is refreshing to read this Quarterly, so thoroughly does it represent "Old England," the England of "Church and State;" so steadfastly does it defend every thing from which young England would deliver itself.

The "Contemporary Review" (English) for February is noteworthy for its eminent names. Surely Freeman, Dicey, the Bishop of Carlisle, Lord Hobhouse, Sir John Lubbock, and Frederic Harrison make a goodly array. Much of the matter is chiefly interesting to Englishmen, though the articles by Freeman on Home Rule, and by Prof. Dicey on Ireland and Victoria, have interest for broad political students. Dr. Freeman believes that Home Rule for Ireland is the manifest dictate of justice,

but of a justice which must not be injurious to Protestant Ulster and to England and Scotland. Not the least valuable paper is that on the "Babylonians at Home" in which M. Bertin recreates the popular life in the buried city by a vigorous use of the historical imagination in the study of the small cuneiform tablets of a private character which have been found. The oldest of these whose date has been accurately determined, carries us back to 2075 B.C. In such records we see the people selling and buying houses, land, cows, slaves. Even there pious men deeded property to temples. Judicial decisions were also recorded. Entering into partnership was called "entering into brotherhood." It is very interesting to note that then, as now, when partners borrowed money each partner was liable for the full amount. At this early date woman could hold property and enter trade, but she should not appear as a witness to a contract. Property was then settled on woman to protect her in case of the husband's death or failure in business. At that time men could borrow money, giving themselves and their children as security. The slave system was regulated by law, and these records show a very highly organized society. The tax-law compelled agriculturists to borrow on their future crops—money-lenders, note-brokers, seem to have abounded. This sketch by M. Bertin is very rich and suggestive. In the paper on "The Nationality of the English Church," Lord Norton flounders uncomfortably to show that a Church which is deserted by more than half of the population of England is still "national." This ecclesiastical *myopia* afflicts some people nearer home.

We are indebted for these standard English Reviews to the Leonard Scott Publishing Co., 1104 Walnut Street, Philadelphia, which issues the American editions.

The immense grasp which the Bible has on thought is seen in the living and growing stream of publications in all the great languages in comment and exposition. "The Monthly Interpreter," edited by the Rev. Joseph I. Exell, M.A., and issued in this country by Scribner & Welford, New York, is in the front rank of ministerial helps. One can be sure of finding here whatever is freshest and best in scholarship. In the December number Professor A. H. Sayce, in his article "On the Old Testament in the Light of Recent Discoveries," shows how the name "Shem" receives light from the Assyrian "Samu," olive-colored or brown. Japheth is supposed by some to be identical with "ippat," white. In Ham we have the Egyptian "Kemi," black. Kem was the name of Lower Egypt, which is called Ham in Psa. lxxviii, 51. In Assyrian as in Hebrew "Ham" signifies hot. In Gen. x, 2, Gomer are the Gimirra of the Assyrian inscriptions, the Kimmerians of classical writers. Tarshish is the Tartessos of the Greeks near Gibraltar. Many other conjectures and identifications are given in this paper. In the January number will be found a very valuable article on the "Difficulties of Scripture," by Rev. W. J. Deane. The old, and it would seem ever-living, question concerning the brethren of our Lord, is ably discussed by Prebendary Huxtable in a second

paper. In the issue for February, 1886, will be found the second study, by Rev. G. G. Findlay, B.A., of "St. Paul's Doctrine of the Church." To Methodists this is interesting, as taking our position as distinguished from priestcraft and the Quaker view.

Our new "Princeton Review" makes a great hit in securing for its March number the remarkable paper by James Russell Lowell on the poet Gray. Lowell and Stedman are really our only American examples of the highest critical ability, and they equal any who write the English language. They have the wide knowledge, the intellectual sympathy, the judicial spirit, the literary skill which make up the true critic. Lowell makes the explanation of Gray's melancholy in part remorse at the abeyance of his powers. "His mind was gay and his soul melancholy." Dr. F. L. Patton has a finely acute discussion of "Contemporary English Ethics." It is of the highest order of philosophic study. Dr. G. D. Boardman, in "The Just Scales," says some good things concerning the balance as an emblem of honesty, of fairness in trade, of justice in wages, of generosity in prosperity, and of holiness in character. The anonymous paper on "Federal Aid in Education" does not take a very hopeful view of the proposed Blair Education Bill. The legal and moral difficulties in the way of national aid to education are so many that the intelligent citizen may well hesitate in making up his opinion. The particular value of this article lies in its sketch, or rather rough draft, of a scheme which extends the needed aid with the least possible federal interference in State affairs. E. S. Nadal, the son of our lamented Dr. Nadal, writes with the intelligence of experience in answer to the question, "Do we Require a Diplomatic Service?" This he answers affirmatively, and declares that if our representation abroad is not what it should be, our duty is to improve the service rather than to deprive ourselves of an effective and necessary instrument for the successful transaction of business. There is much amusing matter in this article, especially that which relates to the description of the jealousy of diplomatic privileges on the part of some traveling Americans. There is a very intelligent account by J. B. Harrison of the movement for the redemption of Niagara, a movement which has so far progressed as to make it certain that approach to Niagara is to be far more easy and pleasant in the future than in the past. It is especially valuable as giving an additional proof of the power of an intelligent republic to put aside material advantages for the sake of elevated sentiment and spiritual emotion. The story of this number is by H. H. Boyesen, with the plain title "John Sunde."

The misfortune which has befallen the hearing of Dr. Peabody of Harvard has not silenced his pen, for he opens the "New Englander and the Yale Review" for March with a paper on "A Liberal Education," which is as fine in expression and as thoughtful in matter as any work he has ever done. A careful examination of Leo XIII.'s encyclical letter by John Alonzo Fisher, shows that the liberal phrases of that document are only phrases—that its conservative character is undisguised. There is a very

good review by Levi L. Paine of the volume on Progressive Orthodoxy. The writer sums up his opinion of the book by saying: "Not accepting its assumptions, we cannot accept its conclusions. . . . We believe a better theodicy is coming, but it must come by another way." It is interesting to find this writer, with regard to the extent of the atonement and the relation of the heathen thereto, taking the ground which our Methodist fathers have taken from the beginning. The article contains this fine compliment to President Warren's "Paradise Found:" "President Warren's 'Paradise Found' may not succeed in proving that the North Pole is the cradle of the race, but it is very instructive reading," nevertheless. There is an anonymous paper on the New Education in Harvard and Yale, reviewing the papers by Professor Palmer of Harvard and Professor Ladd of Yale. To show that Yale College is not falling behind in respect of intellectual activity, Mr. Edward G. Bourne gives a list of books published by the faculty of Yale since 1880.

The "Andover Review" for March has as its leader a paper on the well-worn theme of Reason and Revelation. Its key-note is in the following sentence: "The ever-increasing evidence of a unity of method in creation invites theology to take a far more positive position with regard to the congruity of natural and revealed religion as related to the human reason than was once required or even perhaps possible." There is here a very interesting sketch of the relation of the problem of a written revelation to natural religion, built upon evolution. The author, the Rev. F. H. Johnson, deserves, for this paper, to be named among the most thoughtful and vigorous of our clerical minds. Parenthetically the teachings of Cardinal Newman with regard to the relation of reason and revelation (?) are examined with much acuteness. He makes this very striking quotation from DeQuincy: "It is clear as is the purpose of daylight, that the whole body of arts and sciences compose one vast machinery for the irritation and development of the human intellect. For this end they exist. To see God, therefore, descending into the arena of science, and contending, as it were, for his own prizes by teaching science in the Bible, would be to see him intercepting from their evident destination his own problems, by solving them himself." Professor E. J. James, of the University of Pennsylvania, discusses "National Aid to Popular Education" in this review. On the whole, the tendency of the paper is in favor of national aid, while the writer is fully aware of the constitutional difficulties in the way of granting national aid to the extent necessary to do effective work. The writer holds that it is possible to so construe the Constitution, without violating either its letter or its spirit, as to justify the right of Congress to appropriate money from the national treasury for the support of schools. We fear, however, that he takes a too sanguine view when he adds, "This is also becoming the general opinion of the country, both in and out of Congress." The question is practically no longer debated on constitutional grounds, but solely on those of expediency. Frederick G. Mather has a very interesting study of riots. Very accu-

rate accounts are given of the riots which followed the strikes in 1877, as well as of the more recent *emeutes* in Cincinnati. He finds that the theory of a cyclical movement of riots is sustained by the facts, but each class of riots following around the circle seems to gather new and more dangerous elements to itself. The massing of population by the development of railways is likely to make the riots of the future more formidable than those of the past. In the development of historical criticism there is a very valuable sketch of the Buddhisms of Japan. The heterogeneity of the Buddhism of northern countries has been well known to scholars, but in popular writing on Buddhistic systems has been almost wholly neglected. Buddhism in Japan has almost as many sects as Christianity in America. It is an interesting fact that there are seventy-two thousand Buddhistic temples in Japan, while of monks and nuns there are ninety thousand.

The "North American Review," notwithstanding the ability of its old and new rivals, achieves each month a remarkable degree of variety and interest. Theodore S. Woolsey shows how the fishery question appears again as a problem for solution. Cyrus W. Field advocates the purchase of the telegraphic system of the country by the government. Edward Everett Hale shows why he is a Unitarian. This article has something of a new departure in the old "North American." The article shows what we have long since learned to expect in every description of orthodoxy from an unorthodox stand-point—the most amazing misapprehension and misunderstanding of so-called orthodox teaching. Consider, for instance, the following: Doctor Hale, speaking of the doctrine of total depravity, says: "Nine tenths of the Christians of America try to believe it to-day. They try to believe that nine tenths of the human family are incapable of good. That is the Sunday theory; but if you meet these men Monday, they hold no such theory. Every one of them asks a stranger the road quite sure that he will tell him the truth if he can; quite sure that he is not inclined of nature to lie." Here Dr. Hale utterly overlooks the fact that, while orthodoxy holds that humanity has lost, through sin, the natural capability for good, yet it has received from God's good-will, by his Holy Spirit, a gracious capability of good, so that any one throughout the wide world who would do good can do good. It does not hold that every person has sounded every note in the gamut of sin, but that every person, by the disasters of an evil inheritance and his own personal sinfulness, is incapable of doing good except as he is helped by the ever-present and ever-willing Spirit of good. It is an interesting fact, if it be true, that Universalism, according to Mr. Hale, is the direct and legitimate offspring of Calvinism, while the Unitarian churches of New England come from Arminianism. We find a similar misapprehension of orthodox teachings in the writer's statement of the doctrine of creation.

An interesting fact stated by Henry Strong in the article on American Landlordism is, that twenty-five years of observation and experience prove that the decided and unmistakable tendency is to smaller farms and a

larger number of freeholders. But neither this writer nor David Bennett King finds much reason for alarm in the existence of large estates, or in the land laws of the country. The widow of Dr. Pavy gives a very interesting account of his relations to the polar expedition. The stock of unpublished letters concerning the war is enlarged by several which are printed in this number from the pens of General Grant and General Halleck. These letters show that Halleck was much kinder toward Grant, and much more thoughtful of his convenience and welfare, than is commonly supposed. Thomas A. Edison publishes his article upon the air telegraph only to find the papers stating that the principle has been discovered and used before. It will be indeed a marvel when a train can be caught on the track by a direct telegram, or when a telegram can be sent from a moving train with an absolute certainty of correctness and dispatch. General Sherman answers the criticisms upon his letter-writing by printing his unspoken address to the Loyal Legion, which was prepared for its meeting at Cincinnati on February 10, in this number of the North American.

Whatever may be thought of the theological agility of the Rev. M. J. Savage, candor will admit his ability, and of many able papers which he has written, the leading one in the "Unitarian Review" for March, on the "Debt of Religion to Science," is one of the best, although very rhetorical. It reads quite like a sermon, and a sermonic style is certainly not the style for a review. According to the Rev. Nicholas P. Gilman, there is now a reaction against individualism both in politics and in religion. A very interesting feature of this number is the account by R. Schramm of the Jumping Procession at Echternach in the month of May, 1885.

It will startle some to read the title of the Rev. William I. Gill's paper in the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," for January. This title is none other than "Early Methodist Rationalism," the theory of the paper being that Methodism has been marked from the first, contrary to prevailing opinion, by a distinct and eminent intellectual quality, exemplifying in this a true Christian rationalism. There is also in this number a very fair description of mysticism; another on "The Moral Character of Doubt," by Dr. W. H. Anderson; while the leading place, singularly enough, is given to a study of Washington Irving.

If any one wishes proof that religion, notwithstanding all doubt, is among the chief concerns of life, it can be found in the fact that Edward Everett Hale states, in the "North American Review," why he is a Unitarian, and that M. J. Savage recounts his religious experience in the first number of the "Forum," the new magazine which leaps in full strength into life. This is the first number of the "Forum" (Forum Publishing Co., 97 Fifth Avenue, New York, $5 a year), and is an excellent example of good editorial work. It has enough old names to command the confidence of experienced readers, and enough new ones to awaken interest and command attention. Professor Winchell discusses strongly and leadingly of Science and the State; James Parton on "Newspapers Gone to Seed;" the learned E. P.

Whipple considers "Domestic Service;" Dr. Reginald H. Newton declares that "Romanism is Baptized Paganism;" Edward Everett Hale tells how he was educated, which is the record of three schools and a college, which the writer yet declares was not the record of his education, that being due chiefly to his father, his mother, and his older brother. The general trend of the paper is in Emerson's aphorism, "It is little matter what you learn; the question is, with whom you learn." The only other paper of great importance is that by Dr. Crosby on the question of "The Enforcement of Law." The "Forum" is certain to command a place.

In the "Catholic World" for March our readers will find at least one article of theological interest, it being attempted by the Rev. John Gmeiner to show that the Emperor Julian the Apostate was a great spiritist. As a vigorous testimony against spiritism the paper has value.

To those who are disturbed by modern criticism we commend the papers now being issued in the "Homiletic Review" by Professor Bissell, on the question, "Has Modern Criticism affected unfavorably any of the essential doctrines of Christianity?" A paper of considerable practical value is that by Dr. Ormiston in the March number of this review on "Insomnia, its Cause and Cure."

We like the sermon of Dr. C. S. Robinson as given in the "Pulpit Treasury" much better than we like the portrait of our brisk and witty friend. Dr. Robinson is a born homilist, has a gift for textual anatomy, and his sermon on "The First Contribution Box" in this number is altogether the best thing in it.

The paper of chief interest in the April "Atlantic" is that by Julian Hawthorne, who studies his father's favorite romance, "The Scarlet Letter," with great insight and ability. Here is a very pregnant sentence: "The real agony of sin, as Chillingworth clearly perceived, lies not in its commission, which may be delightful, nor in its open punishment, which is a kind of relief, but in the dread of its discovery."

Those who are interested in the mission work of Bishop Taylor may well turn to the remarkable paper in the March "Harper's" by David Kerr, on "Africa's Awakening," in which a vast amount of fresh information is accumulated and an opinion is expressed as to the future. We are accustomed to regard the mechanical development of our American towns as the most marvelous thing in the world. Yet those who would know the truth should study the leading paper in this number of Harper's by M. D. Conway, on "An Iron City Beside the Buhr." This is a most remarkable history of the most remarkable industrial city ever created by the genius of one man.

To students of social questions the article in the March Century on "The Strength and Weakness of Socialism," from the pen of the Rev. Washington Gladden, will be found of great value.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

An Introduction to Theology: Its Principles, its Branches, its Results, and its Literature. By ALFRED CAVE, B.A., Principal and Professor of Theology of Hackney College. 8vo, pp. 576. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

AMONG Germans Method (as applied to the processes and the subjects of study) has been reduced to a science. With them Methodology is made to do service as a labor-saving device, by indicating the constituent parts of the subject to be considered, and how it should be treated, and what are the available helps. This has been most largely applied in the study and in respect to the subject-matter of theology, to which the German mind seems to be especially addicted. But while treatises on that class of subjects abound among our Teutonic kinsmen, we have hitherto had but little of the kind in our own language. And because this has been felt as a want among us, several attempts—none of them especially successful—have been made to meet the necessity by translations of certain well-known German works—notably those of Hagenbach and Räbiger—the former issued in this country, in an adapted edition, and the latter, in a literal version, by the Clarks, of Edinburgh.

But all such works, though not without their value, must fail to meet the requirements of the case, on account of the unlikeness of the German modes of thinking and of expression, as compared with those of the English and Americans. Translations, therefore, however complete may be the transference of the thought from the one language to the other, cannot answer our needs, for the dissonance is in the thoughts themselves, and not simply in the form of words; nor can this infelicity be avoided by free renderings and adaptations of the original to our modes of thought and language. We are glad, therefore, that at length we have in our language an original book, which seems to be the long-desired and waited-for work. The descriptive title is well chosen—we prefer it decidedly to the higher sounding and more pedantic one used by the Germans—and yet, as here used, it needs a further definition and differentiation, for that to which the book is an "Introduction" is not theology itself, but the study of theology. The purpose of the author seems to be to indicate certain facts and principles that should be kept in mind in the study of theology, and from these to deduce practical rules for that study. With the science of theology itself he is not immediately concerned; but instead, it is his business to point out how the study of that science may be pursued, and what are the area and the contents of the subject.

The work is thoroughly wrought out and reduced to form. It is also approximately complete in respect to its details of the matters discussed; and its references to the literature of each department—in the English language—indicate a very wide acquaintance with the subject.

After some forty pages of "Prolegomena," through which the author

reaches the more definite subject which he proposes to consider, more than sixty pages are occupied by Part I, which is devoted to an "Introduction to the Theological Sciences in General," in which "theology," as differentiated from all other forms of human learning, is indicated and defined, and so presented for a more searching examination. Part II, entitled "Introduction to the Specific Theological Sciences," occupies the larger half of the volume, with a multitude of "divisions," devoted severally to, 1. "Natural Theology;" 2. "Ethnic Theology;" 3. "Biblical Theology," which last is arranged in many "heads" and "subdivisions;" 4. "Ecclesiastical Theology;" 5. "Comparative Theology;" 6. "Pastoral Theology."

This distribution, it will be seen, is agreeable to the generally accepted method, which indeed appears to be at once exhaustive but not redundant. In each case, as a new subject is brought forward, it is concisely defined, and its place in the more general subject indicated, and the history of its treatment briefly stated. After these is given a list of the books recommended to be used in the study of each particular subject. This last feature is among the most valuable in the whole work; for while it is full enough for all general students, by not attempting to satisfy the wants of specialists it is saved from the mass of works sometimes seen in such lists, which very few could use, and which are at once unattainable and undesirable, except for the very few—not one in a thousand—of those who may still wish to compass all needful and attainable learning in theology. The books named are nearly all available to English readers—some of them in translations—and most of them belong to the current century; a fair share of them are works written in this country. As a theological bibliography we prefer it to any other that we have seen, although its author himself so highly praises that of Bishop Hurst. We would suggest to the good Bishop to enrich his volume, in its next edition, with somewhat liberal selections from the lists given at the end of the several divisions of this volume.

This book is intended to serve as a guide and a hand-book for the student of theology, when, having passed from under the hands of teachers and guides, he comes to pursue his life-work as a teacher and guide to others. The Methodist minister's instruction respecting the use of his time, if diligently observed, will render the practical use of such a manual possible; and the minister who desires to study to the best advantage, and so as to show himself approved, cannot do better than to make free use of the instructions here given. We have met with no other work that has seemed so well to answer all the requirements of the case.

Sermons and Sayings. By Rev. Sam P. Jones, of Georgia. Cincinnati Music Hall Series. Edited by W. M. Leftwich, D.D. With an Introduction by I. W. Joyce, D.D. Small 12mo, pp. 312. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

It is of small account to criticise a book which every body who cares at all for its subject is reading, or one which by its subject will be judged of blindly by most of its readers. These considerations force themselves

upon us, as we pass in thought over the book above named. We have read considerable parts of it, several of the sermons (?) entire, and others in part. It is eminently a live book, intense in thought, vivacious in style, with evident indications of the deep sincerity, the fearlessness, and the glowing zeal for God and for souls of the preacher. Evidently the printed matter of the book is essentially the spoken words as heard by the people, and we pretty surely have a literal reproduction of what was actually spoken, and not simply an edited *résumé* of the discourses toned down into another something. The preacher gives signs of having learned "to speak and write the English tongue correctly," and there is not often found in his utterances any gross violations of syntax, although his speech reveals his early acquaintance with the *patois* of the plantation, which if he has unlearned he certainly has not chosen to disuse. It is also evident that many of his "unclassical" expressions are at least purposed, if not, indeed, studied. There is all along a rather plentiful supply of Southern provincialisms, and now and then a dash of genuine slang, with not a few illustrations decidedly more forcible than elegant.

But in noticing the book we are not at liberty to ignore the fact that thousands of people, many of them not church-goers, were drawn together to hear these sermons, and that the whole city was shaken by their delivery, that the impression produced by them was one of seriousness, and it is believed that very considerable numbers of persons were induced by them to reform their manners, and to begin to lead new and better lives. As an evangelist, the Rev. Sam Jones is pronounced a decided success, not only by the excitable rabble, but by the sober and cultured; and Christian people, both ministers and laymen, gladly accept him as a divinely honored minister of Christ. Probably in the presence of the speaker, and under the spiritual contagion of his magnetic oratory, the faults of his language and imagery and his frequent egregious violations of good taste are less felt than when read in the quiet of the study or at the fireside; and because of the abounding superabundance of what is valuable in his discourses since they are effective of good results, whatever may be objectionable in them is readily waived or scarcely noticed. We are quite ready to grant that any kind of preaching which accomplishes its great design is to be incomparably preferred to any other kind which fails of that result; and therefore, if Sam Jones can persuade men to become Christians we will still give him the heartiest Godspeed, though he should transgress every rule of the grammar-book, and violate every canon of criticism and rule of rhetoric.

It may be lawful, however, to inquire whether this marvelous success is achieved by virtue of his eccentricities or in spite of them? whether they are helps or hinderances? Is it not more than possible that the same pungent truths equally boldly and clearly spoken, but without slang or coarse provincialisms, would operate with equal effectiveness on those who should hear them? Is it necessary, in order to arrest and retain the attention, that the preacher of Christ and his salvation must adopt the measures and methods of the clown in the circus, or the harlequin in the

variety theater? We are by no means prepared to believe that Mr. Jones is consciously doing any thing of this sort, and that his utterances are at once sincere and without affectation. But there is cause to fear that whatever is undesirable in his manners and language, and which even in his case is more harmful than helpful, will be imitated by others who are strangers to the spirit that actuates his utterances.

Reading these red-hot thunder-bolts of truth, hurled so fearlessly by this *evangelist*, we have been led to ask whether this style of preaching might not be adopted to some extent by our pastors in their own pulpits, and addressed to their own congregations. But would the people suffer it? Perhaps, after all, the necessity for evangelists in the Church is, that there may be somewhere somebody that may be allowed to speak the truth, without fear or favor, in the places of those

"Who never mention hell to ears polite."

MISCELLANEOUS.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. 18mo volumes, about 200 pages, paper covers (25 cents per volume), are commendable productions, as to both their material and their execution. The series also contains a good share of works of sterling value. Among the late issues, passing by all its fictions and sensational stories, we have such substantial works as Bancroft's "Plea for the Constitution of the United States," "Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister," John Stuart Blackie's two lectures on "What does History Teach?" Dr. John Tulloch's "Movements of Religious Thought in Britain," and "Irish History for English Readers," by William Stephenson Gregg, and also Alphonse Daudet's "Stories of Provence." These are good books, may be held in the hand by the reader, carried in his pocket, and given away after reading. The accompanying announcement, "Sent, carriage paid, to any part of the United States or Canada, on receipt of price," presents a ready opportunity to persons residing at points remote from the centers of trade.

Lives of Greek Statesmen. Second Series. Ephialtes—Hermokrates. By Rev. SIR GEORGE W. COX, Bart., M.A., Author of "A General History of Greece," etc. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Between the two names given in the title of this volume are those of Kimon, Perikles, Phormion, Archidamos, Kleon, Brasidas, Demosthenes, and Nikias. The sketches are well drawn, and the book is a valuable contribution to Grecian history.

Preachers' Pilgrimage through Probation, Itineration, Superannuation, to Coronation. By Rev. J. B. ROBINSON, D.D., Ph.D., Author of "Infidelity Answered," etc., Aurora, Ill. 12mo, pp. 95. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Meditations all along the life-course of a Methodist traveling preacher, with notes by the way. Worth reading—will afford both instruction and amusement. May be used to profit, if read as hints and suggestions, rather than governing regulations.

Letters from the Waldegrave Cottage. By Rev. GEO. W. NICHOLS, A.M., Author of "Childhood's Memories," etc. 12mo, pp. 178. New York: James Pott & Co.

These letters, personal sketches of persons, places, and events connected with the life and labors of a minister (of the Protestant Episcopal Church), chiefly in village parishes in the regions about New York city, are gossipy, tender, and harmlessly egotistical. It is a book for the private circle rather than the great, unsympathizing public.

Saint Augustine, Melanchthon, Neander: Three Biographies. By PHILIP SCHAFF. 12mo, pp. 168. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Noticing one of Dr. Schaff's many books two months ago, we referred to it as his latest, with a remark added in a parenthesis that perhaps another would appear before the publication of what we then wrote. The present book fulfills that prophecy. This author's dedication of the work to "my beloved students" contains a happy setting forth of the substance and character of the book: "The Church Father, the Reformer, and the Church Historian—three of the best among the great, and of the greatest among the good, as witnesses of the unity of the Spirit in the diversities of gifts, and as inspiring examples of consecration to the service of Christ."

Yard-Stick and Scissors. By EDWARD A. RAND, Author of "The Knights of the White Shield," etc. (Up-the-Ladder Series.) 12mo, pp. 306. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

Annals of the Round Table, and Other Stories. By JENNIE M. BINGHAM. 12mo. Pp. 279. New York: Phillips & Hunt; Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1.

Elegant specimens of the mechanical part of the book-maker's art; their literary matter lies in a region not included in the sphere of the reviewer.

Romish Teachings in the Protestant Churches. A Tract for the Times. Issued for the Author. 12mo, pp. 100. New York: N. Tibbals & Sons. 90 cents.

The Electric Theory of Astronomy. By B. T. KAVANAUGH, M.D., D.D., Author of "Notes of a Western Rambler," etc. With an Introduction by Rev. R. H. RIVERS, A.M., D.D. 18mo, pp. 241. Cincinnati: Printed for the Author by Cranston & Stowe. $1 25.

The author's theory seems to be that nearly all cosmic action is the result of electricity, of which the sun is the source and center; to state and illustrate this is the purpose of this volume.

Religion in a College: What Place it Should Hold. By JAMES MCCOSH, LL.D., D.Lit., President of Princeton College. 8vo, pp. 22. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

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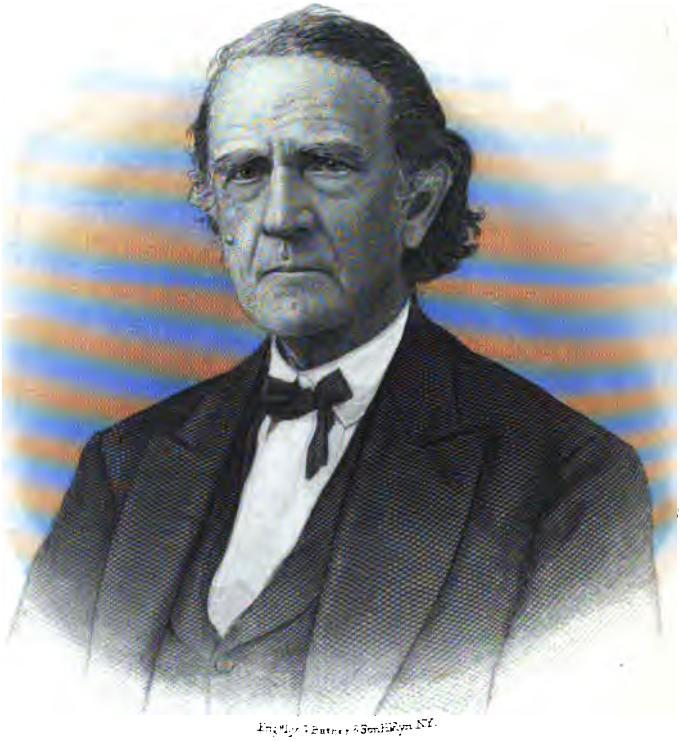
Papers of the American Historical Association, vol. i, No. 4. The Louisiana Purchase, in its Influence upon the American System. A Paper Presented to the American Historical Association, September 9, 1885. By the Right Rev. C. F. ROBERTSON, D.D., Bishop of Missouri. 8vo, pp. 42. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Open Doors. Hints about Opportunities for Christian Work in Africa, Japan, India, Burmah, China, Mexico, South America, the Turkish Empire, Korea, and the Islands of the Sea. By J. T. GRACEY, D.D., Seven Years Missionary in India, etc. 16mo, pp. 64. Rochester, N. Y.

Must the Chinese Go? An Examination of the Chinese Question. By Mrs. S. L. BALDWIN, Eighteen Years a Missionary in China. 12mo, pp. 48. Boston: Rand, Avery, & Co. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Price, 20 cents.



Engd by J. Buttre, 83 Cornelia Pl. N.Y.

Levi Scott

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LEVI SCOTT, D.D.

Senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, U.S.

...ODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1886.

ART. I.—BISHOP LEVI SCOTT.*

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Lewis Scott

METHODIST REVIEW.

JULY, 1886.

ART. I.—BISHOP LEVI SCOTT.*

BIOGRAPHY is a contest with time to preserve from oblivion the names and the achievements of the departed. Thus the saints of the Bible "being dead yet speak," and "the excellent of the earth" in later times continue to exert their salutary influence. It is remarked by an elegant and philosophic writer that

> Of all species of literary composition, perhaps, biography is the most delightful. The attention concentrated on one individual gives a unity to the materials of which it is composed, which is wanting in general history. The train of incidents through which it conducts the reader suggests to his imagination a multitude of analogies and comparisons; and while he is following the course of events which mark the life of him who is the subject of the narrative, he is insensibly compelled to take a retrospect of his own. In no other species of writing are we permitted to scrutinize the character so exactly, or form so just and accurate an estimate of the excellences and defects, the lights and shades, the blemishes and beauties, of an individual mind.

The departing prophet may leave to his successor nothing but his mantle. But with *this*, in the name of the "Lord God of Elijah," he may smite the waters and see them part. We, too, may seize something that remains of the excellent dead to overcome some difficulty in our way, or to reproduce the wonders or the works which they wrought or witnessed.

* "The Life and Times of Levi Scott, D.D., one of the Bishops of the Methodist Episcopal Church. By James Mitchell, D.D. With a Preface by Rev. D. P. Kidder, D.D., LL.D." New York: Phillips & Hunt.

"The Life and Times of Levi Scott," by James Mitchell, D.D., with preface by Dr. D. P. Kidder, presents to the Church a brief and instructive biography, with a fine likeness of one of the purest men in Methodism.

The man who gave sixty years to the Christian life, fifty-six years to the Gospel ministry, nearly thirty years to the episcopate, and attained the greatest age that any of our Bishops has ever reached, is worthy the notice given him.

It was the happiness of Dr. Mitchell to have had from Bishop Scott's own pen so much of a "memorial" of himself as furnished excellent material for the book. In much, therefore, the subject speaks for himself; and whether we read of his conversion to God, his call to the ministry, his voyage to and from Africa, his difficulties and dangers on that "Dark Continent," or the important service that he performed when he presided in the Conferences and impressed principles fundamental to our economy and success, we feel that no other person could so well give the account. The Bishop says:

> I was born near Cantwell's Bridge, now Odessa, New Castle Co., Delaware, Oct. 11, 1802. My father, Thomas Scott, was of Irish descent, . . . my mother of English. Her maiden name was March. She was brought up in Kent Co., Maryland, where her father owned a beautiful farm near Chestertown. She was the widow of John Lattomus when my father married her. They had three children, Sarah, Thomas, and myself. I am the youngest. . . . At the time of my birth, my parents were both members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and my father was a class-leader and local preacher. . . . In 1803 my father was received on trial in the Philadelphia Conference. [He died in about nine months.] When about to die, he held me up, and in the most solemn and impressive manner dedicated me to God, earnestly invoking at the same time his blessing upon me. Who can tell how far I have been indebted to this blessing of my dying father for the gracious influences of the Holy Spirit which have accompanied me through life, even in my wildest days?

Left a widow the second time, with three young children by her second marriage, and one quite young by her former husband, with debt on the farm, and with meager means of support, his mother "nobly grappled with the embarrassments of her situation, and conquered" them.

In the depth of her grief, in the magnitude of her care, and

the inevitable perplexity of her condition, she trusted in God, and, true to the responsibility of her relation, she kept up the worship of the family, and impressed her children with the lessons of religion. They were happy days in our history, when all our people recognized this duty—when family prayer was neither hurried nor perfunctory! Who shall tell what help comes to the pulpit from the instruction thus given and the impression so made? If our home altars have no fire, will the temple altars flame?

But vital piety runs not in blood. The best efforts of those we love and honor will not save us if the heart is wedded to the world. Notwithstanding all these blessed home influences, young Scott "departed from the living God." He says:

> I lost, to a great extent, my religious impressions and thoughtfulness, and became careless and disorderly in my conduct. I contracted that most wicked and foolish practice, profane swearing; yet I thank God I never was maliciously wicked, and always abhorred quarreling and fighting, and could never, without terrible remorse, allow myself to misbehave at a place of religious worship. Buoyant in spirit, I was fond of fun and frolic. But when at the worst I would look at those whom I regarded as truly religious and wish I were like them.

He loved the violin, and acquired skill in its use. To the last of life he regarded it as the "king of musical instruments." His excellence in this music made him an attraction, and opened wide before him the way of temptation. Nor did he utterly refuse to enter upon this path.

To the extent of his ability he aided in the support of the family by farming and fishing during two thirds of the year, and went to school in winter. In his sixteenth year he was apprenticed to a tanner, but "not liking the business he left it and went in 1819 to Georgetown, D. C., from which he returned home in declining health, and abandoned the carpenter business for that of cabinet-maker, which he followed until he was converted and called to the educational and ministerial field." He says:

> My first remarkable awakening was under a sermon preached at the school-house at Cantwell's Bridge (Odessa) on a week night, by Rev. M. Ogden, a minister of the Presbyterian Church. . . . The Methodists had not yet preached in the place. Whenever the Presbyterian minister came along he put up at our

house. . . . I used to take great pleasure in these occasional night meetings, and generally acted as a kind of sexton, preparing the house for service.

On the occasion of his conviction the text was, "Go thy way for this time; when I have a convenient season, I will call for thee."

This to me was a home thrust. The preacher swept away all the refuge of lies in which sinners trust, and made me feel that I had not one solid and reasonable excuse for postponing the work of salvation another hour. That night, for the first time, I bowed in my chamber and tried to pray. . . . I never saw this man of God afterward, and little did he think, probably, what salutary havoc he had made in my soul that night. . . . Many gloomy hours I had after this . . . . Many nights my gloomy apprehensions were so great that I wished I might fall asleep, and, if I must be lost, that I might fall into hell while asleep, and so know the worst of it.

He read the Scriptures, and went to a camp-meeting; but there was no light. He then attended a "prayer-meeting conducted by Christian ladies and designed for the especial benefit of seekers of religion." He entered, knelt, and remained in prayer. The more he prayed the worse he felt. Just then the case of the woman with the issue of blood, mentioned in the gospel, flashed upon his mind, and he thought:

I too should be made whole if I could only touch the hem of Christ's garment. And it seemed to me I could touch it. So I rose upright on my knees, with hands and eyes lifted to heaven, and I did touch, for I felt the burden was gone, my cry of agony was hushed. I would rise up, I knew not why. I was on one knee and one foot in the act of rising, when all at once,

> "The opening heavens around me shone
> With beams of sacred bliss."

O, it was an ecstatic moment! I seemed flying through the midst of heaven, my body and my clothing as white as the driven snow, and angel bands circling around me, gently touching me, and singing as I had never heard before. I know not what I did during this interval. It was not of long duration. I came to myself, and the people seemed the most beautiful and the most happy I had ever seen. They were singing, "Hark, my soul, it is the Lord," etc. [This was October 16, 1822.] I was five days past twenty years of age.

"The Life and Times of Bishop Scott" furnish material for profitable thought. He was no doubt a representative man of

this young Christian nation. His record is similar to that of millions of others who aided to found and frame what is now rapidly becoming the first Protestant nation on earth, a nation remarkable for its citizen ministry,—a ministry true to Christ, and as elastic as that of the apostolic period, ever adapting itself to the conditions of the people and the wants of a progressive age.

From the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, less than a score of years had elapsed when Levi Scott was born. Methodism then existed in its primitive simplicity and ardor. The trophies of its success were distinguished and multiplied. It was a time to try men. The country was new; the government of the nation and the Church seemed still to be experiments. The labors of the traveling preacher would test his zeal, his faith, and his fortitude. Circuits sometimes embraced from twenty to forty-five appointments. These were to be filled in four weeks. The classes were also to be met by the preacher. They were reached through all kinds of weather and over the worst of roads. The people were to be visited at their houses. There were all diversities of entertainment. Services were conducted in barns, school-houses, dwellings, in field and grove and church; and thousands came to Christ. "Multitudes, multitudes were in the valley of decision."

Methodism diffused its spirit through all classes of society. It was like leaven in the measure of meal. The lump was leavened. When Bishop Scott was born, Thomas Lyell, a Methodist preacher, was chaplain to Congress. At the first official dinner given by Mr. Jefferson, he felt a shock when the President departed from the uniform usage of his predecessor in dispensing with asking a blessing at the table.

In 1811 Nicholas Snethen was chosen chaplain, which led Bishop Asbury to say: "We begin to *partake of the honor that cometh from man.* Now is our time of danger. *O Lord, keep us pure, keep us correct, keep us holy!*" Richard Bassett, an earnest Methodist, was governor of the State of Delaware, and a member of the convention that formed the Constitution of the United States—was elected to Congress, and in later life was judge of the United States District Court for Delaware. His only child to grow up was a Methodist, and became the wife of the Hon. James A. Bayard, an eminent lawyer and

statesman, a member of Congress, and of the United States Senate. He was one of the commissioners in negotiating the "Treaty of Ghent," and declined other positions. He was regarded as "the glory of Delaware." His son, Hon. James A., was also member of the United States Senate. *His* son, Thomas F. Bayard, having succeeded the father in the Senate, is now the Secretary of State. Thus the wife of the first James A., the mother of the second James A., and the grandmother of the present Secretary of State, was in these early times of Methodism a devoted member of our Church.

Judge White and Dr. White in the same period opened their dwellings for Methodist preaching, and the residence of Judge White was the sanctuary of Francis Asbury in the period of his "dumb Sabbaths," when during the war of the Revolution he was denied his liberty, because suspected, as an Englishman, of lacking devotion to our independence.

If St. Paul speaks of the saints of "Cæsar's household," we may not be denied mention of those historic individuals and weighty facts that show the place God gave to Methodism in "the times" we are considering. Bishop Asbury, in one of his visits to Dover, Del., says: "Here I found some Methodists in the first circles of life, who in the midst of wealth were following the self-denying Saviour."

But among these *statesmen*, and men of the learned professions, there were many more that were not *learned*. Colleges were few. Riches were rare. The expense of classical culture was greater than at present. Theological seminaries, even in other Churches, were of debated claim; but it were a great mistake to conclude our people were not judges of preaching. They knew the Scriptures, they studied our standard authors, they were eager for the Gospel, and they knew when they received it. Men of all professions attended the "preaching" in the circuits young Scott traveled. The governor of the State, the representative in Congress, the Judges of the courts, were among the members of the Church. Women of intelligence and refinement heard the word from the Methodist minister, and many a matron was a better judge of the preaching of Christ than the collegian is of the rendering of the classics. The opinion of such would go far toward fixing the status of the preacher, or opening or shutting the door of Conference.

Perhaps the Philadelphia Conference was never more distinguished for the talent of its members than in 1826, when young Scott was admitted as a "preacher on trial."

Ezekiel Cooper retained his fame as an oracle for God; Lawrence McCombs had not lost the ability that placed him in the first cities of the nation; Lawrence Lawrenson, in his best mood, was in metaphysical skill and magnetic eloquence deemed next to peerless; Joseph Lybrand, as presiding elder, was regarded as hardly inferior to Henry B. Bascom; Pitman was in his prime; Henry White was melting the people by his pathos; and Solomon Higgins talked the Gospel with a naturalness, ease, and beauty that imparted charm to his utterances. Already Matthew Sorin had shown his intellectual grasp and grandeur; young Holdich was revealing the culture and skill that gave him early eminence; George G. Cookman, just from England, was bright, alert, and magnetic; Lewis Pease (transferred from New York) was filling "the Old Academy" by the power of the word; and borrowed from the same Conference was Samuel Merwin, who, by the attraction that nature, study, and grace gave him, was making old St. George's young in the gladness of his moral achievements.

Scott's call to the ministry was loud and convincing. He knew the demand on a minister in Methodism. He had some understanding of his need, as one who would be associated with such men. As he weighed the matter he was full of perplexity and misgivings. He says:

> I had learned in some sort reading, writing, and arithmetic; but that was all, and even that to a great extent I had lost. How then would I undertake so great, so responsible a work? But the burden of the Lord was upon me, and I felt, "Woe is me if I preach not the Gospel." Nor did there seem to be any bounds set to my call—Out, out, still out! When I yielded I was happy, when I resisted I was miserable.

Never student labored so hard to conjugate a verb or to solve the most difficult mathematical problem. Painful experience this to him who has it, but honored is the Church whose ministers pass through such conflict.

His conversion formed an intellectual epoch. Till then his mental faculties were incased by habits that precluded their development. He himself was unconscious of their power.

Till then his life was marked by changes of purposes and pursuits, but God, who can still the waves of the sea, fixed his roving heart and made the vacillating stable. His faculties at once shot forth, and the intellectual man appeared.

No one is prepared for the "life that now is" till he feels the powers of the "world to come." We have responsibilities that relate to others. We have obligations that transcend time, but of these we have no proper recognition till the Spirit that brought order out of chaos moves upon the understanding. This is not more necessary to discover and impress duty than it is to render us superior to the obstacles to its discharge.

If earth exhibits a supereminently irrepressible character, it is he whose eye kindles with divine radiance, whose aspirations are awakened by looking at "the unseen," and whose faith is kept in perpetual exercise on the plans and promises of God. The fires of ambition never flame so high, nor are they ever so steadily sustained, as when kindled at "the altar that sanctifies the gift"—and when eternal verities govern all the conduct. It is a weighty remark of Daniel Webster, that "Religion is an indispensable element in every great human character." It certainly was indispensable and also mightily effective in the character of Levi Scott. Till possessed by its power he lacked the moral perception and the necessary inspiration to the grandest deeds. Till then "the living temple" was in moral ruins. God in the soul is life and order. Spiritual truth is to the intellectual man what the purest vital air is to the animal nature. It gives vigor, freshness, and vivacity to the faculties, and all the powers of the understanding are increased by its touch.

Having heard God's voice saying, "Son, go work to-day in my vineyard," he felt to *parley* was sin. While he believed that in the divine economy call to duty implies capacity for its discharge, he saw that personal co-operation was also necessary. He would not offer to God or man that which cost him nothing. He therefore sought by private study, amid the responsibilities of an active ministry, the education that others now obtain before entering the work. He commenced, pursued, and mastered the Latin and Greek languages. He had aptitudes, application, and tenacity of purpose. His memory was ready and retentive, his perceptions were quick and accurate, and his

intellect was capacious and receptive. To one who observed his progress in knowledge it seemed to be no grinding process, no tedious, exhaustive labor. Attention was acquisition; contact was absorption; concentration was mental store: yet when time was requisite he could persevere in the face of great difficulties.

After two years in the work he was stationed at St. George's, the oldest charge in Philadelphia. He at once took position, and to the end retained it. His last station was "the Union," Philadelphia, which Bishop Hedding pronounced equal to any in the connection.

Though his advance was so direct and rapid, a deep sense of his incompetence often oppressed him, and he was sometimes on the eve of giving up the work. In his second year, while on Dover Circuit, he had determined to express his wish at the approaching quarterly meeting. Even Elijah, who called fire from heaven and confounded the false prophets, had his dark hour. It was the "power of darkness" with the young preacher. The day had come to make his purpose known. He was on his way to the Quarterly Conference. The presiding elder overtook him, and invited him to ride with him in his carriage. He readily accepted the invitation, thinking it would give him the best opportunity to ask release, when lo! the elder began to tell the younger his conviction that he, the presiding elder, was not fit for the office and must give it up, that his *talents* were not equal to the place. Scott, just ready to express his own woes, began to reason with his superior and show him it was only a temptation. This done he was unable to state his own case, and so the snare was broken. The young physician, in prescribing for his elder, had reached the seat of his own malady. The presiding elder was the noble Lawrenson; and though in his best moods one of the grandest preachers, in his depressions he was unfit for any service, and so child-hearted was he that he would reveal his sorrows to the humblest persons.

It was an opportune meeting! Who shall say God's providence did not as really send Scott to Lawrenson, at that time, as the angel directed the course of Philip to the Ethiopian eunuch, when the Spirit bade him *join the chariot?* If the interview of the evangelist caused the Ethiopian to "go on his

way rejoicing," not less did the Almighty relieve two burdened ministers by this strange meeting, the younger of whom rose to such positions and gave fifty-six years to so glorious a ministry.

Ministers are still liable to such temptation from a sense of incompetency. But there is a strong contrast between the early "times" of Levi Scott and the present day. For him who desires them, there is the Academy, the College, the Theological Seminary, not to speak of foreign travel. All modes of preparation for the pulpit are at his command. He may extemporize, may memorize, may write and read his sermons. The study is open, the library is ready. All that is asked is, that he "show himself a workman that needeth not to be ashamed." He is commended, rather than condemned, for using all means before entering upon his calling. If when Levi Scott began there were in the itinerancy five college graduates, memory fails to reproduce them.

What shall we say of pulpit preparation? Had they any? Indeed they had! There was the Bible. Did it ever seem so full? There were Wesley's Notes. Were they ever so terse and helpful? Coke's Commentary existed. But what preacher had money enough to buy either this or Adam Clarke's? Besides, they were too big for the "saddle-bags." They did carry the English dictionary, and it is said Bishop Hedding read it through, and pronounced it not only a useful but an interesting book.

But they had their preparation. They learned to think upon their feet, and they believed the word "nearest the tongue was nearest the heart." In the pulpit, invention, imagination, memory, judgment, all waited on the preacher, and he "just spoke right on." New ideas and proper language were suggested by the action of speaking. They learned to preach by preaching. When alone, when on horseback, when by the road-side, they reasoned and concluded. Could primeval forests speak, they would tell of many a sermon that broke their silence, and of many a tear that fell from the preacher's eye, when none but God heard and saw.

Of pulpit preparation they had no lack! Much of it was on their knees, asking light upon the sacred page; on their knees, pleading for the best treatment of the theme; on their knees,

importuning God for ability to take "the heart out of the text and put it into the heart of the hearer;" on their knees, saying, "Give me souls, or I die." God heard. The "violent took it by force." Coming from the closet to the congregation they did not limp like Jacob, but it was felt they had been with more than an angel. Never did Levi Scott show greater nearness to the Almighty than after such habit of preparation. The writer heard him in the pulpit of Smyrna, Del., on the text, "Have ye received the Holy Ghost since ye believed?" Fifty-three years have not effaced the memory of that triumphant night. They "watch for souls." Chrysostom said, "he never could read those words without trembling, though he often preached several times a day."

Levi Scott as a preacher of the times.—My knowledge of him began in 1832. After serving two years in St. George's Charge he was stationed at Westchester and Marshallton, from which at the end of two years he was returned supernumerary. Six years after he had entered the work he was broken down. In 1832 James Nichols was sent to Smyrna Circuit as colleague of R. M. Greenbank. The Church in any denomination has rarely seen such a young man as Nichols. Educated under Francis Watters, D.D., in Washington College, Kent County, Md., he had commenced the study of law, when he was powerfully converted. At once he burned with zeal to enter the itinerancy. He was received and regarded as a pulpit prodigy. With grandeur of thought, sublimity of style, and a holy passion, he rose to an eloquence that took all classes captive. His presiding elder, Lawrence McCombs, said: "He begins where we leave off." But he was an illustration of the saying that "Great minds to madness nearly are allied." He became insane. Levi Scott had so far recovered health as to resume labor. He was sent to supply the place of Nichols, so returning to the people that six years before had recommended him to Conference. He was cordially received. His "pound had gained ten pounds." His ministry was very unlike that of Nichols. He was grave, weighty, and intense. His sermons were carefully prepared, and were delivered with fervor and effect. He was loved and honored. At the approaching Conference he was put in charge of Kent Circuit. There his depth of piety, knowledge of Methodist economy,

skill in administration, and ability in the pulpit suggested him as the proper person for the place of presiding elder of Delaware District. His biographer says:

> In the thirty-second year of his age he reached a trust and distinction that in those days was granted but few young men. The term "elder" then applied alike to the age and the office. Our fathers reverenced the teaching of the fifth commandment, the principles of which underlie all sound government in State and Church, and were so intended by the Divine Law-giver. Happy is that land that honors its seniors, and the people who honor the fathers.

Bishop Asbury said of John Emory, "He has an old head on young shoulders," and this entitles any man to place. Never did Levi Scott fill any position with greater ability and commendation.

His theology could be trusted. He had a creed, and could say, "I believe." He believed *objective and subjective truth.* He had a message from God, and he knew its import. With him inward grace was personal salvation, but it was through faith in essential doctrine. This he made known to others. Like St. Paul, he gloried not only in the cross, but in telling how thereby "the world was crucified unto him, and he to the world." As in the case of that greatest of apostles, he narrated his experience with frequency and force. So like him he had the Scriptures reduced to a "system of divinity." He was not satisfied with the esthetic, the ethical, or the speculative. He was a careful reader, a calm thinker, a good logician, and no mean casuist. He could trace the lines of thought that run close together, and detect and exhibit the point of divergence and danger. The glare of false lights did not lure him into spiritual morasses, where he would be compelled to say, "I sink in deep mire, where there is no standing." If there are ministers whom we may hear from month to month, from year to year, without knowing what they believe—what is even meant by the "new birth," or whether it is secured by parental care and domestic discipline—whether it is by some germinal power within us—he was not of that number. With him, spiritual regeneration is being "born from above," or it is nothing. He had an experience on that point, and he preached "the witness of the Spirit" to this fact.

It was said of Fisher Ames that no one could hear him speak for five minutes, no matter what the occasion, without learning his politics. Under any sermon of Bishop Scott the sinner could see salvation. It is a dark day when preaching has no body of doctrinal truth in it, when it induces doubt rather than inspires faith. He would say, "The prophet that hath a dream, let him tell a dream; and he that hath my word, let him speak my word faithfully. What is the chaff to the wheat." What minister of Christ may not profit by the address of Robert Hall to Eustace Carey, when going a missionary to India?

> It might become a Socrates who was left to the light of nature to express himself with diffidence, and to affirm he had spared no pains in acting up to the character of a philosopher.... But whether he had philosophized aright... he knew not, but left it to be ascertained in the world on which he was entering. In him such indications of modest distrust were graceful and affecting, but would little become the disciple of revelation or Christian minister, who is entitled to say with St. John, "We know... that the whole world lieth in wickedness, and ... that the Son of God is come, and hath given us an understanding that we may know him that is true; and we are in him that is true, even in his Son Jesus Christ." Display the sufferings of Christ like one who was an eye-witness of those sufferings, and hold up the blood, the precious blood of the atonement, as issuing warm from the cross. ... In such a ministry fear not to give loose to all the ardor of your soul, to call into action every motion and every faculty which can exalt or adorn it.

So spake the metaphysical but most admired and eloquent preacher of England.

The manner, spirit, and style of Bishop Scott's preaching deserves notice. He put his intellect and heart into his services, and his sermons were duplicates of the man. We saw his *theological contour*. There were keen analysis and sound exposition. There were the didactic and the hortatory. His articulation was distinct and deliberate, his words had precision and vigor, his sentences were short and simple, and there was a lucidity through which thought appeared without any straining of the mental vision; the expression was more than the words. He had some fancy, little imagination, and no verbal affluence, but there was a divine afflatus, and his countenance showed his soul. When he bent his bow the aim was well taken, and the arrow

flamed as it flew; the light entered the intellect, and the barb pierced the heart.

His voice had compass and penetration, and under the pressure of pulpit passion in his earlier ministry it sometimes became shrill and severe. Though not pre-eminently a word-painter, he could describe a sin and delineate a character so as to compel application. In 1835, when presiding elder on the Delaware District, he preached at one of his camp-meetings from the text, "Behold, ye despisers, and wonder and perish: for I work a work in your day, a work which ye shall in no wise believe though a man declare it unto you." His exhibition of the "despiser," his description of the work, and his declaration of the doom of the perishing were so vivid and awful as to make the stout-hearted tremble.

On a like occasion, about the same time, he preached from the text, "I saw a great white throne, and him that sat on it, from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away; and there was found no place for them." Such was the sense of God's greatness awakened—such was the dazzling splendor of the "great white throne"—such the impression of the vastness and composition of the assembly—such the tremendous issues of the judgment—that even the most godly prayed that they might "find mercy in that day." At one of his quarterly meetings he selected as his text, "Except your righteousness shall exceed the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees, ye shall in no case enter into the kingdom of heaven." Of all the sermons of my life I recall none of equal searching power. He was verily a spiritual anatomist, and he dissected the soul. At the close the mind of the candid and attentive hearer was exhausted by the rigor of the examination induced, while tears and supplications certified the humiliation it produced.

In the conduct of the service he was an example of solemnity and skill. As a reader of the lessons and hymns he had rare ability in giving the sense. His rendering was an exposition. Fifty-three years ago the writer heard him read the hymn,

> "Thou Judge of quick and dead,
> Before whose bar severe,
> With holy joy or guilty dread,
> We all shall soon appear."

The man of that day is before me still. The Rev. J. S. Inskip said of him: "We know and appreciate him most as a preacher. He was to our mind the most incisive preacher we ever heard." He heard him upon the text, "They all with one consent began to make excuse." It was the means of leading him to Christ, and he adds, "Such preaching is seldom heard in these days." Rev. T. T. Tasker, than whom no man might better judge, as he was his own pastor, said: "When I saw him I rejoiced in the light of his countenance, and if it was to hear him preach I could say, as my father said of Rev. Joseph Benson, the commentator, "I was sure of a blessing if the pride of my heart did not interfere." . . . John Reines, a local preacher, who had frequently heard Dr. Adam Clarke, said, "Brother Scott has a cast of mind much like the doctor," and, "His preaching was of the same instructive and deep-going output of a wise head and a pure heart." The preachers' meeting of Philadelphia said: "In all the principal elements of effective preaching Bishop Scott was a master."

It is just to remark that with all his physical disability and want of early education he attained his zenith in pulpit power before he reached the meridian of life; and they who heard him only in his latter years could form no adequate judgment of his former days. His greatest sermons, and those that produced the profoundest impression, were delivered when he was presiding elder of the Delaware District, and when he was thirty-two years of age.

As a Bishop, he leaves a grateful memory. At the period of his election to the episcopate, there was among us a phrase of great significance. It was, "bishop timber!" It supposed there might be "timber" not of the sort for a bishop, that though large and lofty it was not of the fiber and condition for the place. "Bishop timber" was solid and strong; it could withstand the storm and not be wrenched or weakened —like live oak, that worms cannot easily enter. Deep piety, familiarity with and sympathy in the work, an understanding of our government and skill in its administration, a knowledge of men and tact in the peculiar service of the office, with economic elasticity and episcopal firmness, with an ear to hear, and a heart to feel, and a hand for nothing but to help—such were the qualities looked for in "bishop timber."

Though we have never taught "community of goods," we have of talent. All the talent of the itinerancy belongs to the Church, and the Church and not the individual is responsible for the place to be filled.

To Levi Scott his honors came unsought. In this case the "timber" did not seek the place, but the place the timber. In 1840, by the judgment of that rare judge of men, Dr. Durbin, then president of Dickinson College, Levi Scott was desired as principal of the Grammar School. At this time he received the degree of A.M. from the Wesleyan University. A few years afterward, the Delaware College, of Newark, Del., conferred on him the degree of D.D. From 1836 to 1852, when he was made Bishop, he was delegate to the General Conference. In the General Conference of 1844 he stood beside Dr. Durbin in voting with the North, though from the *border*.

At the age of forty-six he was made Book Agent, and at fifty he was elected Bishop. No promotion seemed to elate him. Perhaps this was the reason why he did not awaken jealousy. He was accustomed to say, "The happiest days of my ministry were when I was on a circuit." Though he attended closely to the business of Conference, he could hardly be said to enter into the debates. When it was suggested to make him Bishop, it was understood that the senior Agent, George Lane, declined serving any longer in the office. Dr. Scott was asked if he believed the Book Room could without harm to its interests part with both its Agents at the same time. He answered he thought it would suffer. He was nevertheless elected Bishop, by the highest vote cast. He accepted the result as the voice of the Church, and showed his sense of the responsibilities that the honor imposed.

The quaint Church historian, Thomas Fuller, says of "the good Bishop:" "He is an overseer of the flock of shepherds, as a minister is of a flock of God's sheep. Divine providence . . . has advanced him to the place, whereof he was in no whit ambitious; only he counts it good manners to sit there, where God hath placed him, though it be higher than he conceived himself to deserve, and hopes that he who hath called him to the office hath or will in a measure fit him for it."

Though Bishop Scott had an exalted idea of the functions of his office he deprecated the thought of assuming for our epis-

copacy that which he believed would add no honor. Dr. Mitchell says:

> He once expressed to me a regret and painful concern that certain parties in our Church were attempting to revive an exploded story to the effect that a certain wandering Greek Bishop, named Erasmus of Crete, had ordained John Wesley a Bishop. The whole story he regarded as without foundation in fact—being destitute of needed accessories and witnesses to the act, and without record in the Life and Works of Wesley, and entirely unworthy of the memory of such a lover of truth and fair dealing as the founder of Methodism was, and implying that Mr. Wesley, for sinister reasons, concealed it from his friends and people. . . . He clung to the theory of a strong executive board of supervision for the Church, the whole thought of which he expressed in one word. Through his wonderful power of condensation at a session of the Indiana Conference, held in New Albany in the fall of 1871, on rising to read the appointments he said [among a few other things], "Brother presbyters, I arise as a presbyter Bishop, to give you your work for a year."

That was the whole of it—the theory of executive duty and corresponding responsibility.

That men who honor the character, assert the candor, and maintain the logical and moral consistency of John Wesley, if familiar with the facts of our history, can indulge the belief that he desired or received consecration to a third order by Erasmus, is one of the strange things to be associated with intelligence. It is a pity to quote as of any weight the narrative of that ecclesiastical Baron Munchausen, Dr. Samuel Peters. The author of the "True Blue Laws" is hardly authority for putting John Wesley in *creed*, against John Wesley in *conduct!* Men like Sir Richard Hill might speak of Mr. Wesley as that "old fox." We leave it to his enemies to make him a man of duplicity.

By the kindness of the Rev. James Morrow, D.D., of the Philadelphia Conference, I am allowed the use of a letter from the late Dr. Thomas Jackson of the Wesleyan body in England. Perhaps no man better knew our literature. The letter is a reply to Dr. Morrow's inquiry as to the grounds of belief that Wesley was consecrated to a third order by Erasmus. It is dated March 10, 1868. It reads:

> The insinuation which you mention respecting Mr. Wesley is a vile slander, which I believe was first advanced by Sir Richard

Hill, and was publicly contradicted at the time by Mr. Wesley himself, as you will find by referring to his Works, vol. x, p. 450, 12mo edition. [American edition, 8vo, Book Room, vol. vi, p. 196.] Many misrepresentations of the same kind occur in the "Life of Lady Huntington," to the disadvantage of Mr. Wesley, whose Arminianism the Calvinists, I believe, will never forgive in this world, whatever they may do in the next.

It was the remark of the venerable Henry White, of the Philadelphia Conference, one who knew Levi Scott from the beginning, and knew him in all the relations he bore to the Church, "Brother Scott is equal to any place he is called to fill."

When elected principal of the Grammar School, though a self-made man, he commanded the confidence and respect of students. When in the agency of the Book Room, Dr. Kidder, who was then our Sunday-school editor, says: "The duties of his office were faithfully and discreetly performed, with a breadth of view that took in the full responsibility of providing a wholesome religious literature for a great and growing Church and her children."

As a Bishop, he pondered his work, and while in the chair of the Conference he was calm and careful and wise in his rulings. He felt his great duty for God was the assigning of ministers to their fields of labor. His first concern was the Church of Christ, but he never forgot the consideration of each preacher, in his talents, adaptations, and needs. This filled both head and heart. It was sometimes a weight that made him tremble.

As a Bishop, he was an illustration of the fact that a meek man can be firm. In no one have we seen more meekness. Who has transcended him in decision? He has sent a preacher to a station in the face of a protest. He has removed a preacher from the strongest charge, in order to accomplish what he deemed a necessary service.

The New York East Conference, by an overwhelming vote, desired him to appoint a preacher who had been two years in his station to an agency for an institution of learning to which some of the preachers gave as much as $500—in the number one now in the episcopacy. But the Bishop twice sent to the Conference and asked them to reconsider their vote; and though it twice refused, and the preacher did not object to the appointment, the Bishop sent him back to the

charge and refused him to the agency. All knew, however, that he had no motive but the good of the Church, and this was his judgment, for which he, as an officer, was responsible to God. At the same Conference, in another matter, he said, "I was mistaken," adding, "We as Bishops do not claim infallibility." When on one occasion a presiding elder was opposed to sending a preacher to a certain appointment, the Bishop said, "Brother, you need not be presiding elder of that district, but Brother —— will go to that appointment," and the brother went.

His conduct in the Baltimore Conference of 1861 shows not less his decision than his intelligence in regard to duty. The new chapter against slavery encountered a storm of opposition, and a resolution was offered, by one of great influence, in condemnation of the General Conference of 1860. The Secretary of the Conference was allowed to occupy the chair. The vote was taken, and on the Bishop's resuming the chair he said, "The whole action past is, in my judgment, in violation of the Order and Discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and therefore is null and void, and as a Conference action I do not recognize it." This he had placed on the journal of the Conference over his name. In his official duties he respected and "honored all men," but was the judge of his own decisions.

Of Bishop Scott in his administration we may say what the Hon. Thomas H. Benton, in his "Thirty Years in the United States Senate," says of President James Monroe, whom John Quincy Adams places in the first line of American statesmen, and as contributing during fifty years of his connection with the public affairs a full share in the aggrandizement and advancement of his country—"His parts were not shining, but solid. He lacked genius but he possessed judgment;" and it was a remark of Dean Swift, "that genius is not necessary to the conducting of the offices of state; that judgment, diligence, knowledge, good intentions, and will were sufficient." Mr. Benton assumed for his statesman "a discretion which seldom committed a mistake, an integrity that always looked to the public good, a firmness of will which carried him resolutely upon his object, a diligence that mastered every subject, and a perseverance that yielded to no obstacle or reverse."

In person Bishop Scott was of medium height, and neither nature nor office gave roundness to his form. His features were large, and expressed superior intellect. His forehead was high and broad, his brow was arched and heavy, his eyes were grey and deep-set. From him a scowl or a frown would be portentous. But his countenance was benignant, and his soul took its seat in the windows of the body, and looked out of the eyes with kindness and benedictions. In bearing and gesture he showed the man of culture and character. He was free from pretense and austerity, but he had real dignity. William Jay says: "It is remarked of persons raised at the court that their manners do not appear; they are a part of the individual, they are so natural and easy, while refined and appropriate." Such were the manners of Bishop Scott. All was as a transparency, through which we saw the man. There was in him enough of the genial and assimilative to make him a delightful companion. The stream of his friendship was never congealed by the icy coldness of the atmosphere about him. In social life he sometimes exhibited positive humor, and he possessed a keen sense of the ludicrous, and conscience did not always forbid its indulgence. He thought our risibles were wisely given, and he held that they, like our judgment, are for proper use. But he could be cheerful without gayety, and relax without compromising ministerial or official character. Gravity predominated in his intercourse. In the family, as husband, father, head of the house, he was tender, respectful, free, sometimes jocund. He was a stranger to parsimony.

As a citizen, he responded to political claims, and was oblivious of no obligation he owed to society. As a neighbor, he was observant of the amenities of life, and he "had a good report of them" that were "without."

As a Christian.—The man of God is above the man of office, though piety, as we have seen, is not the only qualification for the episcopate. No eminence of talent can compensate its lack. It is essential to the confidence that should be reposed in one of such functions. Nothing like this induces the homage that overlooks mistakes and constrains acquiescence in appointments that try men's faith. The piety of Bishop Scott was deep, ardent, and impressive. It is one of the greatest felicities of a Christian life to have a conscious con-

version. The tide of its benefit often sweeps onward to the very shore of the eternal world—keeping the mind free from disturbing and enervating doubt. Such was the happiness of Bishop Scott. The spiritual impulse that his regeneration imparted was never spent till his work was done. He had a good Presbyterian conviction, he had a grand Methodist conversion—a most happy combination. His conviction was an agony, his conversion was a transport. His experience, that enabled him to testify with boldness, was an abiding element of power. With him it was not alternate light and darkness, it was not a day of twelve hours and a night of equal length. He certainly did not live at the poles, where the day is six months and the night the same. Another sun filled his horizon, and shone from the zenith to the nadir. His life had no breaks in it. There were no chasms in conduct to be closed only by an effort resembling that which preceded change of heart. There were no breaches in conscience that required repair before he could enter upon or properly prosecute a work. His faculties were in full force, and ready for direction. If he wrote, it was with mental poise. If he spoke, it was with a serene spirit. If he labored, it was with the felt presence of God. Mr. Wesley believed some Christians are entirely sanctified when they are regenerated. It would not be difficult to believe this of Bishop Scott. The writer of this article knew him as his preacher on the circuit, as his presiding elder on the district, and as his Bishop presiding in Conference and fixing his appointments, and he is not aware that he ever heard him utter a word—ever saw him indulge a spirit or perform an act—that would induce a doubt of his holiness.

May we not declare of him, as Edward Irving said of Bernard Gilpin: "He is a model minister of the Gospel, who furnishes an exemplification of the largeness and majesty and ethereal purity of that profession that Christ founded in the world, and to which the world is more indebted than to kings and statesmen, to philosophers and men of science?"

To Bishop Scott a benign Providence had granted more years than any of the Bishops had attained; few of them had been so long in the episcopate. His age inspired reverence, but his character and work imparted more. Who will not listen to "Paul the aged?" He knows with Peter that he

"must shortly put off this body." The friends that hail the venerable pilgrim, or bid him adieu, think "this may be the last time." His sanctified ambition can hope for little more in this world. The staff is in his hand, and he is listening for the final summons. To him the Church was never dearer, though he is soon to leave it. To him impending battles present as positive an interest as when the sword first flashed in his vigorous grasp, and he heard the commander say, "Go forward!"

But his life was not merely one of responsibility and labor; it was one of moral discipline. Yet as in his intellectual pursuits he rose above his embarrassments, in his spiritual efforts he was superior to all difficulties. On his first circuit he had something like a sunstroke. His personal afflictions were a burden all through his ministry. For more than fifty years his wife was an invalid. How deeply he felt her death, shortly before his own, his biography testifies.

Again and again bereavement came to his household and "the iron entered his soul." Holy Samuel Rutherford says, "The lintel stone and pillars of the New Jerusalem suffer more knocks of God's hammer and tools than the common side-wall stones." He was kept in perfect peace, as his mind was stayed on God.

When he returned from the General Conference of 1880 to the "Itinerant's Lodge"—when, after serving in the episcopate twenty-eight years, he realized his release from the work of his intellect and heart, and the best of his life—when he knew he should go forth no more to meet the calls of his office—a feeling of *pensiveness* was the necessity of his nature and devotion, but he said, "I am contented to await further developments of my Father's will concerning me. I have my orders.

> "'Watchman, let thy wanderings cease,
> Hie thee to thy quiet home.'"

He still had much for which to live: a devoted daughter, wife of Hon. G. L. Townsend, constantly ministering to him, and his son, Rev. A. T. Scott, of the Wilmington Conference, with numerous and interesting grandchildren. But he had "served his generation by the will of God," and he was ready to fall asleep.

When memory was failing him, he said, with calm resignation, "I am getting ready for the home and life where they keep no dates." During this period the last hymn of Charles Wesley was frequently on his lips:

> "In age and feebleness extreme,
> Who shall a helpless worm redeem?"

When the death struggle began he asked for the doctor; and when his daughter said, "The doctor cannot help you, father; none but Jesus can help you," he replied, "Yes, none but Jesus, *none but Jesus.*" Several times he said, "Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, and to the Holy Ghost," the "amen" dying on his lips. In the final struggle he said again and again, "Come, Lord Jesus, come quickly." Thus at 9:35 o'clock A. M., Thursday, July 13, 1882, expired this honored servant of Christ, this senior Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church, closing his eyes on earth, within a few feet of the spot where they first saw the light of life, to open them on the glories of the New Jerusalem. We cannot better express his character and departure than in the words of the Rev. Hugh Stowel on the death of his venerable father:

> The growth of his piety resembled the growth of the oak-tree. It was as solid as it was gradual, and as far as his branches spread upward in zeal and benevolence, so far his root shot downward in humility and faith. Unlike the oak-tree, however, in his last years, he advanced with sevenfold rapidity. . . . His day had no evening—no long, cold, shadowy twilight. His sun never descended. It rose full-orbed into the eternal sky. . . . His heart was all tenderness, his graces were all beauty, as he passed away, and there was not an instant between his shining here and his shining there, where the "righteous shall shine forth as the sun in the kingdom of their Father."

Art. II.—THE PARSIS OF INDIA.

My first view of the Parsis was on the steamer *Sutlej*. A number of them took passage at Aden for Bombay. A portion of the forward deck was assigned to them, where they spread out their bedding every night, and gathered it up in the morning. They were of fine features, intelligent, affable, and communicative. They wore excellent clothing. I observed that their more prominent buttons were of solid gold. I had several conversations with them, when our subject was generally their religious opinions. The more I saw of them the more favorably I was impressed by them. This contact with only a few members of this strange community made me fully prepared for a larger view of the great Parsi population of Bombay; and every day I spent in the city the stronger became my admiration for this people, save only their false religion.

Throughout India there are nearly two hundred thousand Parsis, and of these one half live in and about the Presidency of Bombay alone. They form a class by themselves, separated socially from both the Christian and Hindu populations, and as thoroughly independent of all other classes as if they were the sole people inhabiting Western India. Why are these Persians in India? The question will strike any studious stranger frequently, as he sees the important place which this community occupies in the commerce and general improvements of the country; and yet the proper answer lies far back in the past of both India and Persia. They are the descendants of the Persians who were driven out of their own country, in the eighth century, by the Mohammedan conquerors of that kingdom. Khalif Omar was the first Mohammedan chief to invade Persia. He was victorious, and he dealt destruction on every hand. Persecutions of the most violent kind were organized against the conquered people, and they fled before their cruel masters. They reached the mountain region of Khorassan, and hoped at least there to be at peace. But the sword of the merciless Mohammedan was long enough, and sharp withal, to reach them even there, and they fled again. Some of the fugitives took shelter on the little island of Ormuz, at the entrance

of the Persian Gulf.* But there was no peace in this retired place. They succeeded in getting a few boats, and, embarking on them, set sail for the Indian coast. They could have remained in Persia had they been willing to adopt the Mohammedan faith. But the religion of Zoroaster had too strong a hold on them. They would not sacrifice any one of its tenets. They preferred exile to another faith. In India they were cautiously received by the Hindu prince, Jadi Rana.

This was in the year 716. The prince was afterward favorably impressed by their appearance, and gave them full liberty to reside, and practice their religion, in his province of Sanjan. They enjoyed three centuries of quiet, during which time they were re-enforced by other migrations of their countrymen. They increased throughout the Gujurat region as the centuries passed by. When the Mohammedans from Persia, in their march of conquest, finally reached India, and set up the great Mogul Empire in the valleys of the Ganges and the Indus, the Parsis were again in great danger. They feared the cruelty of the same hand which had conquered them at home, and made them exiles forever from their native country. They allied themselves with the Hindu chiefs, and yet both Hindu and Parsi were conquered, and, as a political and military force, went down beneath the all-powerful Mogul chiefs. But they scattered, led quiet lives, engaged in commerce, and were permitted to preserve their faith. So soon as the English came to Western India the Parsis hailed them as the hope of the country. From that day to this they have admired the English rule in India, and have been its warmest supporters in all the dangers which have threatened the hold of Britain on her Indian possessions.

That the Parsis have been an important factor in the development of the country during the last two centuries, is owing entirely to the coming of Europeans. Their relation to this new element was at once prompt, close, and valuable. No sooner did people from Portugal, France, and England arrive than they saw the wealth of the Parsis, their capacity for business, and their perfect reliability in all commercial matters. The wealthy region of Surat early invited trading companies, and as this was the original home of the Parsi immigrants, these com-

* Karaka, "History of the Parsi," vol. i, p. 24.

panies from Europe entered into relations with them, and thus each party derived great advantages from the other. This was the beginning of the amazing commercial prosperity of the Parsis. While employed by the companies from Europe they laid the foundations for their own strong future in India. All the factories represented by foreign nations in Surat employed Parsis as their chief brokers, and could not have carried on their great operations without them. They were able to accommodate differences between the companies and the native rulers which would otherwise have proved fatally disastrous. In 1660, for example, Rastam Manak, the chief broker of the English factory in Surat, by a personal audience with the Mogul Emperor Aurangzeb, at his palace in Delhi, not only caused the removal of obstacles which the Hindu nobles were now placing in the way of the English, but secured a gift of land for building a factory and the freedom from duty of all imported goods.

The large settlement of Parsis in Bombay occurred just before the king of Portugal gave the island to the English as a marriage dowry to Catharine, Princess of Braganza, in 1688, when she married Charles II. of England. From this time they enjoyed a new and broader life. They now had their first open field in India, on a perfect equality with the people of all other nations. While loyal to the country, as an English possession, their future depended less upon any political relations than upon their capacity in commerce. Here has been the department to which they have steadily adhered for two centuries, and to-day they stand at the head of the business of Bombay, and have the profound respect of every class.

One can easily recognize the Parsi wherever he meets him. He uses a dress different from his ancestors in Persia. It is a half-way costume between the Hindu and the European. He wears a loose garment of cotton, flannel, or silk, extending from his neck to a few inches below his knees. Many are now wearing light trousers—a late innovation. The round dark skull-hat, rising like a small cylinder, but without brim, is the head-covering of the men. The ladies dress very becomingly, and are distinguished for their jewels and rich robes. They differ entirely from the Mohammedan and Hindu women in the high and honorable estimate which the Parsi men

place upon them. They, with their children, often accompany their husbands in afternoon drives out on the Malabar Hill, and in other directions. Their equipages are richly appointed. There is an air of happiness and comfort, as one sees the Parsis in public, which those who know them well say prevails in their homes as well. I saw many of the ladies driving out on afternoons, along the Queen's Road, with as much style as though their spirited horses were whirling them around the broad road in Hyde Park. The ladies wear a loose robe, but with uncovered head, and with becoming shoes. With them, not less than with the men, the tendency is constantly toward the adoption of European dress. They are getting to take their meals sitting in chairs, instead of, as formerly, squat upon the floor. The household usages are gradually conforming to the English methods. They are very fond of many lights at home, and their rooms are hung with so many lamps, that, at night, one can always distinguish the Parsi house.

The most notable features of the Parsi population of Bombay are, their rise to great wealth, their present control of the internal commerce of the country, and their vast trade with China and Japan. It has frequently been the case that when a Parsi has risen to eminence and wealth his son has continued his business with equal success, and entered upon all the official dignities of the father. Many prominent families, such as the Patels, the Benajis, the Modis, the Kamas, and the three brothers of the "Readymoney" family, have become synonyms for commercial success and probity. Many of them trace their origin far back to their first days in India, when their fathers were fugitives from Mohammedan oppressors; and some of them make a leap still farther back, into Persia, their original home. In originating an important trade with the farther Asiatic ports, in ship-building, in railroad contracts, in the new and now immense cotton trade, and in supplying the army with provisions, they have not only given satisfaction to all classes, but have placed themselves in the first rank of the merchant princes of India.

Their benevolence has been commensurate with their growth in wealth. There is nothing which a Parsi more enjoys than in giving freely to a needy cause. His heart is in his hand.

He is touched by an appeal to his sympathy, and rich and poor alike give freely, according to their ability. Some of the largest and most beautiful charities and educational institutions of Bombay have been established by them as direct gifts to the country. The Benevolent Institution, founded by Sir Jamshidhi Jijibhai, consists of a group of male and female schools. This gentleman was the first Parsi baronet created by England, in recognition of his many benevolences and his sterling character. The Alexandra College, for Parsi ladies, was established by Manikji Khurshidji. Many of the studies pursued in European schools are in the curriculum. When one sees such an institution as this, with all the appliances of an English educational establishment, it cannot be surprising that the higher Parsi classes should be rapidly adopting European ideas and usages.

Vikaj Merji raised, at great expense, a dam across the Banganga River, with other similiar works, to shut out the salt-water tides, and thus make a large district in the Bombay Presidency productive, because of the irrigation which was now first made possible. Mr. Dinsha, said to be the wealthiest Parsi in Bombay, has established many charities among his own people, and also in the general interests of the country. In 1883 he donated a hospital for the treatment and cure of horses, placing it under the charge of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. He has also established charitable dispensaries in Bombay and several places in Gujurat; caused wells and tanks to be dug in Puna, Ahmednuggur, and other places; founded charitable schools, libraries, book-clubs; provided means for poor students to receive a liberal education; and built a hospital for lepers in Ratnigiri. Sir Kavasji Jehangir Readymoney made it his special duty to alleviate the sufferings of the poor. Hospitals, lunatic asylums, dispensaries, the great building of the Elphinstone College, University Hall, and the Puna Engineering College are only a few monuments to his princely liberality. Mr. Kharshedji repaired and extended the Chaupati asylum for the aged and blind; established free dispensaries in Bombay and other places; erected the Industrial School at Surat; and built one of the handsomest ornaments to Bombay—the Flora Fountain.

One of the most beautiful of the charities of Bombay is its sanitarium for the poorer Parsis, founded in the suburbs of Colaba by Mervanji Panday. I took special pains to visit this remarkable institution. The Bombay water-front is a crescent, the northern horn being the Malabar Hill, while Colaba is the southern. At this southern horn, right on the shore, where the spray dashes wildly up on your face, and where the sea breeze is constant the year round, this noble charity is to be found. If a poor man is sick, and produces a medical certificate, he and his family are brought here, where, with a perfect atmosphere and proper care, he can remain until he is well. Every thing is plain. It is a charity which is free from ostentation and luxury. About one thousand persons become patients here every year. Each family furnishes its own provisions, and has all the conveniences for cooking. The gift lies in gratuitous rent, and in the invigorating sea breeze.

One of the most remarkable features of the charity of the Parsis is, that as a rule it takes place during life. If done by bequest it is the exception. The Parsi wants to see the growth of his work. He measures his benefactions by the same rule he would his business. He looks for development, and when an emergency arises he wants to be on hand to meet it, and wishes to see perfect security before the vultures tear his spent body to pieces. I have never seen such extensive charities grouped within so narrow a compass as among these Parsis of Bombay. There seems to be no limit to their humane plans. The example has been set, and there is no probability that there will be decline in this magnificent spirit.

One must admit that the inscriptions on the benevolent institutions, such as buildings and fountains, are very lavish in praise of the donors. Many words are employed, far more than a more quiet western taste would admit. Moreover, I have been told that much of this benefaction comes from a love of admiration, and possibly from an eye to business. But I am not here speaking of motives. One must approve the results, whatever be the impulses. Even supposing the causes somewhat selfish—which I am by no means ready to grant, in many instances—is it not better to found a school, or asylum for the poor, or some other humane institution, from an imperfect motive, than not to do the good work at all?

The Parsis, perhaps largely as an outgrowth of their attention to education, have exhibited a great fondness for literature. Some of this community have distinguished themselves as authors, and their works have received foreign recognition. The Rahmunai Mazdayasnan Sabha, or Religious Reform Association, consists of a body of men who aim to elevate the social life of this community, and to restore some of the forgotten features of the system of Zoroaster, by the publication of works throwing light on the early history and doctrines of the Parsis. Their first issue was Sorabji Shapurji's work on the Origin and History of the Zend-Avesta, which has been followed by many others, all thoroughly scholarly works, and almost our sole source of information on many accessories of the Parsi history and doctrines. Dastur Peshotanji has published a Pehlavi grammar and other important works. In this ancient language lie buried some of the greatest Persian literary treasures, and it is no wonder that Parsi scholars are endeavoring to bring them out of their long obscurity. The Pehlavi was the ruling Persian tongue during the Sassanian dynasty. Dastur Jamaspji has issued four volumes of his Pehlavi Dictionary. Dastur Hoshangji Jamaspji has given to the public the texts of an old Zend Pehlavi Glossary, an old Pehlavi Pazand Glossary, and the Arda-Virofi-Nama. To Ervad Kavasji Kanga we owe Gujurati translations of the Vendidad, the Khordeh-Avesta, and even an English translation of Anquetil du Perron's account of his visit to India. The most learned Life of Zoroaster in literature has been written by Kharshedji Rastamji Kame. He has founded a periodical, the Zarthoski Abhyas (Zoroastrian Studies), which aims to introduce into India the fruits of German scholarship in the line of Oriental subjects. The "Bombay Times," now the "Times of India," and the best paper in the western part of the country, if not of all India, owes its existence largely to the enterprise of Framji Kavasji. Karaka's History of the Parsis, a work which has been of great service to me in the examination of this strange people, is by far the best account we have on the Indian descendants of the ancient Persians. Some of the Parsi publications appeared in Bombay, but it is not uncommon for them to see the light first in London. Haug, in giving an account of the Zoroastrian studies among the Hindu Parsis of our day,

devotes an important section to this description, in which he pays a high tribute to their scholarship and candor.*

The present Parsi faith is the system of Zoroaster. Monotheism lies at its base. Haug says: "The leading idea of his theology was Monotheism; that is, there are not many gods, but only One. The principle of his speculative philosophy was Dualism; that is, the supposition of two primeval causes of the real world and of the intellectual. His normal philosophy moved in the triad of thought, word, and deed." This idea is confirmed by the realistic statement of Herodotus: "The Persians have no images of the gods, nor temples, nor altars, and consider the use of them a sign of folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men." All the Parsi writers are emphatic on this point of Monotheism. They claim that there were, before the appearance of Zoroaster, tendencies among his people to idolatry, but that the entire effort of his life was to counteract it. The present Parsis, basing their doctrines on the most ancient writings of their ancestors, believe in the resurrection of the body, future life, immortality of the soul, and rewards and punishments. They reverence the sun, fire, water, and air. They pay such devotion to fire, that, to a stranger, they seem to regard it as a proper object of adoration. But their scholars repudiate the supposition, saying that they only regard fire as a manifestation of Deity. Karaka, speaking for his co-religionists, says: "God, according to the Parsi faith, is the emblem of glory, refulgence, and light, and in this view a Parsi, while engaged in prayer, is directed to stand before the fire, or to turn his face toward the sun, because they appear to be the most proper symbols of the Almighty." My Parsi fellow-voyagers, in the steamer for Bombay, performed their morning devotions at sunrise, and always took care to turn their faces to the East when making them. One cannot see the minute attention of any Parsi to fire, and his keeping the sacred flame always burning in his temples and home, without firmly believing that, at least among the common people of the community, there is such a regard paid to fire as to be more a devotion than simple respect. It seems

* "Studies in the Sacred Language, Writings, and Religion of the Parsis," pp. 54–62.

to be, in their sense, an original divinity rather than a simple emanation.

The Zend-Avesta is the prime source of the Parsi theology and moral system. It abounds in monstrosities, and to sift them out is no easy task. Mitchell has done this successfully,* though his work has not the scholarly completeness of the very important work of Haug,† to whom European scholars are most indebted for a survey of the whole range of the Parsi sacred books. Mitchell says, that we can find in the Zend-Avesta all three systems — Monotheism, Dualism, and Polytheism. Every thing good in creation is, by its precepts, held to be worthy of worship. The following prayer, offered on the last day of the month by the devout Parsis, certainly favors the largest idea of the plurality of gods: "We sacrifice to the eternal and luminous space. We sacrifice to the bright garonma (heaven). We sacrifice to the sovereign place of the eternal weal. We sacrifice to the Chinvat bridge, made by Mazda. We sacrifice to Apam Napat, the swift-horsed, the high and shining lord, who has many wives. We sacrifice to the water made by Mazda, and holy. We sacrifice to the golden stall, homa. We sacrifice to the enlivening homa, who keeps death far away. We sacrifice to the pious and good Blessing. We sacrifice to the awful and powerful, cursing thought of the wise, a god. We sacrifice to all the holy gods of the heavenly world. I praise, I invoke, I meditate on; and we sacrifice to the good, the strong, the beneficent Fravashis of the holy ones."

In the Parsi theology there are spirits good and evil, who fill all space. The water expressed from the homa plant is the chief article of sacrifice. The ancient Persians sacrificed animals. Herodotus says that Xerxes sacrificed on the site of Troy "a thousand oxen, while the Magi poured out libations in honor of the ancient heroes."‡ But all animal sacrifices have long since ceased. The ceremony of offering the homa is performed not only in the fire-temples of the present Parsis, but in their private houses, twice a day. Great attention is paid to bodily purity. Ablutions are frequent. All the issues from the human body, and even the hair and nails, when cut, are

* "The Zend-Avesta and Religion of the Parsis." London, N. T.

† "Essays on the Parsis." London, 1878.

‡ Book vii, 43.

regarded as defilements, and must be buried in deep holes, around which furrows must be drawn with a knife, and certain prayers offered.* The touching of a dead body is regarded as especially defiling. The moment life is extinct the body is supposed to be possessed by the fiend Nasu, who can be expelled only by bringing up a white dog. The dog immediately sends the demon back to hell. Each day of the month is consecrated to a special divinity, and has its own formal prayers.

The Zend-Avesta has some good teachings, which contrast strongly with other Oriental faiths. For example, it ascribes no immoral acts to the object of worship; sanctions no immoral acts as part of its worship; none of its worship is marked by cruel acts; it exhorts its believers to contend against all productions of the evil principle; and declares its faith in the final triumph of the good over the evil. On the other hand, in the Zend-Avesta there is no idea of the fatherhood of God, of the heinousness of sin, of expiation, of salvation from sin, of guilt consequent upon sin, of divine comfort in sorrow, of the divine purpose in bereavement, and of self-denial and self-sacrifice.

In the religion of Zoroaster there is large place given to the dog. The Avesta devotes a whole division to a description of his excellences, and the light in which he is placed leads inevitably to the conclusion that the dog is, in the Parsi mind, a sacred animal. During the recitation of the funeral address the face of the deceased is exposed three or four times to a dog's gaze. In some mysterious way this animal is supposed to be a guide to the departed to the final heaven, and to guard against the approach of evil spirits on the way thither. Haug says:

> A man who touches a dead body, the contagious impurity of which has not been previously checked by holding toward the corpse a peculiar kind of dog, is said to be at once visited by a specter representing death itself; this is called "drukhsh nasush," or the destructive corruption. . . . It is called the "four-eyed-dog," a yellow spot on each side of its eyelids being considered an additional eye. He has yellow ears, and the color of the rest of his body varies from yellow to white. To his eyes a kind of magnetic influence is ascribed.

* Mitchell, "The Zend-Avesta and the Religion of the Parsis," pp. 34, *ff.*

The Avesta assigns special sanctity to the house dog and the shepherd's dog.

> To kill one of either is a crime of grossest character. Sweetness and fatness will never return to the place where it has been committed until the murderer has been smitten to death, and the holy soul of the dog has been offered a sacrifice for three days and nights, with fire blazing, with the baresma tied, and the homa uplifted.*

If any Parsi kill a water dog or otter (udra), he must be unmercifully punished, for the reason that this animal is believed to contain the souls of a thousand male and a thousand female dogs. The perpetrator, to atone for his crime, must receive ten thousand lashes with a horsewhip, or kill ten thousand animals of the bad creation, such as snakes, mice, lizards, or frogs, and carry ten thousand loads of wood to the sacred fire.

Next to their splendid homes and the large public buildings which the Parsis have built, and given to Bombay, the most notable reminder of the Parsis in the city are the Towers of Silence. They are large circular structures, of heavy stone blocks, in an elevated part of the suburban city. Here all the Parsi dead are disposed of. There are five of these towers, standing in a group on a hill a hundred feet high, and rising above the palms and cypresses which grow in beautiful stateliness about them. The better way is to take them on returning from the drive out to Malabar Hill. The carriage way is magnificent, built at the expense of a Parsi, Sir Jamshidji Jijibhai, who also donated one hundred thousand square yards of land on the north and east sides of the towers. The view becomes wondrously beautiful as one ascends, for it embraces the great sea-front of Bombay, and the suburbs on either horn of the wondrous crescent. On reaching the end of the drive you ascend a flight of eighty steps, where there is a notice: "None but Parsis may enter." But the Parsi secretary gave me a permit, which allowed me to walk at leisure about the beautiful grounds, and among the flowers, and take one of the many convenient seats, where the marvelous view can be enjoyed without disturbance. But no permit allows one to enter either of the towers. Not even a Parsi can do it. He would be defiled without hope of purification. The entrance of a

* Vaud, xiii, 172, 167,

bier is a frequent occurrence. I did not see one, and therefore must trust to Eastwick's description:

A bier will be seen carried up the steps by four Nasr Salars, or carriers of the dead, with two bearded men following them closely, and perhaps a hundred Parsis in white robes walking two and two in procession. The bearded men who come next to the corpse are the only persons who enter the tower. They wear gloves, and when they touch the bones it is with tongs. On leaving the tower, after depositing the corpse on the grating within, they proceed to the purifying place, where they wash, and leave the clothes they have worn in a tower built for that express purpose.*

The body is borne up a flight of steps into the opening leading into the mysterious interior of the tower. I was shown a model of a tower, by which I could see the internal construction, although I was not permitted to examine a real one. The largest tower is two hundred and seventy-six feet in circumference, and twenty-six feet above the ground. There are three series of fluted grooves, which constitute the stone flooring of the tower. They diminish in size as they approach the center. The outer circle is for the bodies of men; the second is for those of women; and the third, being smallest, is for the bodies of children. The descent toward the center of the tower is gradual, and the grooves where the bodies are laid conduct the water to the center, which is a great circular pit or well. Just as soon as a body is laid in the tower the bearers return, and the many vultures, which are always flying about, or resting in the trees, in expectancy of a feast, pounce down upon it and tear the flesh rapidly from the bones. There are from five hundred to a thousand of these vultures, and the human body is their chief food. They strip a body in about an hour, so that nothing is left but the skeleton. After the bones are completely dried beneath the tropical sun the carriers go in, and with tongs take them to the pit in the center, and cast them down. There they soon decompose, a process probably hastened by strong chemicals. From the bottom of the pit there are pipes which connect with deep outstanding wells, which are underlaid with thick strata of charcoal. Through this bed the water finds its way, purified, into channels leading out into the sea.

* "Hand-book of the Bombay Presidency," pp. 141, 142.

This method of disposing of the bodies of the dead is a fundamental part of the Parsi faith. That vultures should destroy the lifeless body has been from time immemorial a usage, and no Parsi would think of burial or cremation. The reasons which are given by the community for their method were once presented to Monier Williams, who, when visiting the Bombay Towers of Silence, asked Nasarvanji Beramji, a high ecclesiastical officer, why such a method of destroying the body was resorted to, and adhered to with such fidelity. He received the following reply:

Our prophet Zoroaster, who lived three thousand years ago, taught us to regard the elements as symbols of the Deity. Earth, fire, water, he said, ought never, under any circumstances, to be defiled by contact with putrefying flesh. Naked, he said, we came into the world, and naked we ought to leave it. But the decaying particles of our bodies should be dissipated as rapidly as possible, and in such a way that neither Mother Earth nor the beings she supports should be contaminated in the slightest degree. In fact, our prophet was the greatest of health officers, and following his sanitary laws we build our towers on the hills, above all human habitations. We spare no expense in constructing them of the hardest materials, and we expose our putrescent bodies in open stone receptacles, resting on fourteen feet of solid granite, not necessarily to be consumed by vultures, but to be dissipated in the speediest possible manner, and without the possibility of polluting the earth or contaminating a single living being dwelling thereon. God, indeed, sends the vultures, and as a matter of fact, these birds do their appointed work much more expeditiously than millions of insects would do if we committed our bodies to the ground. In a sanitary point of view, nothing could be more perfect than our plan. Even the rain water which washes our skeletons is conducted by channels into purifying charcoal. Here in these five towers rest the bones of all the Parsis that have lived in Bombay for the last two hundred years. We form a united body in life, and we are united in death.

Of the effect of this communication on Professor Williams, and the impression derived from a second visit to the towers, in the same year, 1876, he gives the following testimony:

My second visit has confirmed me in my opinion that the Parsi method of disposing of dead bodies is as perfect as any thing can be in a sanitary point of view. There is no spot in Bombay where the breezes appear so healthful as in the beautiful gardens which surround the towers. Nothing during all my travels throughout India, from Cashmere to Cape Comorin, has instructed me more than my two visits to the Parsi Towers of Silence.

This may be quite true, and yet it is hard to forget the loathsome scene of hungry vultures, ready to swoop down upon the body of a dead person the moment it has been left alone in the Silent Tower, and glutting themselves upon such prey. I have brought home from India the memory of these hungry and waiting vultures, one of the most repulsive pictures which I ever gazed upon. One cannot help thinking of such a loathsome scene, with all its associations, much longer than of the beautiful gardens in which the Towers of Silence stand, and the rare and varied scene of the city and the sea and its outlying emerald islands.

There is nothing of which the typical Parsi is prouder, next to the creed he gets from Zoroaster, than of his historical traditions. He loves to think of his old kings, Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius, and all the rest, when the world quaked beneath their armies. He remembers with peculiar joy the time when Persia's eye dared to look upon even Europe as a fit field for conquest, and that his own Xerxes fought the Greeks in the Bay of Salamis, and within sight of Athens. His favorite study, as we have seen, deals with the past. His people, though exiles, regard themselves as the banished descendants of a race of warriors and heroes, who made immortal many a battle-field of old Persia and of the lands she had the prowess to invade. Even after defeat by the Mohammedans, their fathers were not willing to die without a struggle, and Moore tells only the simple truth when he says of them, when only a shattered army:

> "But none, of all who owned the chief's command,
> Rushed to that battle-field with bolder hand
> Or sterner hate than Iran's outlawed men,
> Her worshipers of fire."

That the Parsis of to-day, now that the light of science is breaking upon them, should be making inquiries into the genesis of their faith and the almost lost threads of their history, is a most significant fact. They have found many things to astonish them. The old Pehlavi literature has revealed to them many doctrinal crudities which the better minds would gladly ignore as authority on worship and creed, and which are deviations from the severer code of Zoroaster. But these candid inquiries can only result in good. They will suggest the strik-

ing contrast between the conglomerate Parsi religion and Christianity, while the contact with European Christians will constantly lessen the prejudice against the Christian religion, and make the Parsis more accessible to the Gospel. In the plane of moral ideas they stand so far above the Hindus that we must regard them as occupying a midway position between Christianity and Buddhism.

We cannot but believe that the Parsi, as he studies more closely the differences between his own faith and the Christian, will, in due time, come to accept the latter. His community is sure to be reached by the all-pervading Gospel. Mitchell, who studied the prevailing tendencies among these people during his residence in Bombay, thus expresses his belief in their Christian future:

> The immense disparity between Christ and Zoroaster is dawning, we believe, on that interesting people, the Parsis of India. They have been clinging to their ancient faith from a feeling of nationality rather than of religion—from tradition more than conviction; but immense changes are certainly at hand. But we believe that, as the Magi from the East, who probably were Zoroastrians, hastened to lay their gold, frankincense, and myrrh at the feet of the new-born Redeemer, so, erelong, the Parsis will in all probability be the first of Eastern races to take upon them, as a race, the easy yoke of Christ.

Art. III.—THE INQUISITION.

The Inquisition has the bad distinction of being unrivaled in atrocity among the institutions or events of which history contains any record. The massacres of the French Revolution and the butcheries of the Sepoy Rebellion in India were indeed prodigies of atrocity; but of these one was a spasm of madness in a nation suddenly emancipated, after having been long ground down under the heel of tyranny, and the other was a sudden outburst of fanaticism against a hated domination and an imported and antagonistic religion. Both were spasmodic and temporary. The Inquisition, on the contrary, carried forward for ages and centuries its diabolical work with the coolest deliberation, with the most undisturbed satisfaction to its agents and abettors, and with never an expression of disap-

proval, and in fact even with the most formal commendations, from the highest ecclesiastical authorities.

The Roman Catholic Church formally adopted the machinery of the Inquisition as an integral part of its system, and in all lands where it had undisputed authority the "Holy Office" was employed to terrify and destroy all who dared to oppose the Church. Even in this nineteenth century, and only a few years since, a learned prelate of this Church dedicated a volume of theology to the late Chief-Justice Taney, in which the Inquisition is approved and commended. And still more recently, Monseigneur Capel, the smooth-tongued Jesuit, has dared to defend and even recommend it. Rome has never abolished it. Even to-day, when all civil governments have abolished it, she has an organization, under another name, consisting of the pope at its head, and twelve cardinals, who form the nucleus of the Inquisition, and who are ready, should the opportunity occur, to set its terrible enginery a-going. There is not a Roman Catholic bishop or priest, in this or in any other land, who is ready to denounce it; but all would apparently only be too willing to see its bloody work renewed even among us. The proof of these statements will appear as we proceed.

I. When we look for the *origin* of this institution, we must first of all go down deep into the depraved elements of the unrenewed heart. Here is the root-cause of all opposition to God and real goodness. This was clearly marked out in the primal promise and the primal curse.

The operations of the spirit of the Inquisition were seen in both the patriarchal and prophetical dispensations. The Judaic hierarchy became at times a great persecuting agency. It exiled, stoned, imprisoned, and slew its own prophets. The surrounding nations persecuted the chosen people in turn, and both carried them into captivity and slew them by countless thousands. During the Maccabean dynasty God's ancient Church furnished a multitude of the most heroic martyrs which the world ever saw.

When Christ came, this hatred exhibited itself first against John, whom it beheaded in prison; and then against himself, whom it crucified as a malefactor. Before he went away into the heavens, he foretold the same fierce and fiery opposition which the hierarchies and governments of the world would ex-

hibit toward his apostles and his Church. And soon indeed it came, first from the hierarchy, and next from the empire. For three centuries sanhedrin and court, priests, emperors, governors, prefects, all engaged in the persecuting work; and dungeon and amphitheater, stake and block, witnessed the triumph of heroic faith. But the installation of the Church in political power was not the death-knell of persecution.

Wealth, luxury, social position, and ecclesiastical authority soon superinduced pride and bigotry, and the spirit of persecution. The Church now held in her hands not only the cross, but the sword also. The very weapons before which she had trembled and fled away to mountains and catacombs, the seashore and the desert, she now began to employ herself.

Constantine made heresy a state offense, and repeatedly banished those who refused submission to his doctrinal decisions. Athanasius, Arius, and the Donatists suffered in turn, and repeatedly, from commissions issued against them. The first time, however, that the words "inquisition" and "inquisitors" are used in connection with the searching out and punishment of heretics was under Theodosius I., who, in 382, published an edict against the Manicheans and other sects. Honorius, in 398, threatened the professors of certain heresies with banishment and death if they persisted in bringing people together. Constantius II., in 353, forbade heathen sacrifices under pain of death. Both Theodosius I. and II. punished the offering of those sacrifices with death. The first instance upon record in which a *heretic* was punished with death was in 385, in Spain, at the instance of Bishop Itacius. The victim was Priscillian, a leader of a Gnostic sect. But the Church was not yet ready for such extreme measures, and Itacius was excommunicated and died in exile. For several centuries after this all cases of heresy came before the civil courts, until, subsequently, they were devolved upon the bishops.

In the thirteenth century, the Albigenses in France, the Waldenses in the mountains and valleys of the Alps, and in the fourteenth, the Wycliffites in England and the Hussites in Bohemia had so increased as apparently to threaten the very existence of the papal hierarchy. Popes and cardinals became alarmed; and in turn the rulers of the countries where these sects flourished were aroused by the appeals of the pope and

his bishops to suppress the heresies. As early as 1198 Innocent III. dispatched commissioners with ample powers to investigate and punish such hereties as they might find. This was the seed of the Inquisition. In 1208 Innocent published a crusade against the Albigenses, and called upon the king of France and his nobles to take up the cross against these heretics. In response to this call a prodigious number of knights, led partly by ecclesiastics and by some of the first barons of the land, undertook their extirpation. The war, as it was called, commenced by the storming of Béziers, followed by a massacre in which some say fifteen thousand persons, others say as many as sixty thousand, were put to death. None were permitted to escape. It was during this siege that a Cistercian monk, who led on and inflamed the crusaders, was asked how they were to distinguish the Catholics from the heretics? He replied, "Kill them all! God will know his own." * In this terrible massacre of the Albigenses, Languedoc, once a flourishing country, was desolated and laid waste, her cities burned, and her inhabitants swept away by fire and sword.

This crusade, doubtless, opened the way for the Inquisition. In 1215, only seven years after this, the fourth Council of Lateran enjoined upon the synodal courts the searching out of heresy, and its suppression as a duty—thus establishing the *legal* foundation of inquisitorial courts. In 1229 the Synod of Toulouse confirmed and enlarged these provisions by forty-five propositions, one of which provided that "any prince, lord, bishop, or judge, who shall spare a heretic, shall forfeit his lands, property, or office; and every house in which a heretic is found shall be destroyed." Heretics were not to be allowed a physician, even if suffering under a mortal disease. It also enjoined the wearing of a peculiar dress, and if any recanted they were to be placed in confinement.† But Pope Gregory IX., finding that many bishops were remiss in the execution of these orders, was greatly displeased, and in 1232 he transferred the control of the Inquisition to the Dominicans—first in Austria and Aragon, and in 1233 in Lombardy and southern France. A guild was also founded in 1229, called the "*Militia Jesu Christi contra Hæreticos*," to aid the inquisitors in their work.

* Hallam's "Middle Ages," p. 29, note.

† "American Cyclopedia," article "Inquisition."

At first, the ancient Inquisition, established in France, held only transitory tribunals, and their decrees were executed by the civil power. Many were condemned as heretics and imprisoned, their property confiscated, and their families placed under disabilities. But so fearful was its work, and so horrifying to the people, that they frequently rose in rebellion, and in Toulouse, in 1245, took bloody vengeance on some of the inquisitors.* In May, 1232, by a bull of Gregory IX. the Dominican friars were appointed inquisitors in Aragon; and from that period their work went forward in Aragon, Navarre, Castile, and Portugal. Before this time, even, there was a constitution of Peter I. of Aragon against heretics, prescribing, in certain cases, the burning of their persons and the confiscation of their estates. In 1242, the Council of Tarragona framed additional provisions, which were the primitive instructions of the "Holy Office" in Spain. All these, strictly speaking, were in the *ancient* Inquisition; and they embodied the essential elements which were afterward employed in the modern. There were the same secrecy, the same modes of accusation, a similar use of torture, and the same penalties.† It was not, however, until the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella that the Holy Office was fully organized. This was not for any want of fanatical zeal in the sovereigns of Spain, for Ferdinand had himself heaped the fagots on the blazing pile with his own hands; and John II., Isabella's father, had hunted the heretics in Biscay like beasts of prey.‡

The first victims of the fury of the reorganized Inquisition in Spain were the Jews. They had enjoyed peculiar privileges in the Visigothic empire, and had multiplied exceedingly in numbers and in wealth. But alarm was created by the rumored probability of a union between the Moors and the Jews against the Christians, and severe restrictive measures were employed. Toward the close of the fourteenth century, the people, inflamed by the clergy, and encouraged by a numerous class of debtors, who thought in this way to speedily settle their accounts, fell upon the Jews, destroying their property, and massacring them indiscriminately. In this crisis many Jews professed the Catholic faith, and were called "the New Chris-

* "American Cyclopedia," article "Inquisition."

† Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, p. 233, and note. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 234.

tians." One monk alone, St. Vincent Ferrier, a Dominican of Valencia, is said to have converted no less than 35,000. In their new position many of them rose to high distinction, both in the Church and State. But they were not, after all, free from suspicion, and loud murmurs began to be heard against them. A curate of Los Palacios, in Andalusia, wrote of them, charging, among many other things, "that they were unwilling to bring their children to baptism; and if they did, they washed the stain away as soon as they got home; that they dressed their stews and other dishes in oil, and not in lard; abstained from pork, kept the passover, and ate meat in lent." There were two others, prominent persons, who joined in this cry against them: Alfonso de Ojeda and Diego de Merlo, the former a Dominican friar of the monastery of St. Paul, in Seville, and the latter an assistant of the city. The papal nuncio at the court of Castile vigorously supported them. They recommended the Holy Office to Ferdinand and Isabella as the only means of getting rid of them. To all this the weak and bigoted Ferdinand lent a willing ear. But it was not so easy to obtain the consent of Isabella. Naturally, she was gentle, amiable, and benevolent; and if her training had not been conducted by such confessors as Talavera and Torquemada, she might have shone forth before the eyes of the world as one of the most excellent queens. And even with all the guilt attaching to her on account of her share in the persecution of Jews and heretics, she is regarded with admiration for her many benevolent acts and her aid to Columbus.

But the fires of fanaticism and bigotry had been kindled in her breast; and encouraged by her confessors, by the papal nuncio, by the pope himself, and by her royal husband, she consented to ask from the pope for *a* bull which would authoritatively introduce the Holy Office into her kingdom. Sixtus IV. readily complied with the request, and expedited a bull November 1, 1478, authorizing them to appoint two or three ecclesiastics Inquisitors, for the detection and suppression of heresy throughout their dominions. For a little time after the introduction of the Inquisition the queen endeavored to modify its measures; but once started in their bloody work nothing could restrain the violence and fury of these Dominican friars.*

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 248–250.

Indeed, so energetic were they in hunting heretics that they were called *Domini canes* (the dogs of the Lord).* Victims were multiplied, so that the inquisitors were obliged to seek more spacious quarters for their work in the fortress of Triana in the suburbs. On the 6th of January, six victims suffered at the stake; seventeen were executed in the following March; a greater number in the following month; and by November of the same year no less than two hundred and ninety-eight persons had been sacrificed in the *autos da fé* of Seville. Torquemada, a name branded with eternal infamy, was appointed Inquisitor-general in 1483, and it was his demoniacal genius which organized the modern Inquisition. In vain did a fearful plague rage in Seville in this period, sweeping away 15,000 of its inhabitants, as if, says Prescott, in token of the wrath of Heaven against these enormities. "Still the bloody work went on, until it is computed that within this year 2,000 persons were burned alive, a still greater number who were dead or could not be found were burned in effigy, and 17,000 were *reconciled*—which meant that they were spared from death, only to suffer civil incapacity, the total confiscation of their property, or imprisonment for life." †

In Italy the pope laid the foundation for the Holy Office in 1216, when he appointed Domingo de Guzman first Inquisitor. For his fidelity in his work Guzman was canonized. But the sovereign states of Italy were not in favor of this papal measure. Venice would not allow a foreigner to intermeddle in the sentence or the execution of heretics. Lombardy had two Dominican inquisitors appointed to it to carry out their atrocious work; but one was killed by the enraged people in the execution of his office. The governor of Genoa refused to support the decrees of the Holy Office, and the magistrates generally sanctioned his acts. But for this he was excommunicated, the city was placed under interdict, and the governor finally submitted to have the sentence of capital punishment inflicted upon all who were delivered over to him under judgment of heresy. In Parma the inhabitants rescued a woman from the stake who had been sentenced by the inquisitors,

* McClintock and Strong's Cyclopædia, article "Inquisition."

† Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 252–253; Llorente, Hist. del Inquisition, tom. i, p. 160.

dispersed the executioners, went to the Franciscan convent, burst open the doors, battered down the roof of the church, and administered severe castigation on the bodies of as many friars as they could find, so that they all fled, except one who died from the effects of his wounds.* From these and other causes there were not so many victims of the Inquisition in Italy, Spain, France, and the Netherlands. But, instead of putting heretics to death by the Inquisition, the papacy made use of other methods to destroy those who were condemned by its tribunals. In 1461 John, archbishop of Emburn, undertook the task of extirpating the Waldensian heresies, by means of monitions, exhortations, and injunctions. In this he utterly failed. Twenty years afterward he renewed his efforts, excommunicating them all for their contumacy, and delivering them into the hands of a brutal soldiery. In one valley alone 3,000 were destroyed by the sword, or were smothered to death by fires kindled at the mouth of the caves in which they had sought refuge. And for ages afterward this bloody work was carried on. In 1686 they were attacked by a French and Italian army, when 3,000 were killed, 10,000 imprisoned, and 3,000 of their children distributed in Catholic towns and villages to be brought up in the Romish faith. And all this because they refused to believe the dogmas of the Romish Church, and protested against its monstrous errors. But all honor to these heroic saints. They kept alive for ages the flame of a pure religion amid the everlasting snows and ice of the Alps; and when Victor Emmanuel battered down the gates of Rome, they were ready to come from their hills and valleys and spread themselves over the land, preaching, without hinderance, that pure Gospel for which they and their ancestors had so long and patiently suffered. The story of their heroic struggles is one of the most thrilling chapters of history.†

The Spanish king sent emissaries to Sicily to establish the Holy Office in that island, but the inhabitants were so united in their resistance that the inquisitors were obliged to retreat. In the sixteenth century courts were established for the suppression of Protestant doctrines in Tuscany, Venice, Milan, and Parma; but executions were only allowed to take place under the sanc-

* "Brand of Dominic," by Rev. W. Rule, pp. 315–317, 323.

† "American Cyclopedia," article "Waldenses."

tion of the temporal sovereigns, which, in most instances, was only too easily obtained. In 1588 the pope changed the name of the Holy Office to that of the "Holy Roman and Universal Inquisition," making it to consist of twelve cardinals and several assessors, consulters, and qualificators. This office is *now* substantially in existence. In 1808 Napoleon destroyed the Inquisition in all Italy. Pius VII. restored it in 1814 in the Papal States, and in 1833 in Tuscany and Sardinia. Under Victor Emmanuel and his honored son and successor the Inquisition has been practically suspended, but its horrid machinery still exists.*

Next to Spain, and because it was under the domination of Spain, the Netherlands suffered the most severely from this bloody institution. Charles V. planted it in that country. It was his gift to its inhabitants in return for their constant obedience and wasted treasures.† This was doubtless the cause of the revolt of the people. Charles gave to the Inquisition the largest powers to seize, try, condemn, and punish all heretics. When he abdicated his throne, his son, Philip II., one of the most fanatical and cruel and blood thirsty wretches that ever occupied a throne, in the very first month of his reign renewed these powers and confirmed them.‡ As the name of Torquemada is branded with eternal infamy for his part in the Inquisition of Spain, so that of Peter Titelmann will forever be held up to the execration of the ages for his part in the persecutions in the Netherlands. The work of death went steadily forward under his administration, and multitudes were slain. Philip was ever ready to sustain him in his bloody work, and the pope rejoiced over the number of the victims. The people, however, steadily resisted this persecution. Two ministers of Valenciennes, condemned to the stake, were rescued from the flames by the incensed populace, and delivered from the prison, to which their guards had hurried them away. But for this act of interference they were terribly punished. Some were burned, some beheaded, and in various other ways were made to atone for their heroic efforts. Great was the rage of Philip and the pope against these sturdy defenders of religious

* "Brand of Dominic," pp. 303–367; "American Cyclopedia," article "Inquisition."

† Motley's "Dutch Republic," vol. i, p. 114. ‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 330–331.

liberty. The ancient tyrant "wished that his enemies' heads were all on one neck, that he might strike them off at a blow." The Inquisition enabled Philip to place the heads of all his Netherlands subjects at his disposal. Upon the 16th of February, 1568, a sentence of the Inquisition "condemned all the inhabitants of the Netherlands to death as heretics." From this universal doom only a few persons, especially named, were excepted. A proclamation of Philip only a few days after this confirmed the decree of the Holy Office, and ordered it to "be carried into instant execution, without regard to age, sex, or condition." This, says Motley, is the most concise death-warrant that was ever framed. Three millions of people, men, women, and children, were sentenced to the scaffold in three lines; and as it was known that these were not harmless thunders, like some of the bulls of the Vatican, the horror which they produced may be easily imagined.* Some have estimated the number of victims as high as 100,000. But no one can read Motley's inimitable history without coming to the conclusion, from the data furnished, that at least 50,000 were butchered. Many single instances of heroic suffering at the stake are given by him, which may be read with thrilling interest on his vivid pages.†

The Inquisition was established in Portugal in 1536. King John III., like Philip II., was fanatically bigoted, especially against the Jews and Lutherans. It was not necessary that the pope should urge him—he could even afford to show signs of disapproval at his fanatical zeal against penitent Jews; but both pope and king were agreed that Lutherans should be burned without pity. Victims were multiplied, but not as in Spain; nor was the Inquisition allowed to show itself so publicly there, although *autos da fé* were not uncommon. In 1560 its jurisdiction was extended to the Portuguese colonies in India, and Goa became the seat of its terrible operations. As in Spain and Portugal so here, the first victims were Jews, but afterward the Nestorian Christians were made to feel its awful power, and large numbers were put to death. Burnings were frequent, *autos*, with all their terrible accompaniments, were re-enacted for more than a century, multitudes were imprisoned in the vilest of dungeons, and how many thousands per-

* Motley's "Dutch Republic," vol. ii, p. 158. † *Ibid.*, vol. i, 333–337.

ished can never be known. This institution still existed in Goa in the year 1812, when Dr. Buchanan wrote his "Christian Researches in Asia;" but it was soon after abolished.*

It could scarcely be expected that, after the discovery of America by Columbus, and the grant made by the pope to Ferdinand and Isabella of all the lands in "Terra Firma," its inhabitants would escape the fury of Rome's persecuting policy. It was feared by the pope and the king that "the New Christians" might take refuge in the new country, and therefore provisions must be made to arrest and punish them there. Accordingly, a royal order was signed on the 20th day of May, 1520, against them and the recalcitrant natives. The same regulations were made for Panama in 1569, and in Lima and Mexico in 1570. The Inquisition was formally established in 1570, and in 1574 the first *autos* were celebrated with great pomp. In one of these an Englishman and a Frenchman, probably a Huguenot who had escaped the St. Bartholomew massacre, were burned, and eighty penitents were exhibited. In 1648 there is an account of an *autos da fé* in which were punished by death and penance twenty-eight persons, and the narrator says seventy were put to death the year previous.† On the day following these transactions, what was called "the judgment of lashes" was executed. The poor victims received, sometimes, as high as two hundred lashes, and many died under the scourge. In 1659 another burning occurred, when an Irishman, suspected of the heresies of Luther and Calvin, was given to the flames.‡ This abominable institution continued to exist in Mexico until the Republic was proclaimed, when its buildings were sold, and its work of formal public persecution ended. The building of the Inquisition in Puebla was bought by our Missionary Society in 1873. In searching it, the masons found twelve cells, each four feet six inches square and seven feet in height. Such cells were always kept ready for victims, the little door being alone left open for their admission. When one was sentenced to death, he or she was thrown into the prison, the little opening was walled up, and the victim left to perish in a living tomb. Four of these victims, so recently immured that they could be brought into the air

* "Brand of Dominic," by Rule, pp. 260–287.

† *Ibid.*, pp. 291–293, note. ‡ *Ibid.*, by Rule, p. 300.

without breaking in pieces, were brought out into the inclosure, placed standing against a flower-stand and photographed, so that future generations could see the results of this infernal tribunal.*

II. What is *the character and the design of this institution?* It must be understood that the Roman Catholic Church regards itself, in its head, as the vicegerent of God upon the earth, and in its organization as the only true Church of God. From this it argues that it is justly entitled to rule over all nations and peoples. All who refuse to submit to her authority are not only heretics and traitors, but also *rebels*, against whom she is warranted to proceed whenever and wherever she has the opportunity, by fire and sword, by dungeon, stripes, and death. She makes no secret of her claims and designs. No necessity exists for quotations from her authorities on this point. Only a few years since Monseigneur Doane, with the sanction and authority of Bishop (afterward Archbishop) Bailey—renegade Protestants both of them—published a pamphlet in which he says: "Protestantism is a gigantic rebellion against the Church of God (Roman Catholic). As rebels Protestants of every name have been regarded by the Church, and as such they ever must be, until they return and submit to her authority, which they resist." And then, by way of illustration of how Rome should command submission, he instances the fact that England caused the bodies of rebels to be blown from the cannon's mouth in India, and America put down rebellion by fire and sword, and so the Church may and should treat rebels against her authority, which is a greater crime than rebellion against any government. †

This being a fundamental position of the Romish Church, it follows that whoever will not voluntarily submit to her authority must be made to suffer her chastisements. And this she has proceeded to carry out in every country where she has gained the control of the government. This, there is no room to doubt, she would do in America if she had the power. Sometimes she has pleaded, in extenuation of her part in the bloody work of the Inquisition, that it was the civil government which asked for it, and that put its victims to death. But who pro-

* Dr. William Butler.

‡ Pamphlet on "Exclusion of Protestant Worship from Rome," p. 16.

more to blame than you. Be not a partaker of other men's sins, nor think of acting the part of a teacher when you are but a learner. Confess the truth. You see that I know it well already; but I want you to save your character, and enable me to set you at liberty as soon as possible, and let you return home in peace. But tell me, who led you first astray?'" Perhaps the accused will declare his innocence, or the evidence against him may be incomplete; the Inquisitor may then ask general questions, and if the answers are not satisfactory, may "turn over the notes of a former examination, and say, 'It is clear that you are not telling the truth. Do not equivocate any longer.'" He may then turn over a bundle of papers and seem to be reading them, and, when the accused denies any thing, start, as with surprise, and ask how he can deny that? . . . and say, every now and then, 'Ah! did I not say so? Confess the truth.'" * Again:

When the Inquisitor has an opportunity, he shall manage so as to introduce to the prisoner some one who has been an accomplice, or any other converted heretic, who shall feign that he still persists in his heresy, telling him that he only abjured for the purpose of escaping punishment. Having thus gained his confidence he shall go into his cell some day after dinner, and keeping up the conversation till night, shall remain with him under pretext that it is too late for him to return home. He shall then urge him to tell him all the particulars of his life, having first told him the whole of his own; and in the meantime spies shall be kept in hearing at the door, as well as a notary, in order to certify what may be said within. †

Should these methods succeed, and the poor quivering victim through fear or the promise of favor confess he was granted the privilege (?) of confiscation of goods, or a life of imprisonment, or, if released, he must bear the *sanbenito* (a yellow habit, with a St. Andrew's cross worked upon it), or, if his heresy was violent, he might be strangled before he was burned. If he would not confess, or if he confessed the principal fact, only varying as to the circumstances, or if his answers were confused, the doctors of the Church were agreed that he might be put to the torture. "The victim, thus condemned, was taken into the deepest vaults of the Inquisition,

* "Brand of Dominic," Rule, pp. 51, 52.

† Puigblauch "Inquisition Unmasked;" Eymeric's Instructions; Llorente, Hist. de l'Inquisition, tom. i, pp. 110–124.

where no human ears could hear his or her cries, save those of the fiendish tormentors." * The victims, male and female, were stripped naked, and the implements of torture held out before them, to frighten them into a confession. Sometimes a tight garment was put on the victim, which was almost as torturing as the rack. Then came the stretching on the rack. If once was not sufficient to extort confession, there followed more severe shocks, by the tension and sudden relaxation of the cord —given once, twice, thrice, sometimes oftener, until the poor victim's flesh was torn, his limbs disjointed, and his whole frame quivered with intense agony. If all this did not suffice, the torture might be repeated on the following day, or as soon as the victim was able to bear it. Other tortures were also resorted to, as binding the thumbs with small cords, until the blood gushed from under the nails; tying various parts of the body with small cords, and drawing them by means of iron pulleys, until blood streamed from every pore. At other times the victim would be suspended from the ceiling, his weight resting on the cords, or his feet or head placed over burning coals; or, water would be caused to drop on the head from the ceiling, until the victim was well-nigh driven to madness; or, with red-hot pincers the quivering flesh would be torn from various parts of the body. Indeed, no torture which we can conceive it possible for hell to invent was unused. "The fact of the infliction of these tortures," says Prescott, "is admitted by the Secretary of the Holy Office, who has furnished the most authentic account of its transactions; and it is shown not to have been exaggerated in any of the numerous narratives which have dragged these subterranean horrors to light." † And yet this is the Institution which Monseigneur Capel and the Romish Church commend to our American citizens.

If the victim, after all this process of torture, was adjudged guilty, he was condemned to death, and awaited the coming of an *auto da fé*. When the morning of the day on which this was to be celebrated arrived, the grandees of the realm, putting on the sable livery of familiars of the Holy Office, and bearing aloft its banners, condescended to act as an escort to its ministers, while, not infrequently, the royal presence countenanced the dreadful ceremony. The victims were attired in yellow

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 257–258. † *Ibid.*, p. 258.

robes, without sleeves, embroidered all over with devices and black figures of devils and flames of fire. A large conical paper miter was placed on the head, upon which was represented a human being in the midst of flames, surrounded by imps. The tongue was then painfully gagged, so that they could neither open nor shut their mouths. They were then led forth to the place of execution, where a sermon was preached, the 51st Psalm chanted, and those who still remained steadfast were burned at the stake, while those who, in the last extremity, abandoned their faith were allowed to be strangled before they were cast into the flames.* At first no gag was used; but when they ascertained that the victims would sing and shout and exhort, both on the way to the burning and at the stake, this implement of torture was employed to prevent such doings. In the Walloon provinces, in the Netherlands, the condemned had sung the hymns of Marot in the very faces of their inquisitors, and had triumphed at the stake. So they invented the following method to make this impossible: Before the condemned left their dungeons, they drew out their tongues with pincers, and slipped a red-hot iron ring over it, thus rendering it impossible for these heroic saints to speak or sing.†

The authorities vary somewhat in the reported number of victims put to death by the Inquisition, directly and indirectly —that is, by burning and torture, and by massacres and butchery. Of course, the exact numbers can never be fully known until "the judgment of the great whore that sitteth upon many waters" has come. Llorente computes that during Torquemada's ministry there were no less than 10,220 burned in Spain; 6,860 condemned and burned in effigy, as absent or dead; 97,321 *reconciled* by various penances.‡ In the reign of Philip V. there were 782 *autos da fé*. Zunita says, in his "Anales," that by 1520 the Inquisition in Seville had sentenced more than 4,000 persons to be burned, and 30,000 to other punishments. He quotes also from another author, who estimated the number condemned by this tribunal within the same time at 100,000. From the time of Torquemada until the year 1809, Llorente estimates that there were: Burned alive, 31,912; burned in effigy, 17,659; penitents with all their disabilities, 291,450; or

* Motley's "Dutch Republic," vol. i, p. 475. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 159, 343.
‡ Llorente, tom. i, p. 239. § "Anales," tom. iv, fol. 324.

a total of 341,021. This was by the Spanish Inquisition alone. Motley estimates that fully 100,000 suffered from the Inquisition in the Netherlands, under Titelmann and others. In these two countries alone we have nearly half a million of victims. But if we include the numbers who suffered in France by the Inquisition, in the war with the Albigenses, by the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and similar ones in various parts of that kingdom, those who were put to death by the Holy Office in Italy, and in the crusades against the Waldenses, the victims of its fury in Portugal and Goa, and in South America and Mexico, not even including the Jews and the Moors, doubtless more than a million persons suffered from its diabolical work. Of course, efforts have been made by Roman Catholic writers to minify these numbers, to cast discredit upon the statements of Llorente, Limborch, and others, and to make it appear that this horrid institution was, after all, not only harmless, but a useful and holy thing. But they cannot succeed in this where people read and think. Prescott and Motley, in their inimitable histories, follow Llorente and Limborch. The "American Cyclopedia," in its article on the Inquisition, says that "Prescott pronounces Llorente's computations as exaggerated, and his estimates most improbable." We have searched Prescott again and again, and can find no such language. But he does say:

> Don Juan Antonio Llorente is *the only writer who has succeeded in completely lifting the veil from the dread mysteries of the Inquisition* . . . Llorente was secretary to the tribunal of Madrid from 1790 to 1792. His official station consequently afforded him every facility for an acquaintance with the most recondite affairs of the Inquisition; and on its suppression in 1808 he devoted several years to a careful investigation of the registers of the tribunals, both of the capital and the provinces, as well as of such other original documents contained within their archives as had not hitherto been opened to the light of day. In the progress of his work he has anatomized the most odious features of the institution with unsparing severity; and his reflections are warmed with a generous and enlightened spirit, certainly not to have been expected in an ex-inquisitor. The arrangement of his immense mass of materials is, indeed, somewhat faulty, and the work might be recast in a more popular form, especially by means of a copious retrenchment. *With all its subordinate defects, however, it is entitled to the credit of being the most—indeed the only—authentic history of the modern Inquisition*, exhibiting its minutest forms of practice, and the insidious policy by which they

were directed, from the origin of the institution down to its temporary abolition. *It well deserves to be studied* as the record of the most humiliating triumph which fanaticism has ever been able to obtain over human reason, and that, too, during the most civilized periods, and in the most civilized portion of the world. The persecutions endured by the unfortunate author of the work *prove that the embers of this fanaticism may be rekindled too easily, even in the present century.** [The italics are our own.]

It is but justice, however, to add that Prescott in the last revision of his History gives less credit to Llorente's accounts, and diminishes the number of the victims of this institution. But, even after all deductions from the number of victims has been made, it surpasses in horror and cruelty any other institution which has ever existed in this world.

But the mighty movements of the reformation in Germany, the advance in public opinion in France and Italy, the opposition of the people in Portugal, the arms of Napoleon in Spain and Italy, and the establishment of the Republic in Mexico, at length put down this terrible institution, so that it can no longer publicly execute its bloody work. But it died hard, if, indeed, it may be said to be even yet dead. We know that, although nominally destroyed by Napoleon I., it still existed in Italy until the reign of Victor Emmanuel. Dr. Achilli was imprisoned in its dungeons in 1842. Its old edicts against the Jews were revived in 1843. When the prison of the Inquisition was broken into in 1849, victims were still found in it, and human skulls and bones were taken out by the people in vast quantities. As late as 1857, the Inquisition was vigorous in persecuting all suspected of Protestantism, and such as were found with heretical books were severely punished.† The organization still exists in Italy, with the pope at its head, under the name of "The Congregation of the Holy Office." The pope is president, with twelve cardinals, who have charge of all questions relating to faith and morals. At present, of course, it cannot act publicly, and is confined to simple spiritual jurisdiction.‡

An officer under Napoleon, Colonel Lemanouski, gives the following thrilling sketch of the destruction of the Inquisition

* Prescott's "Ferdinand and Isabella," vol. i, pp. 268, 269, note.

† "Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia," art. "Inquisition."

‡ "American Cyclopedia," art. "Inquisition."

in Madrid: After having broken down the walls, and advancing to the interior of the building, he ordered the Inquisitor-general and the ghostly confessors under arrest, as well as the soldiers under their command. They then proceeded from room to room to find the dungeons and instruments of torture. But to their surprise none were visible. The holy fathers assured them that they had seen every thing. But Colonel de Lile ordered water to be brought in and poured over the marble floor. Soon an opening was discovered, and a soldier with the butt of his musket struck a spring, when the marble slab flew up. Then the faces of the inquisitors grew pale, and trembling seized them. Seizing a candle, Colonel Lemanouski started to go down the staircase, when he discovered a large room, called the "Hall of Judgment." In the center was a large block, with a chain, where the accused had been seated and chained. Small cells at the right extended the whole length of the edifice. In these were found living sufferers of every age and of both sexes, and all as naked as when they were born; some who had been dead only a short time; and others of whom nothing remained but their bones. The living were speedily released, and supplied with food and clothing. In another room were found the implements of torture, of every kind which the ingenuity of men or devils could invent. At the sight of these the fury of the French soldiery could no longer be restrained. They commenced at once to use them upon the holy fathers, until vengeance had been wreaked upon them all. When the people learned that the prisons had been opened, they rushed in to see if they could find their friends, when among the haggard victims were discovered brother and sister, son and daughter; but others had gone, and their remains could no longer be recognized. After all this was done a large quantity of gunpowder was placed under the building, and the whole edifice was razed to the ground.* Such is the Romish Inquisition, and such has been its work in the past. The very vitals of the worst heathen nations would freeze with horror at the bare recital of its atrocities. And yet Rome has never condemned them. She does not condemn them now. She even dares to commend this institution, in the nineteenth century, to the American people!

* No. 460, American Tract Society."

Art. IV.—MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS IN THE REVISION.

One of the fifty-four translators of King James's Bible was Dr. Laifield, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, "skilled in architecture, whose judgment was much relied on for the fabric of the tabernacle and temple." Hugh Broughton, a distinguished Hebraist of that period, wanted the business of revision committed to a British "seventy," who should have power to consult gardeners, artists, and other specialists about words connected with their several callings, and bound to submit their work to the judgment of some one qualified by knowledge and training to resolve questions relating to special departments.

Distribution of labor among skilled and interested laborers would tend naturally to the greater perfection of a version or revision. Every one who opens a new version directs foremost attention to points that have been with him subjects of particular investigation. Without pretense to the scientific or musical ability necessary to aid in translating, the writer has cherished a life-long interest in the song-themes of the Hebrews, and their proper expression in sacred worship. On the burning question "instrument or no instrument" in the house of God he has had but one opinion, and a few words of personal reminiscence may be the most fitting introduction to the topic named at the head of this article. Half a century ago, as is well known, there was a Quaker-like opposition among Methodists to pews, steeples, bells, choirs, bass-viols and organs. The writer's education precluded any affiliation with these notions. One of his earliest recollections is that of a big bass-viol on which his father sawed on Sunday evenings, while the infantile voices of his family joined in hymnic and psalmodic accompaniments. When, in due time, at the age of twelve, he got bigger than the "chello," he began to wield the bow himself, and played in aid of the choir at the dedication of the little Methodist temple at whose altars he first kneeled in 1831. Later he played accompaniments for church choirs, notably for that of which his college classmates were members, Hyer, the strong-lunged leader; Kellogg, father

of the *cantatrice*, and Harlow, the saintly and sainted, flutists; while the embryo editor of the "Methodist Review" underwent devotion and endured the penance of inflicted song in the somewhat perfunctory daily exercises of a college chapel. In 1833, while teaching in Auburn, N. Y., the writer was made leader of the choir of the elegant new stone church, and, innocently enough, sought to support the singing by introducing a bass-viol to the church gallery. A heinous offense it proved, so grievous to one old brother that he hurried out of the house at the first twang of the strings of the "ungodly big fiddle." Next day he made a furious attack upon the youthful "chellist," who sought to defend himself by instancing the profuse use of musical instruments by David in the first dispensation. "David," said the irate old-timer, "was a bad man, lived badly, and died with murder in his heart." The official board, under the leadership of the pastor, Dr. George Peck, advised the discontinuance of the offending viol. The irate old brother whose conscience was so sensitive on this subject got out of the church through intemperance shortly after, and when I passed through Auburn by cars a year or two later I saw the sad wreck of the fiery anti-Davidian peddling peanuts and candy for a precarious living at the station. Rough rencounter with this man and others who held similiar views induced special study of the subject. Invitations to lecture in behalf of a juvenile drum-corps, recently, suggested "Musical Instruments" as a fitting theme, and re-opened interest in Hebrew song and instrumentation, and, next to that, the intimately related inquiry how this topic was treated in the late Revision.

Hebrew Musical Instruments.

The invention of musical instruments and their use in worship date from the earliest records of every race and nation. In the Jewish annals instrumental music is mentioned before vocal. Jubal—Trumpet-blast—seventh in descent from Adam, was the pioneer inventor of those that handle harp and organ. Semitic shepherds had every known species of instrument in primitive times. Music, vocal and instrumental, was taught in the schools of the prophets, and used to enliven social occasions in the hut of the peasant and the palace of the king. Especially

was it brought into prominent requisition in the worship of Jehovah in the Jewish tabernacle and temple as long as tabernacle and temple stood. Bible versionists and readers find over two hundred and thirty references to instruments of some kind, sometimes solitary and by way of poetic illustration and embellishment, often pertaining to war, worship, or orchestral bands. The force of many of these allusions is lost to us. In the natural progress of that decay and renewal which is the inexorable law of all finite growth, words and languages decay and die, destined, like other decayed matter, to fertilize the soil from which new crops spring.

In the course of centuries, liturgies die, word after word, on the lips of the worshipers who chant them. The psalms are sung and recited in Hebrew by thousands of Jews in every land, with whom Hebrew is no longer the vernacular, and to whom the original Hebrew, that of Abraham and David, is a dead letter. The service of the Latin Church, constructed when Latin was the colloquial of the people, died on the lips of the congregations, and Rome's worship to-day is in an unknown tongue. The prayer-book services of Edward the Sixth and the Bible Versions of the Protestant Reformers are dying in the same way. Revision and ultimate death are the only alternatives. There is no other. When the Hebrew, in the third century before Christ, had become dead or limited and local, it was found necessary to put the Scriptures into Greek, then the world-wide medium of communication, the language of commerce, thought, books, social and national intercourse. Seven hundred years later, when the Roman power filled the world, the Bible was translated into Latin, and in the later centuries, as both Greek and Latin died out, into the current dialects of the European nations. Divine worship seeks intelligent expression. Worship is inseparable from the religion taught by the Bible. Music is an essential part of worship. The liturgical song-book of the Hebrews is the song-book of the converted nations. The psalms were the outburst of song. They were sung into the world, and made to be sung in all time. The Asiatic had no idea of song separable from instrumental accompaniment. The psalms not only imply instrumental accompaniment, but they expressly enjoin it in impassioned strains in a dozen places. Secular verse, in ode

and tragedy, would be bald without accompaniment. The Church of God should not be worse served than the theater. The absurdity of one-idea crankism on this subject is never set forth in a more painfully ludicrous light than when an anti-instrumentist sings, in bald nasality,

> "Praise Jah with trumpet's sound! His praise with psaltery advance!
> With trumpet, harp, stringed instruments, and organ, with the dance!
> Praise Him on cymbals loud! Him praise on cymbals sounding high!"

Precisely what ancient music was we have very limited means of knowing. The names of some twenty musical instruments remain in the surviving records, but their forms and powers have perished from the memory of man.

Five of these, called in our translation tabrets, timbrels, cymbals, and bells, are supposed to have belonged to the pulsative or percussive class, earliest developed, no doubt, in the history of the race, as intimated by the fondness of childhood for rhythmic noise, shown as soon as the infant begins to grasp and strike one solid substance against another. Seven others were wind instruments, and eight were stringed.

The Jews were essentially a trumpeting nation, as the native Africans are a drumming race. In the Hebrew records there are thirty references to instruments of the drum species, seventy to the string family, and over a hundred to trumpets and horns.

Perplexities of Translators.

The first perplexity is, that the early Hebrew was written in consonants, and that the vowel sounds were supplied later by vocal usage, tradition, or conjecture. The familiar Persian word paradise was spelled in vowelless Semitic fashion, PRDS. In like manner the leading instrument of the pulsative kind, תף, was written TPh, and pronounced Tuph, Toph, or Tohph, supposed to be the duff or diff of the modern Arabs.

The two commonest stringed instruments, harp (כנור) and psaltery (נבל), were represented to the eye as KNVR and NBL, pronounced Kinnohr and Nebel.

The chief wind instruments were two trumpets, about whose shape and powers there has been endless conjecture, the שופר, ShVPhR, shoh-phahr, and the חצוצרה, ChTsTsRH, or KhTzTzRH, an unmouthable combination written chatz, khaatz, or ghatzoh-tz'vah.

Early Jews might have been able to make pronounceable and meaning words out of these literal combinations, but to the uninitiated they must have been as unintelligible as the Egyptian hieroglyphics.

When the Seventy at Alexandria sat down to convert the Hebrew Bible into Greek, they soon encountered (Gen. iv, 21) the names of two musical instruments for which it was necessary to find equivalents in Greek. The Hebrew letters were KNVR and UGB. For these they chose the names of two well-known Greek instruments, psalterion and kithara, both, according to Greek lexicographers, stringed instruments. In Job xxi, 12, the same translators use the same terms for the same Hebrew words, but a little farther on, Job xxx, 31, they substitute kithara for KNVR, and for UGB, psalmos. Out of the same UGB, in the 150th Psalm, they make organon! Is this a precious confounding of terms through carelessness, ignorance, or indifference? or were the psaltery, kithara, psalmist, and organ similar instruments or the same at Alexandria, and their names consequently interchangeable? The KiN-NOR is usually rendered by the LXX. kithara; Latin Vulgate, cithara; *Anglicè*, harp. NeBeL is generally rendered psaltery, once by psalmos, once by kithara. Whether NeBeL is a Hebrew word Grecized to nabla, or a foreign word Hebraized, is a point in dispute with scholars.

In Kings and Chronicles we have the names of these two favorite stringed instruments transliterated, and read kinura and nabla in numerous passages.

It is thus evident that great uncertainty pervaded the minds of Jewish interpreters of their own national writings two thousand years ago. Much is left to conjecture, and still more is veiled in blank obscurity. This haze may be thinned, but in no instance entirely cleared away, by two or three considerations. The first is, that the instruments in use in the Orient today are essentially those used by the peoples who inhabited the same territory thirty or forty centuries ago, by reason of the unchangeableness of the manners and habits of the sluggish and stationary East, which uses the same household utensils, clothing, and implements of war, navigation, and husbandry that were employed by their ancestors in by-gone centuries.

Again, Assyrian, Egyptian, and Roman monuments give the

forms of musical instruments in vogue among the nations they conquered, and some of these are undoubtedly Jewish. Finally, cognate living dialects suggest similarity of former things with the present by similarity of names of the old with things now existing.

The Psalms, as the national song-service book, naturally contain the most frequent allusions to song and its instrumental accompaniments. Their titles, mostly unresolvable because forgotten, seem to have reference to musical settings, notation, or execution. The incomprehensible SLH, the mysterious "Se-LaH" which the old divines used to read from the pulpit with such devout and solemn unction, is shrewdly suspected to have been some sort of musical direction. The historical notices of music found in the state chronicles are here substituted by fervent hortations to praise Jehovah with every power of voice, wind, and string! To these repositories of pretty much all that may be known on the subject we turn with eager interest. We scan, in the parallelisms, the rows of black, backward-reading characters, whose heavy strokes are horizontal and light ones vertical, quite the reverse of Roman capitals, and would fain implore them to yield up their hidden intent and meaning. In vain—they are dumb as Sphinxes!

It would be some gratification if the Septuagint and Vulgate maintained consistency in interpretation, even if that interpretation were traditional or conjectural. But these uncritical guides vary from word to word and phrase to phrase as if truth and fixity were matters of no consequence. Translators of the Scriptures into modern tongues had no occasion to seem wiser than those who were two thousand years nearer the fountain-head of knowledge than themselves, and so they have usually followed Septuagint and Vulgate, inconsistencies and all.

Five hundred years ago it was the self-imposed task of the learned, versatile, and voluminous Wiclif to introduce English readers to a knowledge of the Bible by translating it into the vulgar tongue. When he met with musical instruments he sought equivalents in those in use in his own day. It would not answer the purpose of faithful and conscientious rendering to confound a drum with a fife, or a flute with a fiddle. He must determine by the best lights at command whether a given Hebrew word indicated a wind, stringed, or pulsatile instrument,

and then match it by some well-known equivalent in use among the common people in his own day.

A hundred verses deep in Genesis, the bold Oxford polemic struck the still enigmatical UGB, translated in three different ways by the Seventy. What could he do better than to follow the Vulgate and write organ, suggesting to English ears a wind instrument of some kind? What the organ was, as Wiclif knew it, may be learned from Chaucer's

> "Merrie organ
> On masse days, that is in the churches going."

For Wiclif's "harp and orgon"—the "harpe and orgun" of Purvey, his colleague and reviser—the Jerusalem Chamber has substituted harp and pipe. The word organ disappears from the new Bible, and will not be found in future Crudens. Have the revisers improved the old version here, either in phrase or idea? They, of course, give up Donegan and adopt Eschenburgh in making the Greek *οργανον* a wind and not a stringed instrument. They adopt, also, the favorite idea of expositors, that Moses intended to say that Jubal was the progenitor of all such as, generically speaking, "play upon the harp and the organs," as the Douay Bible felicitously puts the passage. But why "harp and pipe?" There is no instrument in existence that goes by the name "pipe." The harp is a collection of strings, the organ a collection of pipes. If it was needful to do away with the word organ, because it suggests the majestic instrument now in use, instead of the seven-piped syrinx of the Mosaic age, why not the word harp also, that figures to the fancy the ponderous modern instrument, a load for a strong man's shoulders, instead of the little three or seven-stringed triangle carried about by minstrels on their starring tours in the days of Homer and Job? If a generic idea was sought, string and pipe, or strings and pipes, would have been preferable to the adopted change. The American Delegates' version in Chinese, Tang K'ing and Choi Sien, play lutes and blow flutes, better maintains the generic idea.

That the Alexandrian Seventy's ideas of an organ were not our ideas is evident from Psalm cxxxvii, in which, instead of "hanged our harps upon the willows," both the Septuagint and Vulgate make the sorrowing Babylonish captives say: "We

hanged our organs upon the willows," rather a cumbersome load for the pliant osiers, and suggesting to the slightest reflection that the kinnor was a small instrument as easy to suspend as it was for the plaining grievers for sable Uncle Ned to

"Hang up the fiddle and the bow"

when merriment had changed to mourning for the plantation Wineawski.

Of the one hundred alterations in verses that speak of musical instruments in the last revision, the great majority are verbal, syntactical, trivial, and, so far as instruments are concerned, of little practical importance. As specimens we may note Exod. xix, 16, where "the trumpet" is changed to "a trumpet;" in verse 19 the words "sounded long" are omitted; in chapter xviii, verse 20, "noise" is changed to "voice." In Judg. vii, 20, Gideon's "lamps" are turned to "torches." In 1 Sam. x, 5, the word "tabret" is substituted by "timbrel," which suggests the inquiry why the same change was not made wherever the word tabret occurs; or why, indeed, the obsolete timbrel and tabor were not both, like organ, struck out of the future concordance, and the word drum, or, still better, tambourine, substituted wherever toph appears in the original—about a dozen and a half places.

In 2 Sam. vi, 5, the Hebrew word מְצִלְתַּיִם, mistranslated cornets by English versionists, both in the Douay and Authorized Version, following the Greek *αυλοις*, instead of the Latin *sistra*, is properly replaced and thoroughly modernized by the very intelligible word "castanets," understood by every child, from plantation to palace.

As a specimen of intelligent and consistent work by translators look at שְׁלִשִׁים, 1 Sam. xviii, 6, in the Greek *κυμβαλοις*, Latin *sistris*, Douay "cornets," Authorized Version "instruments of music," or (margin) "three-stringed instruments." Revised, the same, with the additional marginal comment "triangles." Bagster's Hebrew Lexicon "a harp with three strings!"

In 1 Chron. xv, 20, "psalteries on Alamoth" is changed to "psalteries set to Alamoth," as if the latter was any more intelligible than the former!

In Psalm lv, and elsewhere, the incomprehensible neginoth

is made into "stringed instruments," intelligible, but indefinite; according to the lexicons, the word should be defined songs rather than instruments.

Psaltery and Harp.

The nebel and kinnor were, no doubt, as clearly distinguished from each other in the mind of the Hebrew as the harp and guitar are in our minds to-day; and yet, as we have seen, they are frequently interchanged by translators. The word "nebel" is usually translated by psaltery, but, as an example of fluttering interpretation, we note that in Isaiah and Amos, between Septuagint, Vulgate, Douay Version, Authorized Version, and Revised, this single triliteral word, NBL, is credited with being psaltery, lyre, organ, harp, viol, lute! The word viol, as the name of a family of stringed instruments, is intelligible to the modern mind. The psaltery is obsolete, both the name and that which the name represented, in the days when Chaucer wrote,

> "And above there lay a gay psalt'ry,
> On which he made at nights melody,
> So sweetly that all the chamber rang;
> As *angelus ad virginem* he sang;"

and again, in the same tale,

> "taketh his psaltery
> And playeth fast, and make the melody."

What whim possessed the revisers to substitute lute, another antique of Chaucer's day, for the sensible Authorized Version's viol in Isaiah v, 12, and leave in the word viol elsewhere in the same prophet and in Amos? A better thing would have been to use some such well-known word as viol, guitar, or banjo wherever the antique and unintelligible word psaltery occurs. Intelligibleness is desirable, and especially consistency. The timbrel, with its world of poetic meaning since Tom Moore wrote,

> "Sound the loud timbrel o'er Egypt's dark sea,"

has come up, run its course, and died out since Chaucer. The substitution of lute for viol in a single passage is as freaky as would have been the use of nahker for timbrel, gittern for cithern, rebeck or ribible for viol! So long as the Book of Psalms shall be known by the venerable name psalter, probably

psaltery will suggest accompaniment, especially when we read of it in Psalms xxxiii, xcii, and cxlix as the (or an)

INSTRUMENT OF TEN STRINGS.

Hebrew: Nebel-asor or gah-sohr.
Greek: Ψαλτηριῳ δεκαχορδῳ.
Vulgate: Psalterio decem chordarum.
Douay: Psaltery, the instrument of ten strings.
Authorized: Psaltery *and* an instrument of ten strings.
Prayer-Book: Lute and instrument of ten strings.
Noyes: Ten-stringed psaltery.
Revised: Psaltery of ten strings.
So read versions of Psalm xxxiii.
In Psalm cxliv, 9:
Douay: Psaltery and an instrument of ten strings.
Prayer Book: Ten-stringed lute.

In Psalm xcii the Hebrew throws us anew upon conjecture by reading,

"Upon the asor and upon the nebel,"

which seems to divorce the asor from the nebel, said divorce being ignored by Septuagint, Vulgate, and Douay, yet recognized as separate by the Authorized Version, Noyes, and the Revised; emphasized and expanded in the Prayer Book to an "instrument of ten strings" and the "lute," with the further addition of a "loud instrument" made out of higaion, ᾠδῆς, and cantico!

The sackbut and dulcimer of Nebuchadnezzar (Dan. iii, 5) are left standing in the revised text. The dulcimer, as we know it, is a stringed instrument, and yet the new margin writes "bag-pipe." With a like eye to intelligibility, it should have substituted for sackbut "trombone."

HEBREW WIND INSTRUMENTS.

The chief of these were trumpets of two kinds, שופר, shophar, and חצוצרה, chatsohtsrah, which were doubtless as clearly distinguished in the minds of the historians and poets who named them in their writings as are the trumpet and cornet in our minds to-day; nevertheless, the Septuagintists create the usual muddle by their evident uncertainty in the use of terms in translation.

We try to get some glimpse of the difference between these once well-known instruments by noting the uses to which each was put on the occasions on which it was employed, yet with indifferent success. It was the shophar that "sounded long and waxed louder and louder" out of the thick cloud, charged with lightning and thunders, in which God descended upon Sinai. Exod. xix, 16, 19.

The silver trumpets that assembled the people at the tabernacle, blew the signals for journeying, alarms in war, and ushered in solemn times and sacrifices, were the khatzotzerah described in Num. x, 2–10.

Gideon at Mount Gilead and Joshua at Jericho both used the shophars. The hundred and twenty trumpets that formed the "brass" of the orchestra at the dedication of the temple were khatzotzerah. 2 Chron. v, 12. Prophets and psalmists, with few exceptions, write of the shophar, which appears some seventy-five times, while its evidently less used rival appears but twenty-five.

Why the Alexandrian semi-Greek Hebrews were so uncertain and indefinite about the character of instruments used by their ancestors some centuries before is rather remarkable. Words and things get out of fashion, and then out of memory, even in the sluggish East. The ignorance of these Orientals two thousand years ago finds parallel and apology in the fact that of twenty instruments named by Chaucer in fifty places in his breezy writings five hundred years ago, from one half to two thirds are obsolete now, names and forms and styles of use alike forgotten. We recognize the fiddle, the harp, the flute, the horn, the pipe, the trumpet, the organ, but who has any thing more than an indifferent idea, if he has any idea at all, of the form and power of the psaltery, shawm, dulcet, cithern, citole, gittern, naker, clarion, ribible, rebeck, lute, symphony, bema, cornemuse?

Besides being confounded or made alternates, the two Hebrew trumps pass into Greek most frequently in the name of the favorite wind instrument of that nation, the brazen-throated salpinx, that led Grecian hosts to battle and victory; the "last trump" of the New Testament writers that is to wake the dead and call the nations to judgment. The shophar, however, is not always salpinx. It is once transliterated and made

σωφερ, in 1 Chron. xv, 28. It becomes keratina, a species of horn, in half a dozen other places.

The Vulgate applies the names of the two chief Latin trumpets, buccina or bucina and tuba, to either form of the Hebrew with confusing indiscriminateness. With half a dozen exceptions the English versions give the name trumpet to both. Where the two words come together, as in Psa. xcviii, 6, they must be distinguished, and we have, what we should have had all through, trumpet and cornet, as in Hosea v, 8:

> "Blow ye the cornet (שופר) in Gibeah,
> And the trumpet (חצצרה) in Ramah.

It is with a feeling akin to disgust that we open Smith's Dictionary at the article "Trumpet," and find ourselves referred to cornet as the more appropriate rendering for shophar and its fellow tube.

The cornet is a forgotten wind instrument, replaced by the hautboy a century ago, only remotely related to the pistoned cornet that figures in bands and churches to-day.

In popular estimate the trumpet is the noblest of the family of portable wind instruments, associated with the highest exhibits of worship, war, and triumph. The revisers would have conveyed a more lucid idea of several passages of Old Testament poetry and history to have exchanged cornet for clarion or bugle. The utter untranslatableness of the Hebrew has a curious illustration in the frantic efforts of both Septuagint and Vulgate to get out the full import of חצצרות וקול and שופר הריעו in Psalm xcviii, rendered in Greek σάλπιγξιν ἐλαταὶς and σάλπιγγος κερατίνης, and in Latin, tubio ductilibus [trombones?] and tubæ corneæ! voiced, Sunday after Sunday,

> "With trumpets also and shawms,"

by reverent thousands who worship the Church of England prayer-book, and would think it profanation to exchange venerable sound for intelligible sense by substituting clarion for Geoffrey Chaucer's obsolete "shawmies."

It is matter of regret that the revisers allowed the fearfully misleading translation "rams' horns" to stand in the sixth chapter of Joshua. There are no "rams' horns" in the Hebrew text, none in the Greek, none in the Latin. The fifth verse only has בקרן היובל, Keren-ha-Yobil, the jubilee horn, but there

is nothing to indicate that it was the horn of a ram or an ox or a he-goat. The fourth verse has the jubile-shophars, which the Septuagint renders jubile-horns, and the Vulgate the buccinas (ox-horns) used in the jubilee. The German Bible has posannen des halljahrs, jubile-trump; Douay, "trumpets of the jubilee." Why should the Protestant English version alone perpetuate a standing theme for infidel jocosity by preserving a rendering at once false and undignified? Bishop Patrick says in his comments: "Rams' horns not being hollow, trumpets could not be made of them." Adam Clarke says, "the Hebrew word yobelim does not signify ram's horns, nor do any of the ancient versions, except the Chaldee, give it this meaning."

Whedon's Commentary would read, "seven trumpets of alarms." Bochart objects to the horns of rams that they would make but "sorry trumpets." The original keren was doubtless an actual horn, in the primitive state of society. The name horn remained after the instrument had been made of boxwood, brass, and other metals, just as the English horn today is made of tin, brass, or composition. It would be childish to argue that the pretty refrain found in Virgil's eighth eclogue,

"Incipe, Menalios mecum, mea tibia, versus,"

should be read, "Begin with me, my sheep-shank, the sweet Menalian strains," because the original flute or pipe, in barbaric days, was made of a shin-bone! It would have been a stride in advance if the revisers had taken the same liberty with the sixth of Joshua that they have done with the twenty-fifth of Leviticus, where, in opposition to the remonstrances of the American delegates, they have substituted jubile for jubilee, in their anxiety for more strict transliteration, which, as they were about to banish a naturalized Hebrew word from the Bible, and introduce a new word into the English dictionary, they might have made a nearer approximation to the original by writing Yobel, Yobil, or Yoh-rehl.

Charles Wesley's stirring hymn,

"Blow ye the trumpet, blow,"

is destroyed, if the rhythm of the refrain is to be henceforth,

"The year of jubile is come."

It would be interesting to trace the occasions on which the old Hebrews used musical instruments from the days of Laban, with his "tabret, pipe, and harp," to the days when Jesus took notice that the children of Jerusalem cried to each other in the streets, "We have piped, but you have not danced," and when the returning prodigal was welcomed to his father's house "with music and dancing." Our limits will not permit.

The most cursory reading of the records will show how intimately instrumental music was associated with the social, and above all the religious, life of the ancient Hebrews. Use and abuse are both faithfully recorded. When the youthful Saul, on his way to kingship, fell among the prophets, they were prophesying, that is, preaching, or chanting religious verse—Asiatic fashion—to the accompaniment of psaltery, tabret, pipe, harp; all known styles of instrumentation in use in that day. Thirty years later the shepherd boy David, chosen of God to be Saul's successor, appears upon the scene with a harp in his hand, destined, within the succeeding half-century, to develop not only into the first lyrist of his own people, but to take a first place among the poets of the world. As this prince-poet, in the progress of a long and stormy life, wrought his own experiences and those of his nation into rhythm and song, the music grew as the verse grew.

The lyric implied the lyre, the psaltery was the necessary adjunct of the psalm. In David's mind they were inseparable, as they are inseparable in the mind of every true poet to this day. The hallel hymns required a grand Gilmore-jubilee massing of voice and orchestral accompaniment for their expression, and David made ample provision for that expression. He brought the consecrated ark out of its obscurity to its resting-place in the city of David "with shouting, and with the sound of the trumpet." "He and all Israel played before God with all their might, with singing, with harps, with psalteries, with timbrels, with cymbals, with trumpets." Forbidden to build the temple himself, he provided every material for his successor, and among other provisions, caused the appointment of "singers with instruments of music, psalteries, and harps, and cymbals." The Levites, by royal direction, made Heman, the Theodore Thomas of the land, with a suitable staff of lieutenants who distributed the scores and "cymbals of brass" to the

skilled performers, psalteries to others, harps to another set, and trumpets to those who could blow, and wound up the assignment of parts with a grand rehearsal of selections from the 105th, 96th, and 106th Psalms, sung and played with all vim on what King James's Version calls the "musical instruments of God;" according to the Douay Version, "all kinds of musical instruments to sing praises to God;" in the new version, "instruments for the songs of God;" a change that will calm the perturbed ghost of Adam Clarke, and allow his bones to rest easy in their grave. This is one of the numerous passages in which the learned commentator vents his inveterate hostility to instrumental music in the worship of God. "It does not appear" to the sturdy Presbyterio-Irish Methodist annotator, "that God specially appointed singers, much less musical instruments, to be employed in his service." "Musical instruments may please theater-goers, but they tend to corrupt the worship of God. Can pipes and strings give praise to God?" "Four thousand praised the Lord with instruments" at the last verge of David's life, "a distribution," says Clarke, "made according to his own judgment, and without divine authority; and as to his instruments of music, they are condemned by the prophet Amos." "An immense parade of noise and show." "Cymbals, psalteries, harps, and a hundred and twenty trumpets or horns could not produce much harmony; as to melody, that must have been impossible, the noise was too great." God ordained the praise, and David ordained the instruments. "Away with such portentous baubles!" "Will modern instrumentalists pretend to prophetic influence, with their play-house aggregate of fiddles and flutes, bass viols and bassoons, clarinets and kettle-drums? Away with such trumpery and pollution from the worship and Church of Christ!"

The abuse of instruments Clarke makes an argument against their use. In Isaiah's time the harp, the viol, the tabret, and pipe were found in the wine revels of the saloonists, as well as in the house of God. To backslidden Israel God said, through Amos, I hate your hypocritical feasts, empty solemn assemblies, the noise of your songs, and the melody of your viols. You are at ease in Zion, wrapped in luxury and effeminacy, feasting and sleeping, chanting to the sound of the viol, and "have thought yourselves to have instruments of music like David,"

says the Douay. Says Lowth: "The variety of music, such as David appropriated to the service of God, they continued for their own diversion." This incidental poetical allusion to a historical fact Clarke makes the foundation of solemn reproof, with the intimation of the divine disapproval of instruments, at the same time involving David in all the burning condemnation lavished upon the idolatrous Israelites. If David's offense were so heinous, why did not the blind Amos reprove it directly instead of foisting in implied condemnation by way of incidental poetical allusion, and why are all the prophets, major and minor, during all the centuries, silent upon the subject? That God did not disapprove of instrumental accompaniment is abundantly proved in the description of the dedication of the temple, in a passage which Clarke glosses with one of his least dignified sneers (2 Chron. v, 11–14): "And it came to pass, . . . that when the singers, with their cymbals and psalteries and harps, and with them one hundred and twenty trumpeters, were as one, to make one sound in praising and thanking the Lord; when they lifted up their voice, with the trumpets and cymbals and instruments of music, it was *then* that the house was filled with a cloud, so that the priests could not stand to minister at the altar; *then* that the glory of the Lord had filled the house of God."

Clarke belonged to that class of reformers who see no mode of curing the evils that connect themselves with every good thing under the sun, except by reforming the thing itself out of existence. They are doctors who would cut off the patient's head to cure the headache. Like my ancient Auburn friend, Clarke never forgave David for an impertinence which, he assumed, on the slightest possible grounds, the kind Jehovah obligingly permitted but never condoned.

The negative fact of the absence of any allusion to instruments in the New Testament, while the Christians were worshiping in private houses and on river-banks, is no more proof that Christ and the apostles disapproved of them, than is the absence of any positive statement about infant baptism, or the change from the Jewish to the Christian Sabbath, any proof that these things did not take place. There is music-deafness as well as color-blindness; not only insensibility to "concord of sweet sounds," but inability to perceive any difference between

a clash of musical chords and the clangor of brass warming-pans, crockery, or shovel and tongs.

Men are divided into sects by ear-drums as well as by theological opinions. Children and rustics having thick tympanums, screech and halloo to each other when they talk, and listen with their mouths open. The strong-lunged frontier preachers reached classes of persons who were unaffected by the dulcet voice of the genteel preacher described by Cowper.

Musically, men are divided into Hamitic, Shemitic, and Japhetic. The Hamitics affect the pulsatile style, and drum and dance; the Shemitics, simple melody; in the Japhetics, taste and intellect predominate over passion. Architecture and harmony become possible. The huge cathedral demanded and called into existence the huge organ, the realization of David's fancy, but never reached by his four thousand singers and his hundred and twenty silver trumpets.

Nearly all the organs in England are modern, because the Puritans demolished the instruments when they converted gothic churches into horse-stables. Yet Milton was an organist and Cromwell fond of the organ. It was Milton, the Puritan, that wrote of the gothic cathedral:

> "There let the pealing organ blow,
> To the full-voiced quire below,
> In service high, and anthems clear,
> As may, with sweetness, through mine ear,
> Dissolve me into ecstacies,
> And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

This is no place for an essay on the sphere of instrumentation. Confucius said: "It is not the sound of instruments that constitutes music. Bells and drums are not all that is meant by music." These are the accompaniments of voice, subordinate to voice, fitted to occasion and song.

Clarke quotes Wesley as saying he had no objection to organs in his chapels provided they were neither seen nor heard. His main objection was not to the instruments or their use, but to the expense, and above all to their want of adaptation to the Shemitic stripe of humanity that his out-door preaching reached. Education brought the organs, and no one could enjoy them more than the man who never missed a chance to hear one of Handel's oratorios, and who would be,

if alive to-day, delighted with one of Theodore Thomas's grand classical musical festivals. He was a musical critic of the first order. At the Exeter Cathedral, 1762, he says: "Such an organ I never saw or heard before, so large, so beautiful, so finely toned. The music of 'Glory be to God in the highest' I think exceeded the 'Messiah' itself."

In 1782 he assisted at a communion service in Macclesfield, and says: "While we were administering I heard a low, soft, solemn sound just like that of a golden harp. It continued five or six minutes, and so affected many that they could not refrain from tears. It then gradually died away. Strange that no other organist should think of this. In 1781, at Manchester, he records: "After preaching I went to the new church, and found an uncommon blessing at a time when I least of all expected it, namely, while the organist was playing a voluntary."

Charles Wesley was a poet, his wife a harpsichordist—what we would call in these days a pianist—the only difference between the harpsichord and piano being that the strings of the former were snapped by quills, while those of the latter are struck by hammers. With a father who thought in numbers and rhyme, and a musical mother, it is not strange that two of the sons should have been born musicians and players from the days of high chair and petticoats; nor any more strange that both should have become organists second to none in Great Britain. Methodist chapels were no places for organists, and one gravitated to the Church of England, and the younger to the Church of Rome, "seduced by the music of the Gregorian chants." Before he was thirty he threw off the yoke of popery, and lived long enough to enrapture Mendelssohn with his wonderful powers on the organ.

The simple hymnody of Methodism may be effectively sung with or without instrumental accompaniment, and yet the tendency of all song to dependence on its instrumental ally is clearly evinced in the almost universal introduction of instruments into the house, the school, the Sunday-school, the church. The orchestra is as yet driven by popular estimate to the concert room and theater. The boxed-up orchestra, the organ, is not portable, and has no profane associations. The church is its home, its appearance is religiously majestic, its tones full

of the solemn grandeur that befits its location and its uses. The prose version, the chant, and the organ are the only medium for giving true expression to the psalms, which have dropped out of their place in many forms of modern Protestant worship altogether. Wesley is not the only Methodist by many thousands that has experienced "an uncommon blessing when he had least expected it, namely, while the organist was playing a voluntary."

The opposition of certain sectaries to the proper and judicious use of musical instruments in the Church of God is insensate for at least three reasons: First, the human larynx and ear are as verily instruments as any other, whether pipe, drum, or telephone receiver. Secondly, all known styles of instruments were used by God's people of old—if not by divine direction, at least by divine sanction. Thirdly, musical instruments will certainly be used in heaven. John stood at the open door and "heard the voice of harpers, harping with their harps;" and they are at it still, harping, harping, harping ever with the "HARPS OF GOD."

ART. V. — AN EPISODE IN NEW YORK METHODIST HISTORY.

A STRANGER in New York city, during or soon after the year 1820, wishing to find a Methodist house of worship on a Sabbath morning, might have been directed to a building on Chrystie Street, between Hester and Pump (now Canal) Streets. Here he would find a plain brick edifice, of moderate but not diminutive size, simple and neat, externally and internally, with a fair congregation having an unmistakably Methodist appearance in respect to the apparel of the worshipers, and also the seating of the men and women on opposite sides of the house. The services would be in harmony with the usages of the Methodist churches of the city at that period—lively and earnest rather than artistic singing, fervent prayers with frequent and audible responses, and a sermon made up of plain, fervent, and effective presentations of the Gospel, with pointed applications and warm exhortation. Perhaps some remark

would be made, with an allusion which the stranger would not at once understand—something about "lording over God's heritage," and such coupling of terms as "arrogant bishops" and "overbearing presiding elders." Still, quite possibly, nothing would occur to arouse any suspicion that he was not in a regular Methodist Episcopal church, unless he should look at the imprint of the hymn-book, politely handed to him, which would tell him that the book was "A Selection of Hymns for Worship. Printed for and sold by W. M. Stilwell, No. 108 Chrystie Street, New York."

If now his awakened curiosity should lead him to inquire further, he would find that he had been worshiping with "The Methodist Society," who were also called Stilwellites, after the name of their minister. If he examined further into the case, and inquired how they differed from other Methodists, and why they were different in kind or character, his new-found friends would have told him a story of oppressions, feared or fancied, and of the departure of the mother Church from the simplicity of old-fashioned Methodism. If later he became acquainted with some of the regular Methodists of the city, he would hear quite another version of the affair. The scene and events we have thus referred to belong to the beginnings of probably the most considerable division that ever occurred among the Methodists of New York and vicinity, with the inevitable accompanying strifes and alienations between those who had hitherto been fast friends. Some of the facts and details, gathered from out-of-the-way sources, it is proposed now to spread before our readers.

Though the secession which resulted in the formation of the "Methodist Society" took place in the year 1820, the beginning of the dissatisfaction that then culminated can be traced back to the earliest times of New York Methodism. John Street Church was founded as an independent society, and its government continued to be congregational, in respect to its temporalities, until near the close of the century, and some traces of its original character continued for thirty years longer. Mr. Asbury's attachment to and zeal for Mr. Wesley's methods of administration were not a little scandalized by this self-assertion of the trustees as the chosen representatives of the membership of the church. Their finances were not

managed as he wished. In his journal of Friday, September 11, 1772, he wrote: "I met the people in the morning to discourse with them about their temporal matters, and appointed Mr. C. [Chave] to take an account of the weekly and quarterly collections. But the other two stewards refused an exact entry of the money that is not settled." The "Old Book" of accounts, from which Dr. Wakeley obtained most of the materials for his "Lost Chapters Recovered," contains entries of receipts and expenditures for all kinds of church expenses, mingled together. There are payments for interest on the society's debts, and for the preachers' board and clothing; for beds and bedding for the dwelling-house; for lamps and oil for the church; for sexton's wages, and the traveling expenses of the preachers. On the other hand, receipts for public collections and for class collections follow each other without discrimination. And this order of things was continued till nearly 1820, at which date there were in the city six congregations, with each its house of worship, all held and managed, as to their finances, by one Board of Trustees, who were incorporated by the laws of the State.

This unusual state of things in Methodist economy was the occasion of no little friction in the administration, and efforts were made from time to time to secure a more satisfactory arrangement. At a General Leaders' Meeting (in which the trustees seem to have had seats), held at the Bowery (Forsyth Street) Church, October 13, 1813, a paper was read containing series of questions, one of which was, "(4) Whose duty is it, agreeable to our Discipline and the laws of this State, to pay the salaries and provide for the maintenance and support of our stationed ministers and their respective families?" To this the trustees answered: "The Discipline directs that the stewards on circuits shall pay the preachers; but this being a station, and an incorporated body, that rule does not apply to us, and the law of the State makes it the duty of the trustees to pay the salaries and provide for the maintenance of the preachers." This answer of the trustees was declared to be satisfactory by the meeting, without dissent.*

Rev. Ebenezer Washburn, who was preacher in charge in New York in 1815, says: "There were at that time no church

* From a book, in manuscript, containing the Minutes of the General Leaders' Meeting, from May 8, 1811, to Feb. —, 1823.—S. A. S.

stewards in the city; the Board of Trustees received all the moneys raised by the church, and held all the property belonging to the church in trust, and paid the preachers out of the money raised for that purpose." *

This state of things continued until the beginning of Rev. Aaron Hunt's second term of service in the city, 1819. He says: "One body of trustees transacted all the financial business of the societies [so the churches were then called], receiving the class collections from the leaders, and distributing the same to pay the preachers." † During his administration as senior preacher, and not long before the Stilwellite movement took form, as will be seen in the sequel, a Board of Stewards was set in operation for the whole city, which continued in existence down to 1835. In the meantime two Methodist Episcopal churches had been organized (the First Wesley Chapel, in Vestry street, now the Central Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Second Wesley Chapel, in Mulberry Street, now St. Paul's), which were entirely separate and distinct bodies as to both their financial and temporal affairs from the formerly existing associated Methodist churches of the city. About this time the several local churches began to ask to be set off with their property, and made distinct ecclesiastical bodies, which process was completed within a few years.

The concentration of the governing power, and especially the administration of the finances, of so many distinct congregations in a single board, and that simply a legal corporation, while it may have had its advantages, was especially liable to be misused, and was very sure to occasion not only lack of interest, but also distrust and ill feelings. The receipts and expenditures of each of the several local churches were sure to be criticised by the others. John Street Church naturally claimed a kind of metropolitan preeminence, which her younger sisters were not inclined to concede. As all the property was held by a single Board of Trustees, all extraordinary expenses, either for new buildings or extensive repairs, had to be paid from the common treasury, while the several churches were not disposed to contribute liberally for expenses in which, as congregations, they had no direct interest. To meet the growing demands for

* See Washburn's Narrative, "Christian Advocate," April 12, 1843.

† Papers of Rev. Aaron Hunt, in hands of A. S. Hunt, D.D.

church accommodations, the trustees were compelled to incur large debts; and it is said that their proportions of this indebtedness assumed by the several local Boards of Trustees, at the time of the dissolution of the old arrangement, was not much less than the value of their property.

As early as 1810, Bishop Asbury, having preached in the original John Street Church, wrote in his journal: "This is the thirty-ninth year I have officiated within these walls. . . . This house must come down, and something larger and better occupy its place." It was, however, nearly ten years before the episcopal mandate was fulfilled, and then not without strenuous opposition from some of the uptown churches. The new edifice and its appointments were somewhat better than had before been seen in any of the Methodist "chapels" in the city, and these elicited not a little unfavorable criticism, and it was especially and emphatically objected that the carpet on the floor of the altar was a serious departure from the primitive simplicity of Methodism. These discontents became a not inconsiderable factor in the disruption with which the name of Mr. Stilwell is associated.

About this time there was some uneasiness all through the denomination in respect to the authority of the trustees of the Church to exclude the regularly appointed ministers from their churches and pulpits, which some Boards of Trustees claimed the right to do, and perhaps, in a very few cases, attempted to enforce. Preposterous as such a claim may now appear, it occasioned no little agitation at the time, and led to certain cautionary legislation in the General Conference, and corresponding measures in the Annual Conferences, to guard against what was assumed to be a peril that might become fatal to the itinerancy. And now the note of alarm was raised by the disaffected, that the preachers were seeking to gain control of all the property, and that they were having the churches deeded to the Conferences—a *canard* that required half a century for its effectual removal. Of this state of feeling the Stilwellites availed themselves to the utmost, reiterating and exaggerating the complaint wherever they could obtain a hearing.

In the introduction to the first edition of the Discipline of the "Methodist Society," in justifying their conduct in going out from the Methodist Episcopal Church, they say: "The

clergy formed a Discipline without consulting the laity, and took the government of the Church upon themselves, which they retain to this day; although the people have frequently petitioned the Conference for a lay representation, they have not yet obtained it, and from recent acts of the Conferences it will appear as if, instead of the clergy being willing to have their power diminished, they wish to have it increased."—Page 12.

In the "Historical Sketches of the Rise and Progress of the Methodist Society in the City of New York" are these further statements: "We were not of those who reiterated their complaints in memorials and petitions to the General Conference without effect for a lay representation in that body, . . . nor did we complain of having preachers stationed among us without our advice or consent, nor of contributing to their support, nor of supporting presiding elders, whom we consider worse than useless, until those preachers pretended to have jurisdiction over the temporal as well as spiritual concerns of the Church, and to act accordingly. But we first began to remonstrate against the procedure of the trustees, when, with a heavy debt on the church, and a suit in chancery undetermined, they resolved to take down the old meeting-house in John Street and build a new one, and another at the Bowery Village (now Seventh Street). We objected because we thought the commencement premature, and because, from the disposition of the leading men in the Board of Trustees at this time, we were afraid that they would build too expensively, and the event proved that our fears were not groundless. . . . The debt was increased to more than $30,000. . . . When the term expired for which those trustees were elected, who were considered the most forward in unnecessary expenses, other persons were elected in their places, who it was confidently believed and expected would conduct the affairs of the church with better economy. The prudent, plain part of the society began to think of devising some means of decreasing the expenses of the church, and instituting a sinking fund for paying the debt. . . . Tranquillity, it was hoped, was now restored, and the prospect began to brighten. But this was of short duration, for soon those who had been the cause of increasing the debt began to call select meetings for the purpose, it was said, of altering the mode of nominating and electing trustees.

The preachers and others were very active in encouraging and attending these meetings. In the meantime the following letter was written [probably by Mr. Samuel Stilwell, the author of the pamphlet from which these extracts are made] and addressed to a person who had been appointed a member of a committee [by whom it does not appear] on this subject [only a single sentence can be given]: 'The trustees have resolved not to make any further provision for the preachers, after the rising of the Annual Conference in June next, than that which they are allowed in the Discipline, which is the quarterly collections and the privilege of making collections in the classes." * This letter is dated April 10, 1820, before the session of the General Conference, and therefore without reference to any action of that body.

At the Conference of 1819, Rev. Aaron Hunt was appointed to New York as preacher in charge. He had served in the city some thirteen years before, and was very generally held in high estimation, and it was hoped that he would be able to guide affairs through any present or prospective difficulties. Even the malcontents declared their purpose to promote peace and harmony, and a brighter day appeared to be dawning. But when, a few months later, an election for trustees was held, and the candidates of the up-town party were chosen, the down-town brethren proposed not to take up class collections. Mr. Hunt advised them to continue their regular contributions, depositing the money with some trusty person till stewards should be appointed, which was done according to the provisions of the Discipline a short time afterward. At the next official meeting the newly elected stewards were present, and also the trustees. The preacher in charge read the Discipline relating to the duties of stewards and trustees severally, and directed the stewards to be seated at the table to receive the money from the leaders. A trustee seated at the same table received what was paid to them—for apparently some of the leaders refused to respect the order to pay their money to the stewards—but the amount so diverted was very small. This the trustees offered to pass over to the stewards, provided they would give them (the trustees) a receipt for the whole amount received.

* From a pamphlet, entitled "Historical Sketches of the Rise and Progress of the Methodist Society in New York," pp. 12–17.

The preacher again called attention to the Discipline, as to duties and functions of stewards, saying that as Methodists this is our rule. A leader answered that he did not care what the Discipline said, we shall act according to the law, referring to the chartered authority of the Board of Trustees. Mr. Hunt replied by demanding the class-book of the recalcitrant leader, adding, "If you do not care for the Discipline, you are not a fit person to be a leader."

Soon after this a paper was sent to the preacher, signed by about thirty names, requesting certificates of withdrawal from the Church. This was declined by Mr. Hunt, who earnestly besought the applicants to reconsider the subject, but told them that if they persisted he would, though not immediately, write the word "Withdrawn" opposite their names on the Church records. Most of them persisted in their purpose, and before long their number was swelled to nearly 300.

The most considerable man among the seceders—who was no doubt the leading spirit in the whole movement—was Samuel Stilwell, a native of the town of Jamaica (L. I.), born October 22, 1763. It was said, and believed by some, that his paternal ancestor who came first to this country was a member of the "High Court of Commission," which tried and condemned King Charles. Perhaps some strain of the rebel blood rioted in the veins of his remote descendant. He became a resident of New York city in 1778, and was occupied successively in a variety of mercantile pursuits. At one time he owned a large farm on the Bloomingdale Road, a large share of whose area is now included in the Central Park; but finding his residence too far out of town, he removed into the city and resided on the Bowery near Bayard Street. In 1799 he was appointed Assessor of the Second Division of the State, and the same year was elected a member of the State Assembly. In 1803 he was commissioned City Surveyor, and in that office was associated with De Witt Clinton, in the preliminary surveys that resulted in the checker-board arrangement of the streets, for the whole of the then unoccupied portion of Manhattan Island.

Rev. William M. Stilwell, the nephew of Samuel, was admitted to New York Conference on trial in 1814, and served successively on Albany, Newburg, and Delaware Circuits, and in 1819 was placed in charge of "Zion" and "Asbury," two

churches of colored people in New York city. The uncle having become thoroughly disaffected toward his former Church relations, persuaded his nephew to cast in his lot with the "come-outers," and by doing so he became the ministerial leader of the secession. It does not appear that any other traveling preacher become identified with the movement. Rev. Seth Crowell was then a located minister, very infirm, and more than half demented, and he was thought to sympathize with the movement, but he never formally united with it, and in 1824 he was readmitted to the Conference, and died two years later. Lorenzo Dow sought and received recognition as a member of the new organization, but never took any part in its affairs. Rev. James Covel, M.D. (whose two sons, Samuel and James, became traveling ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Church), Rev. Mr. Miller, of Rochester, and Rev. George Phillips are named among the followers of the "exodus," but all these appear to have been local (or located) preachers. Of prominent laymen there were besides Mr. Samuel Stilwell, Messrs. Taylor, Higgins, Sherman, De Camp, Sutton, and Miller, men of good reputation and abilities, and of fair social standing.

After the General Conference of 1820, and the session of the New York Conference that immediately followed it, at both of which aggressive measures were inaugurated, the antagonism of the parties became more intense, and the division that had become inevitable was very soon precipitated. In July following, a meeting of the separatists was held, and a rough draft of articles of association was made and adopted, to serve as a bond of union till a better organization could be prepared.* A school-room was hired in Chrystie Street for a place of wor-

* ARTICLES OF ASSOCIATION.—I. The Bible will be their rule of discipline. II. Each member, male and female, shall have a vote in the choice of preachers, and the allowance to be made for their services. III. Disputes or disagreements between members to be settled by three, five, or seven members of the society, as may be agreed upon. If the dispute is between men, it shall be left to men to settle; if between women, to be left to women. IV. Persons to be tried for transgressing against the good order of the society shall have the fairest opportunity possible of obtaining an impartial jury. V. The members will all be classed in classes of about twenty members each, and will be met once a week by a leader of their own choice. VI. The members, having equal rights, may form such rules for regulating and promoting the good of the society as may be thought expedient by a majority of the members.

ship, and there, on the 16th of July, Rev. W. M. Stilwell preached, and afterward declared his withdrawal from the Methodist Episcopal Church, and his adhesion to the "Methodist Society." He also invited those who wished to join the "Society" to come forward and they would be received. About one hundred accepted the invitation, and in a short time the number was increased to nearly three hundred. Measures were at once adopted to secure the needed legal incorporation, and so the new craft was fairly launched.* Larger accommodations for the public services became necessary, and measures were very soon taken for securing a suitable church edifice. Ground was purchased (probably by Mr. S. Stilwell) on Chrystie Street, and a brick building, fifty by seventy-eight feet in dimensions, with a basement story, was erected, which was dedicated on the last day of the same year. During the next year the number of members, including probationers, rose to about six hundred. Two additional places of worship were opened, one on Sullivan Street, which grew into a well-established church; a regular form of discipline was adopted, and at the close of the year 1825, the body numbered not less than eight hundred members. The question of congregational independence or connectional unity, with an itinerant ministry, now began to be agitated. The church in Chrystie Street declared itself independent, and chose Mr. Stilwell as its minister, which action separated him and his church from the new organization; but the Sullivan Street Church, now grown to large proportions, with a suitable house of worship, became a kind of metropolitan center for the new and actively aggressive "Society."† The churches and circuits of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the regions about New York shared in the excitement caused by these movements in the city. No doubt active efforts for increasing such

* On the 8th of August (1820) George Taylor, Jr., Michael D. Higgins, Edward Sturman, Morris De Camp, Daniel Sutton, and Richard Miller were elected trustees, and on the next day the certificate of incorporation was recorded, with the name of "The Methodist Society in the City of New York."

† Afterward, the "Methodist Society," including the Sullivan Street Church, became incorporated with the "Methodist Protestants," and in 1839 a new and much more commodious church was built. In 1846 this church, its members and property, passed over to the Methodist Episcopal Church. It is now the Washington Square Church in Fourth Street.

excitements were not wanting, and within the years already indicated secessions and reorganizations had taken place on Long Island, in Connecticut, and in most of the towns along the Hudson River.

It is known that the policy of the Methodist Episcopal Church of dividing the body territorially into Annual Conferences was practiced by the Stilwellites almost from the beginning, but our utmost diligence has not sufficed to discover any list of such bodies, or of their proceedings. But in a small monthly pamphlet which Mr. Stilwell published for several years, "The Friendly Visitor," in the number for November, 1825, there is a brief notice of the session of their New York Conference for that year, at which twenty-eight ministers and twenty-nine laymen were present, at which eight deacons and four elders were ordained. It was reported that there had been a considerable increase of members "in spite of severe difficulties," making a total of 2,177, with two Conferences and several local "societies" not heard from. Another Conference, named "Connecticut," including all the "societies" in New England, was set off at that time and appointed to meet the next year in Bridgeport. The non-reporting Conferences appear to have been called "Rochester" and "Cincinnati." In their Discipline, Articles of Faith, and general methods, except in respect to offices and work of bishops and presiding elders, the new organization agreed very generally with the old. Some of the points in which they differed have since been practically adopted, slightly adapted and reduced to practice by the latter; and there are some among us who think still others of them deserve a respectful consideration. In its methods the "Society" was intensely democratic. Each member, men and women alike, had a voice in choosing a preacher and in fixing his "allowance." All the officers of the body were elected by general suffrage, and the temporal affairs, except the minutest details, were to be determined by the society meeting. The court of appeals, for reviewing all judicial proceedings, consisted of all the male members over twenty-one years old, and the "committee of examination," the only court of original jurisdiction except the society itself convened in "monthly conference," were selected by lot. In some cases it was permitted that women might be tried by a committee of their own sex. The

quarterly meetings were composed of a number of neighooring classes, at which a Quarterly Conference was held composed of all the official members present, to grant licenses, hear appeals, and, if thought expedient, to appoint one or more delegates to the Annual Conference.

When the "Radical" controversy at Baltimore, Pittsburg, and other places arose, with its larger proportions and abler leadership, the dissentients of whom we are now writing very naturally sympathized with the movement; and when the Methodist Protestant Church became fairly organized and in action, the larger and abler body quite naturally absorbed the lesser, and so the "Methodist Society of New York City," as a separate Church organization, disappeared.

Under their new and changed relations as integral parts of the Methodist Protestant Church, the churches that had constituted the "Methodist Societies," in and about New York, continued for some years to operate with a fair amount of energy and success. A church was established in the eastern part of the city, now the Wesley Chapel in Attorney Street, owned and operated by the New York City Church Extension and Missionary Society, and another in Williamsburg, the Eastern District of Brooklyn. But, while in some other places that organization has maintained a fair share of vitality, and is a recognized factor in the local social and religious system, its course in New York has been one of uninterrupted decadence. Indeed, it would seem that there is something in the Methodist atmosphere of the city that renders it especially unfavorable to all forms of dissent.

Mr. Stilwell's independent body continued to occupy the building in Chrystie Street, with a membership of about three hundred, till 1847, when a church was erected on First Street, near First Avenue, on ground owned by Mr. Samuel Stilwell, into which the Chrystie Street society removed; and here the Rev. William M. Stilwell passed the last years of his ministry, in absolute ecclesiastical independence, and with autocratic authority in the government of his church. He died in 1851, and his church died with him. It is well known that in his later years he became satisfied that the enterprise in which he had engaged for reforming the economy of Methodism, by seceding from the regular Church organization, could

not succeed, and probably he found those whom he had led out of the Church even less congenial associates than those whom he had left. His own children became members of the mother Church; and when his church was about to be dissolved it is said that he recommended them to find a home in the Methdist Episcopal Church.* In the City Directory for 1885–86, there is not named a single Methodist place of worship for white people except those of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and of the three or four colored Methodist churches in the city, one, and that by no means the least considerable, is of the same denomination. This "Episode in New York Methodist History," which began with the "Stilwellite secessions," is now complete. It had its beginning, its progress, its culmination, its decay, and its ultimate extinction. It was, no doubt, harmful to some of those who engaged in it—for that is almost inevitably the case with church controversies—but it may have been not wholly unproductive of good to the Church at large, to the laity as well as to the ministry, as a provoked protest against undue assumption of power on the one hand, and against attempts to suppress such things by governing with too strong a hand on the other. The case is especially instructive in re pect to the unwisdom of seeking the reform of supposed abuses or the correction of infelicities in the affairs of the Church by going out from its communion. The actors in the affairs of which we have written have nearly all passed away. They were not perfect, either in mind or heart, but for the most part they were good and well-meaning people. *Requiescat in pace.*

* Mr. Stilwell is described as a man of about middle size, rather stout and of ruddy countenance, with blue eyes and auburn hair. As a public speaker, his manner was easy, his voice and delivery good, and his preaching was at once pleasing and impressive. During his few years of service in the New York Conference he had become well and favorably known for one of his age; had he remained he would probably have attained to a high position in the Church.

Art. VI.—A CURIOUS CHRISTOLOGICAL SPECULATION.

The question, What think you of Christ? has not received its final answer, nor will it be set at rest so long as mysteries shall continue to have the power to fascinate. The mystery of the incarnation is at once undeniable and inexplicable. No one, not blind through ignorance, or else blinded by perverse prejudice, can fail to recognize the mysterious character of Christ's person; and to explore that mystery as far as is possible to human intelligence has been the occupation of the most acute minds—both devout and undevout—in all ages. To all who accept the fact of a real incarnation, and assent to the declaration of the apostle that in him (Christ) dwelt all the fullness of the Godhead—not simply as an inspiration but *personally*—nothing is more natural than the mind's spontaneous effort to form a conception of the modes of the co-existence of the two natures which were united in the person of Jesus of Nazareth.

It would seem to be not at all allowable to entertain the idea that the divine Word was, in any thing essential, either modified or conditioned by his union with the human nature of the Son of Mary; but it was not so, as he was contemplated by finite intelligences. The babe of Bethlehem was declared by the angel to be "a Saviour, Christ the Lord," so intimating that the Godhead was present in him from the beginning, and even before his birth there was a recognition of his divinity, for he was spoken of as "that holy, the Son of God." It is also manifest that the growth and development of Christ's humanity—the mind as well as the physical body—were entirely normal—not forced out of the usual courses of biological action. At first having only animal instincts, he at length attained to self-consciousness, like other children. His thirty years at Nazareth have only a human history, though we may suspect that, whether or not recognized by himself, he was subject to the impulses of the indwelling Godhead. At what point in his history he came to recognize his own divine nature cannot be positively stated, though there is great plausibility in the notion that it occurred at his baptism—that there, for the first time, his divine and his human consciousnesses came together,

and the man of Nazareth began to know himself as the Lord from heaven. Accepting, then, the recognized doctrine of the Church respecting Christ's complex nature—that he was very God and very man in one person—thoughtful believers, in meditating upon that great mystery, have sought to form for themselves, as far as possible, some rational conception of the mode of the subsistence of the divinity in the person of Christ. A single phase of these conceptions and speculations, as entertained and pursued by some of the most acute theologians of the day, now calls for our notice.

In Dr. Schaff's recently published volume, entitled "Christ and Christianity," noticed at length in a former issue of the *Review*, he introduces some account of a feature of Christological thought known as "the Kenosis," which, though not entirely new, has not until recently figured largely in doctrinal discussions. The name by which it is designated is simply the Greek word κένωσις (*kenosis* written in Roman letters), the substantive noun corresponding with the verb ἐκένωσιν, used, in Phil. ii, 7, to express the condescension of the divine Logos in taking upon himself our nature. That word and its object, ἑαυτον, are, it is known, in our English Bible, rendered "made himself of no reputation;" but in the margin, and also in the Revised Version, it is translated "he emptied himself," which is agreeable to the proper meaning of the word in both classical and in New Testament Greek. The doctrinal theory called "the Kenosis" rests especially upon this one passage, which is taken to mean that, in becoming man, the divine Son of God really and actually "emptied himself" of his Godhead in order to redeem sinful men, among whom he appeared as a servant, and also and eminently to glorify the Father's grace, and, as an ultimate result, to secure his own infinite and eternal exaltation in his incarnate person. And this doctrine, it is claimed by its advocates, is taught, both expressly and by implication, in many other places. The Greek verb κενόω signifies, primarily, *I empty;* but secondarily, *I make empty, expend*, and figuratively, *make of no effect;* and accordingly the words ἑαυτὸν ἐκένοσεν (Phil. ii, 7), while literally signifying "emptied himself," is, in our Authorized Version, not infelicitously, half-translated and half-interpreted, *made himself of no reputation.* The subject of this transaction was the pre-existent Logos, of

whom St. John declares, "the Word was God," and that he "was made flesh." In that act, says Bishop Lightfoot, "he divested himself, not of his divine nature, for that was impossible, but of the glories and the prerogatives of Deity. This he did by taking on him the form of a servant. The emphatic position of ἑαυτὸν (himself) at the beginning of the sentence points to the humiliation of our Lord as voluntary—self-imposed."

"The Kenosis" is not a new doctrine, though it has recently been formulated anew, but it may perhaps be found in substance among the speculations of some of the Fathers. It is claimed that Tertullian teaches it when he says, "God can change himself into every thing, and yet remain (in substance) what he is;" but Hilary seems especially careful to guard the subject against going too far when saying, "The form of God and the form of a servant can indeed not unqualifiedly become a unity, they rather exclude one another as such. . . . He that hath emptied himself, and taken upon himself the form of a servant, is not therefore a different person. *To give up a form does not imply the destruction of its substance.* Exactly in order to prevent this destruction, the act of self-emptying goes only far enough to constitute the form of a servant." In its present form the doctrine is certainly modern, and peculiar to Protestant theology. It seems to have been first suggested by Count Zinzendorf, but much less as an intellectual speculation than as a kind of dreamy and devout sentimentalism. In our times it has been developed into a system by certain distinguished continental divines, among them Gess, Von Hoffmann, Kahnis, and Delitzsch (Lutherans), and among the Reformed, Lange, Ebrard, Godet, and Pressensé. In this country it has been broached by Professor H. M. Goodwin and Dr. Howard Crosby. Perhaps Dr. Bushnell, and certainly Rev. H. W. Beecher, should find a place in the same class.

Some of these carry their speculations much further than did their predecessors, and argue that Christ while on earth not only ceased to use his proper divinity, but that he effectually divested himself of all the peculiar attributes of the Godhead, and actually merged the divinity in the humanity. Their theory, says Dr. Schaff, "is, that Christ literally emptied himself, not only of the divine glory and of his divine mode of existence, but also of his divine being, and [as to his divinity]

assumed the condition of a human being, subject to the conditions of space and time, and to the laws of development and growth." Because it is said that Christ in his humiliation "emptied himself," it is inferred that in some way he became divested of his own proper and eternal Godhead, so reversing the old Lutheran maxim that in Christ the divinity imparted itself to the humanity, and teaching that in him the humanity stifled and neutralized the Godhead. "In becoming incarnate" (so Dr. Schaff further describes this theory, which, however, he does not accept) "the Second Person of the Trinity reduced himself to the limitations of humanity. He emptied himself, not only of the divine glory and of his divine mode of existence, but also of his divine being, and assumed the condition of a truly human being. . . . He ceased to be omnipotent and omnipresent and become ignorant and helpless as a child." As stated by Von Hoffmann the theory is that "he ceased to be God in order to become man."

The declaration that Christ was (before his incarnation) in the form of God, certainly expresses more than an outward or apparent likeness—really his image, *εἰκών*, his substance, personally manifested. Not this oneness of substance with the Father, it has usually been held, but the attendant glory, was laid aside, veiled, in his humanity. And if St. Paul may be allowed to interpret his own meaning in the clause under notice, it would seem that what he says in another place (2 Cor. viii, 9) concerning Christ, "that he was rich, yet . . . he became poor," sufficiently shows that *voluntary impoverishment*, and not *self-annihilation*, is intended, certainly not the transubstantiation of the substance of the eternal Godhead into that of the race of Adam.

Among the distinguished divines who have accepted and illustrated the theory of Kenosis there exist very considerable discrepancies of views. Thomasius and Liebner at first held that the divine Logos was to Christ instead of a rational human soul; but later they abandoned that position and assumed that he was truly human, and that although the Godhead dwelt in him, still it was entirely inactive. Gess predicated of the indwelling Godhead in Christ a complete negation of both consciousness and will, and both he and Ebrard, in the further development of their theory, assumed an actual transformation of the Logos into a human soul, so that Christ was "born of a

woman" only as to his body, of which the indwelling Logos, reduced to the measure of a human soul, became the rational part. That would, of course, destroy the bond of sympathy between Christ and mankind, arising out of a community of race-natures. (Heb. ii, 17.) The late Bishop Mârtensen, of Copenhagen, approaches the subject carefully; but before leaving it he develops a theory of Christology quite as fanciful and as far removed from the traditional conception as any of his school. In his view Christ had only a human consciousness and a human will, and his knowledge of the things of God were to him only recollections of his former state. Kahnis and Lange seem to make Christ's act of emptying himself simply the voluntary disuse of his divine attributes—a perpetual self-abnegation of divinity during the term of his natural life. Julius Müller—*nomen venerabile!*—is known to have held views strongly looking toward this form of Christology, though but little of the kind appears in any thing written by him and published by his authority. But one of his students has reproduced from his own notes of Müller's lectures on Dogmatics a paragraph which effectually identifies him with the "Kenosis" school. His words are:

> Paul contrasts the earthly and pre-earthly existence of the Son of God as poverty and riches (2 Cor. viii, 9), and represents the incarnation as an emptying himself of the full possession of the divine mode of existence. (Phil. ii, 6, 7.) This implies more than a mere assumption of human nature into union with the Son of God: the incarnation is a real self-exinanition, and a renunciation, not only of the use, but also of the divine attributes and powers. . . . The Church is undoubtedly right in teaching a real union of the divine and human natures in Christ. But in the state of humiliation this unison was at first only potential and concealed, and the unfolded reality belongs to the state of exaltation.

Dr. Crosby seems to base his opinions respecting Christ's person on the teachings of Scripture, and in agreement with the prevalent orthodox views in respect to Christ's relation to us as an example, especially in the matter of temptation. For if Christ was really and effectually divine, he asks, how could he be "tempted at all points as we are," since then he must have been sustained by his divinity, as we are not? He finds that Christ's Godhead is abundantly declared in *words*,

but not so in the *facts* of his life; and, therefore, he concludes that the Godhead was in a state of "quiescence"—that it submitted to a sort of paralysis—until the resurrection, after which the divine overshadowed the human.

Dr. Goodwin takes up the notion that has found advocates all along through the Christian ages as a kind of unformulated conception, that Christ's human nature antedated the incarnation—that he was, in fact, the antetypal man who was before all worlds, and after whose image Adam was created—a conception which, fanciful as it certainly is, has been entertained by some very acute thinkers. This he somehow identifies with the Logos of St. John, which was made flesh in the Son of Mary—taking the place in him of the human soul. The incarnation, according to this conception, is not the coming together of two distinct natures in one person, but the development of the divine in the form of the human, in which process that which had been divine became human, and in that condition the peculiar attributes of the divine were for the time being obscured and suspended, because the development during Christ's earthly sojourn was not complete.

The notion that that which in time became the incarnate Christ was at once human and yet older than the ages, has found favor with some of the Tübingen school, as may be seen in Professor Pfleiderer's Hibbert Lectures, noticed in our last September issue. And quite consistently with their scheme none of these acute scholars recognize any thing properly divine in Christ's person.

Some of the modern mystics—Behman, Oetinger, Barclay—exhibit a theory agreeing with this in its chief features. They speak, in their characteristically uncertain way, of the ideal man—Jesus, who was one with the Word of God from eternity, after whom Adam was created, and with him the human race; and accordingly, when the Word became flesh, he literally came to his own. According to their scheme the union of the divine and human natures in the person of the Logos antedates all time, and the appearance of the historical Christ in the world was simply the manifestation of what had existed from eternity. Using the highly poetical imagery of the eighth chapter of Proverbs as statements of realities, they find in it, by an easy accommodation, a frame-work for their whole

theory. The fanciful character of that theory is obvious to all who prefer intelligent thinking to mystical dreaming.

Like these, and yet unlike them, was the scheme of Dr. Bushnell, whose conception of Christ's person was that of a supernatural being other than God, and yet essentially superhuman and in some sense divine, being so united with God that the divine attributes were manifested in and by him. But he also quite consistently disallowed any proper trinity of persons in the Godhead, and was therefore logically compelled to deny any real or personal divinity to Christ.

In his "Life of Jesus the Christ" (begun, but still incomplete) Rev. H. W. Beecher develops a theory of Christ's person not essentially unlike that which has received the title of "the Kenosis," with perhaps a dash of pantheism. He asserts that "Jesus was God" but "made flesh," and then proceeds to say:

> The simplest rendering of these words would seem to be that the divine Spirit had enveloped himself with the human body, and in that condition been subjected to the indispensable limitations of material laws. . . . Jesus, a divine person, brought his nature into the human body, and was subject to all its laws. . . . There is no hint of joining the human soul to the divine. . . . He (the divinity) veiled his royalty; he folded back, as it were, within himself those ineffable powers which belonged to him as a free spirit in heaven. He went into captivity to himself, wrapping in weakness and fearfulness his divine energies. . . . When clothed with a human body and made subject through that body to physical laws, he was then a man, of the same moral faculties as man—of the same mental nature—subject to precisely the same trials and temptations, only without the weakness of sin. A human soul is not something other and different from the divine soul. . . . God in our place becomes human.

This whole theory, though various in its details as given by different writers, is essentially the same in all its aspects. It comes to us, however, with the disadvantages of being out of harmony with the whole current of the best theological thinking from the earliest times. The orthodox doctrine of Christ's person was settled after a most thorough examination, and as the outcome of very fierce conflicts, during the fourth and fifth centuries, much less by the decrees of councils than by the solid arguments of Athanasius and his coadjutors; and no assaults from its adversaries have ever made any breach in the ramparts in which they intrenched it.

The lack of direct scriptural support of "the Kenosis," except from a single overstrained passage, is a less formidable objection than its irreconcilable disharmony with the whole accepted system of soteriology. Its initial weakness is its implication, in assuming that Christ's spiritual nature was not generated of the seed of Adam, that his kinship with our race was only through the animal nature, while of that relationship his adaptation to the work given him to do is especially presumed. It also assumes, not only that in this incarnation the essential attributes of the Godhead were laid aside, but also that the divine essence was changed into another and different substance, and that for the time of Christ's sojourn among men the eternal Logos ceased to be divine. It also assumes, by logical implication, that the attributes of God are simply accidents, and not of the very essence of his being. To ordinary readers, and also to many of the most critical and scholarly, the New Testament has seemed to teach that, while bearing the form of a servant, Christ was still the Lord of glory—that he so spake of himself, and was so recognized and proclaimed by the Father. The Christian consciousness of the ages was correctly apprehended by Milton, and happily voiced by him in his fragmentary poem on "The Passion," when he wrote:

> "He, Sovereign Priest, stooping his regal head,
> . . . . . .
> Poor fleshly tabernacle entered—
> O, what a *mask* was there—what a disguise!"

Dr. Schaff, while dealing very gently with the many able, devout, and evangelical divines who accept in some form, more or less modified, the scheme of "the Kenosis," remarking also that the discussion "furnishes a striking illustration of the inexhaustible mine of thought contained in the Scriptures," disposes of the whole affair by a few direct and forcible objections: 1. The Scripture proofs chiefly relied upon for its proof either come short of the purpose or are wholly irrelevant. 2. The self-reduction and self-abandonment of divinity to an unconscious embryonic existence involves a metaphysical impossibility and a moral monstrosity, and it is wholly incompatible with the doctrine of the Trinity.

Dr. Hodge, after examining the principal Kenotic theories, closes with the suggestion, which is as just as it is earnest:

Any theory which assumes that God lays aside his omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence, and becomes feeble, ignorant, and circumscribed as an infant, *contradicts the first principles of all religion*, and, if it is pardonable to say so, shocks the common sense of men.*

Dr. Pope discusses this department of Christology, both historically and dogmatically, and says of this and of a kindred conception:

In the beginning of the seventeenth century a controversy on this subject sprang up in Lutheranism. One party maintained that the humiliation of Christ was the hiding of the divine attributes which, in his human estate, he possessed; this idea of κρυψις, or concealment, gave them their name of *Kryptists*. Another party affirmed that there was an actual κένωσις, or emptying himself of the divine attributes which belonged to the human nature in virtue of the hypostatical union; hence they were *Kenotists*. The former view invested Jesus, as man, with omnipresence, omniscience, and omnipotence from the moment of the conception; but this possession was veiled during the earthly life, and avowed only after the ascension. The latter regarded him as having the κτῆσις, or possession, of those attributes from his birth, but utterly renouncing their χρῆσις, or use, until he was glorified. The former view, held by the Tübingen theologians, made the ascension the first display of Christ's divine attributes in humanity; the latter view, held by the Giessen theologians, made it the first resumption of them. †

Still another and a more scriptural presentation of the case is quoted from Gerhardt:

Not a part to a part, but the entire Logos was united to the entire flesh [humanity], and the entire flesh was united to the entire Logos; therefore, on account of the hypostatic union and intercommunion of the two natures, the Logos is so present to the flesh, and the flesh so present to the Logos, that neither is the Logos *extra carnem*, nor the flesh *extra Logon;* but wherever the Logos is, there it has the flesh most present, as having been assumed into the unity of the person.

The study of these speculations, and of the theories to which they give rise, is practically valuable, as showing by their lack of any well-grounded support and their manifest fancifulness that the plain language of Scripture is the nearest possible explanation of the mystery of the incarnation.

* "Systematic Theology," ii, 439. † "Christian Theology," ii, 193.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

MINISTERIAL EDUCATION.

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Two questions meet us as we approach this subject: (1) Are the present methods for the education of ministers satisfactory? and (2) How may they be improved?

The first of these questions assumes that there are certain established and well-understood methods for educating the requisite recruits for the Protestant pulpits of the country; which, however, is only proximately the case. Of the three or four thousands of annual accessions to that service, probably scarcely one thousand pass through a regular course of professional training; nor does it seem desirable that entrance to the ministry should be denied to all who have not been so trained. Probably, however, that question refers especially to the methods pursued in the theological seminaries, and if so it suggests a doubt in respect to the public estimate of those methods. It may also be suspected that, of even the religious public, only a comparatively few have ever seriously thought of the subject. The question, therefore, relates to the convictions or sentiments of those whose felt interest in the subject has led them to think about it, and to come to certain definite conclusions.

It is safe to begin with the concession that with the great body of even moderately intelligent church members our schools of theology do not stand out as nearly the foremost among the Church's agencies for the salvation of the world. Theological students are not, as a class or in their proper persons, considered by the great body of Christian people as the chief hope of the Church of the future. There may be somewhat of injustice in this estimate, and its accompanying sentiment, toward a class of persons in respect to whom the interests of the Church must be of no secondary magnitude; but since it exists, it must have a cause, and to find out what that is, and how it may be remedied, would certainly be a valuable service.

Education for the ministry is, by its designation, determined to belong to the general class of *technical* training processes; and it is still more specifically defined as *professional.* In all cases that come under this designation the work to be done must determine what instruction should be given, and what should be the methods of mental and personal discipline. Applying that rule to what is found in practice in our theological schools, one may detect the causes of any dissatisfaction that may exist, and also, perhaps, suggest the needed remedies. All technical education is by its design more circumscribed and one-sided—less cyclopedic—than that of

the general college course, though it must go much further along its own special lines. Its purpose is not to promote general scholarship, nor to make scholars at all, in the broader sense; and even within its own specialty its first purpose is to produce practical adepts for the bringing to pass certain well-ascertained results. If biblical and theological scholarship be desirable, it is because it may be rendered available, and made to contribute to practical effectiveness in the work of the ministry. How and how far these studies should be pursued must therefore be determined by the supposed relations of these things to the great purposes for which the ministry exists; and whether or not this is now being done in a satisfactory way in our schools of theology, is a question that must be answered by a comparison of these principles with the facts of the case. The further question thus suggested will be answered by each one according to his estimate of the facts, and their bearings upon the whole subject of ministerial education.

The important subject of procuring an adequate supply of the right kind of candidates for the ministry, to be educated for that calling, though very closely and seriously related to the questions now in hand, does not fall directly within our field of vision. But a necessary, as well as a very difficult and delicate, duty of those who have the charge of our training schools for the ministry is, to find out and remove from their classes, even with some measure of severity, any who are, from either moral or mental deficiencies, clearly unfitted for their work. The ministerial profession has in some cases suffered in public estimation by having been made the retreat of incompetents; and even in our home churche the ministerial office appears to have special attractions for a class of incompetent and heartless adventurers. Even in the apostolic churches some such were detected, and their presence and pernicious influence indicated, and warnings uttered against them. The spirit of students should be carefully scanned by their instructors—who, if at all worthy of their places, are much more than simply teachers; and all who seem likely to become causes of offense and of future peril should be carefully removed; for no greater calamity can befall the Church than to be burdened with an incapable, and still more a morally disqualified, ministry. Possibly just here there may be cause for dissatisfaction on account of the lack of due carefulness, on the part of our theological faculties, as to the characters of their pupils, who, if passed safely through the seminary, will pretty surely succeed in gaining a place in the ministry.

The celebrated Rev. William Jay, of Bath, England, we are told, was sent, while yet a youth, to reside with Cornelius Winter, an Independent minister, who in his humble way was a kind of diocesan over several neighboring Dissenting congregations, and by him the young man was literally and practically apprenticed to the calling of a preacher. He was, indeed, set to reading during his intervals of respite from active duties, but all of his studies were to be pursued with direct reference to immediate use; and, as is well-known, his profiting appeared to all. This method prevailed very generally among English Dissenters till compars

atively recently, and it was certainly abundantly justified by its results. Mr. Wesley, by a like process, built up his lay ministry, comprising not a few men of decided ability and scholarship; and in our own times, that prince of preachers and of evangelistic propagandists, Mr. Spurgeon, is himself a product of the same system, in which he manifests his confidence by his large practical use of it.

The average minister of the Gospel is not required to be, in the specific sense, a scholar; and while a good degree of general intelligence is highly desirable, both for mental training and for religious teaching, yet all that is thus required stops short of proper scholarship. The two callings—those of the Christian pastor and of the theological and biblical scholar—are diverse as to their subjects and the qualifications they call for; and because both are exacting in their demands, and engrossing to the minds devoted to them, they are usually incompatible. And this consideration should be allowed due influence in the ordering of both the substance of teaching and the methods of preparing men for the ministry of the Gospel. The purpose is to prepare those under instruction for the pastoral work, to fit them to preach the plain and simple Gospel to congregations, most of which will usually be plain people; and even the better educated will need simple Gospel truth more than learned discussion, and elegant rhetoric. And since the Gospel minister must pass his time in intimate association with unscholarly people, though it is desirable that he should be more learned and better cultured than the average of them, he ought not to be too far removed from them in his modes of thinking and in his associations and tastes. It is evident, indeed, that only a small proportion of our better educated ministers ever become scholars, because they give themselves diligently to their official duties and choose to be faithful and effective ministers. And as they practically consent to do what they vowed to do when they assumed the work of the ministry—"laying aside the world and the flesh"—because they are men of *one work*, they become men of *one book*.

The popular sarcasm which says that it takes a young minister as many years as he spent in the seminary to get rid of the mannerisms of thought and speech and behavior there acquired, and to place himself in the plane with his people, though often unjust, may still contain an element of truth; and if so, the fault is not altogether their own, but largely that of their training.

Theological professors, too, are usually "bookish" men, rather than men of affairs in active sympathy with the great world of living and breathing thoughts and feelings; and of course, they unconsciously draw their pupils into their own atmosphere of life and thought, and reproduce in them their own mental and spiritual habitudes. They are also scholars inflamed with a noble enthusiasm for their special studies, and in proportion to their abilities as instructors they awaken a like enthusiasm among their pupils, and also initiate them into the first stages of scholarly life. But for all except the few who are to become specialists, these beginnings must go no further; for as soon as the young minister passes out-

ward through the door of the seminary, he must begin to disuse and practically unlearn a large proportion of what he had there acquired, because it will not be called for.

In the continental universities all the studies are special and largely professional, and both their theological and biblical learning is of a high grade, suitable only for specialists. With them the ideal of the ministry is, that it is a learned profession rather than a pastoral calling for the cure of souls. The condition of the State Church in Germany, and, to a modified extent in the British islands, attests the inadequacy and infelicity of these methods. The Roman Catholics proceed upon a wholly different theory. Their secular or working clergy are men of the people, and not very far removed from them in thought and associations, and their efficiency as pastors appears to be largely due to that fact. In like manner our Protestant congregations require "pastors and teachers" more than scholars, real or fictitious; and if our seminaries labor to give us only the latter kind rather than the former, they must assuredly fail of the most satisfactory results.

The Bible, it will be granted, is the principal text-book in all properly directed education for the ministry; and with most of those who compass the whole course of the schools, in their preparatory studies, the English Bible will still be their chief resource; while not a few who have read the word only in their vernacular have become mighty in the Scriptures. Still the study of the originals is not to be depreciated, though it may be doubted whether the prevailing methods are altogether felicitous. They seem to be quite too *microscopic* to answer the requirements of ordinary students. An undue amount of time and labor is devoted to minute details of grammar and literature, which may be well enough for the specialist, but of which only a few can make any practical use. New Testament exegesis is probably the very best matter of teaching and study for the minister of the Gospel; but to make this the most largely available it should be extended as nearly as may be over the whole book, instead of exhausting itself upon the details and minutiæ of a few brief paragraphs or chapters. But since the English Bible must be the minister's *vade mecum*—his constant companion and instructor—because out of it he must teach his people, it seems desirable that he should be most thoroughly and even critically read in the people's book; and in order that this may be so, the instructions of the seminary could be turned to excellent account in that direction. There can scarcely be a better qualification thought of for a Christian pastor than that his memory and his heart should be stored with the written word, in his own vernacular, clearly expounded and broadly appreciated. It may be suspected that neither the Sunday-school, nor the pulpit, nor the chair of biblical exegesis is doing all that is both desirable and practical in that direction.

Theological seminaries must of course teach theology—even beyond the merely non-systematized interpretation of Holy Scripture; but doing this is perilously liable to be carried too far. It is needful that Christian doctrine should be learned in its subject-matter before it shall be studied as

a rationalized system. It is better to find the theory of the Gospel among the teachings of the Bible than to fashion them after a preconceived theory, and so to build them up into artificial systems of doctrine. It might be for the better if our theological schools would give relatively more attention to the plainest and least elaborated lessons of Scripture, and less to their value as parts of an ideal unity; and to making catechetics, and not dogmatics, the chief method of teaching—setting forth biblical truth in its simplicity rather than giving out its essence after passing through the alembic of fallible minds. The former method is content to disclose the things stated in the Bible without polemical argumentation or philosophical generalizations; the latter, on the contrary, is systematic and theoretically harmonized with respect to certain fancied higher unities and the mutual dependence of parts; and it demands that Scripture itself shall be interpreted agreeably to its requirements. In this form theology is now chiefly taught, both in our Bodies of Divinity and Systems of Theology, and also from the Chairs of our theological instructors. But the thought of the age is asking for some better method, by which God's truth may stand forth in the clear light of the sun, and not be so presented that it can be seen only in prismatic colors, produced through the distorting medium of superannuated creeds and prescriptive misconceptions.

These suggestions are given as the notions of one who looks at the subject from the outside—of the preacher and pastor of former times—but who of late has occupied a place among hearers rather than preachers, and who therefore sympathizes with their tastes and sentiments; and, also, as a careful observer of the signs of the times, as indicated in current discussions, and from a somewhat intimate though non-professional relation to our schools of theology. While highly appreciating those schools, and largely sympathizing with their spirit, he has felt that their methods are not altogether satisfactory.

There is altogether too broad a chasm between the pulpit and the pews.

DANIEL CURRY.

THE BIBLE IN ENGLISH—BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.

It is conceded on all hands, that to speak well of the Bible, and to refer to it as the sole and sufficient guide in both faith and practice, is, among Protestants, the right thing to do. At the same time, it is not altogether impertinent to ask whether, in our day, the average educated man has ever really made himself master of the contents of the sacred books. A very general and indefinite notion respecting the substance of the Bible is almost universal among men, so that they talk in its phrases and use its lessons and precepts as maxims of wisdom and rules of action, but oftentimes with but little idea of their meaning as originally uttered. What Macaulay says about the use of Bacon and his works—that every body praises them but very few read them—may be applied with mitigations

to the Bible and the use made of it. To read the Bible through in course once a year, was, among our grandparents, a highly commended practice; and although this was usually done very unintelligently, and not always without a kind of fetichism, still a large amount of real good was gained in the process. But evidently that practice has fallen into disuse in our day, and it may be questioned whether there is now as much knowledge of the contents and the make-up of the Bible among the people generally as there was a hundred years ago. In some directions there may have been an increase of knowledge, but in others quite as certainly there has been a falling away.

It is of course expected that the minister of the Gospel shall be fully read up in all the Bible—indeed, "a man of one book;" and such, in some sense, no doubt most ministers are. But within this description and designation there is still room for wide diversities, of kinds as well as degrees, of biblical learning. The English Bible of King James's Version is almost absolutely the only Scripture of the English-speaking nations. They know no other, and all its words and phrases, not excluding the headings of chapters, and the subscriptions at the ends of the several books and epistles, are with many equally authoritative and divine. And although it may be presumed that any who professionally make the Bible their life study will penetrate deeper than the surface of its words, it is probably the case in a great majority of instances that the Anglicized Scriptures dominate and fashion both the intellectual conception and the spiritual inspiration of nearly all classes of English-speaking Christians. And in view of the prevailing defect of a thorough mastery of the finer thought, and the intangible spiritual essence of the sacred original, it is perhaps better that the really valuable and generally correct renderings of our English Version should be preferred to the imperfect and uncertain ones that would be made for themselves by nearly all our Greek and Hebrew scholars. The sacred originals will be used by commentators and exegetes, by professors in theological seminaries, and by a few earnest solitary students; but for the "working clergy," the men who come into contact with the masses of the people, and who shape the popular religious thinking, the Bible in English is the ruling text-book.

It must be quite obvious to any who will consider the subject, that Bible study, pure and simple, is not sufficiently emphasized, and does not hold the broad and foremost place in the religious teaching of the times, to which it is entitled. The home study of the Bible has largely fallen out of use, and the Sunday-school affords a very inadequate compensation for the loss. The exercises of the pulpit have largely ceased to be expository, and the Bible has been most effectually expelled from the public schools. Even the so-called religious academies and colleges use it, if at all, only very sparingly and perfunctorily. Nor is it so certain that no questions need be asked about it—that none of the graduates of our theological seminaries go forth into the world with only a very superficial and inadequate understanding of what the Bible is, and what it contains. It is a matter of comparatively little interest that the theological student and

prospective minister has learned the rudiments of the languages in which the Scriptures were originally written, and that he has been drilled upon certain of its select portions, if his biblical education is to go no further. To any just conception of its nature and design it is needful that the Bible should be apprehended in its unity, for only so can it be known in its entirety; and to know it in this wise, it must be first received in its essential and governing spirit. The thoughtful and devout study of the Bible in the originals, if that may be (for it has its advantages, but is not indispensable), continued through months and years, is the necessary and the certain means for gaining correct and thorough conceptions of its spirit and truth.

Biblical scholarship, broad and deep, is certainly very desirable in the Christian minister at all times, and perhaps especially so at this time. It may, however, be an open question, Which does the Church now most need for her ministry, scholars or pastors? It is also quite pertinent to inquire, whether these two characters do not largely exclude each the other? The biblical scholarship that shall respond to all the demands of that calling must be much more than an incidental pursuit, and the Christian pastor charged with the care of a congregation will find that between his preparations for the pulpit and his definitely pastoral duties he has but small opportunities for other studies and occupations. And yet in both departments of his duties as a minister of Christ, he will find abundant use for his biblical learning, that he may both detect and minister its spirit, and that the spirit, rightly directed and mightily enforced by the word of God, may dwell in his heart richly. And as in nature provisions are usually made as needs require, so in the divine ordering of the ministry of the Gospel only a very few can ever become eminent in scholarship, and yet these few will be all that is needed. And very many who never could become scholars may approve themselves as able ministers of the New Testament, furnished unto every good work, and to these rather than those must be accorded the higher honor, for while to gain knowledge is good, to save souls is better.

It is a fact, at once undeniable and lamentable, that the English Bible either never was, or has ceased to be, a school book. Its exclusion from the public schools was less a concession to a false Church than to the irreligious indifference of the so-called Protestant public; its restoration is prevented, not because of any insuperable difficulties, but because the demand for it, when made, is not in such a form as to justify itself. It is indeed a strange spectacle that a Christian people should carefully instruct its youth in the mythologies of Greece and Rome, and leave only to chance occasions the incomparably more excellent lessons of the divinely given Scriptures; and we do not hesitate to affirm, that the omission of the English Bible from the course of study of any Christian school is an anomaly and a contradiction for which there is no excuse. And even in the theological seminaries the study of the English Bible is desirable, both for the adaptation of its teachings to the minds of the learners, to whom that language is the habitual vehicle of thought, and also because through it

the lessons that they shall impart must find their utterance. In his study the scholarly minister may perhaps best feed his own mind and heart from the original text, but among his people, whose only speech is their English tongue, he needs to have his inmost spiritual thoughts embodied, incarnated, in the popular vernacular. After all that can be obtained from the sacred originals, and by the use of the best available exegetical helps, his English Bible must be the hand-book of the Christian pastor.

Christianity is sometimes, and pertinently, spoken of as an historical religion; so, in like manner, should the Bible be considered and estimated in relation to its history and literature; for only as these are taken into the account can it be properly understood and adequately appreciated. Verbal criticism and textual exegesis are valuable—essential, indeed, to the right use of the Scriptures; but they are often narrow in their application, with microscopic results, and if used alone they contract the mind's horizon and shorten its powers to grasp its themes in their completeness. The literary history of the Bible, and of its several books—the character and the affairs of the people among whom each originated—their civil and social institutions—the fauna and flora, the agriculture and the climatology of Bible lands, all need to be understood, that through them the lessons of the sacred word may be the better apprehended. And as Israel was a prophetic nation, and the theocracy a type of "the kingdom of God," and as in its latest stage the Jewish Church was the chrysalis in which the Christian Church received its form, to know these would seem to be indispensable to a right understanding of the genius of organic Christianity, and the development of its spirit in living forms. Biblical history, in all its varied developments, is only an extended introductory chapter of the history of the Christian Church. It is, therefore, a sign of promise that the broad field of *Biblical Introduction* is being more and more cultivated, and that this fruitful land is becoming so widely opened to English readers.

All true theology is in the first instance biblical, because it can set forth only what it finds in the written word. Systematic theology may have its value, as a form for the embodiment and setting forth of the substance of the truths and doctrines which the word declares; but were it possible, as perhaps it is not, that nothing of man's devising should find a place in such a system, it would still be only a human production because of the form into which it is cast. As the purest fluid appears to partake of the color of the vessel that contains it, so God's own truth is necessarily colored by its human settings and embodiments, its light is diffracted and the colorless whiteness of its simplicity is changed into greater apparent gorgeousness, but at the expense of its truthfulness and its illuminating power. The distinction between systematic and biblical theology may consist in forms of manifestations rather than in any real difference of substance, and yet the latter may have very many and great advantages over the former. Like the altars of unhewn stones which God ordained for Israel, the unpolished truths given to us in the Bible may be deficient in philosophical excellence; and as the structures made of those stones may

have seemed rough and unsymmetrical yet were the materials and the structure as God appointed them to be, so the theology of the Bible, without its schemes and theories, its philosophies and its organic completeness, even with its apparent deficiencies and the seeming disharmony of its parts, is quite sufficient for man's spiritual necessities.

As distinctive modes of stating Christian doctrines, it is helpful to right thinking to discriminate between these two methods. And although any embodiment of Christian truth in the form of systematic theology must be essentially biblical, and, on the other hand, though any intelligent grouping of biblical doctrines must constitute a system, and possibly show some of the elements of a theory, still, since it is possible to incline more or less toward either side, it seems safest to keep as near as may be to the plain words of the inspired volume. The Church has too long been vexed with its multiplied systems and theories, its theodicies and irenics, built up in part from the stones of the sanctuary, but joined together with untempered mortar of man's wisdom, and often fashioned to conform to men's inferences, or supplemented by men's fancies and philosophies. It has fallen to our times to discover that no form of words can be made effective to the exclusion of heresies, and to demonstrate that no fence about the truth invented by human ingenuity can effectually guard against the inroads of strange doctrines. Better, then, go back to the more sure words of divine truth, and whatever they may teach, believe that, without being overcareful that all that we so believe shall arrange its parts in symmetrical completeness. We shall probably never appreciate the ruling design of the great Architect until the scaffolding shall be removed from the edifice.

THE METHODIST DOCTRINE OF THE APPROPRIATION OF SALVATION.

It is not enough that God has formed a redemptive purpose with respect to our race, nor yet that Christ has atoned for our sins and provided eternal salvation for us. This salvation, in order to be such in truth, must be subjectively appropriated. Possible salvation is not enough; it must become personally actualized. The soul must be transformed from a sinful to a holy personality. Its opposition to God must be supplanted by love to him; its guilt and fear must give place to conscious divine approval, with all its attending fruits and joys. By whose agency is this part of the great work to be wrought?

Certainly not by human agency alone. Then would God's participation in the work of our redemption cease with the provision of salvation. Such a view would be inconsistent with the Scripture view of man's nature apart from the aids of God's gracious Spirit. According to that view, no man can come unto Christ without a divine drawing; none can even call Jesus the Lord but by the Holy Spirit. It would also conflict

with all those representations of Scripture which trace our awakening, regeneration, and sanctification to a divine inworking. Finally, it would conflict with the standing testimony of the Christian consciousness, which in all lands and ages bears witness to the truth of Christ's declaration: "Without me ye can do nothing."

But neither, on the other hand, is this work wrought by divine agency alone. This would make man a passive material to be transformed and recast by simple omnipotence. It would be inconsistent with all those warnings and entreaties addressed by God to man with respect to his salvation. Were it exclusively a divine work, there would be no place for such tears as Christ wept over Jerusalem; no propriety in such exhortations as that of the apostle to work out our salvation with fear and trembling. Human responsibility, so far as the issues of eternity are concerned, would be at an end. Such a conception is as much at variance with our own moral consciousness as with the word of God.

Again, we must not regard this great work as the product of a joint action of divine and human agency viewed as independent factors. God does not stand over against the natural man, and merely co-operate with him in precisely that degree in which the individual himself operates to secure salvation. This is the error of synergism—a much more common one than either of the two above rejected. It springs out of a false deistic conception of the relation of God to the creature, and of man as a moral agent. It predicates of man a natural and ethical independence which he does not possess; it ignores the fact that in God we live, and move, and have our being. A still grosser form of the error conceives of the work as interactional, and of the human agency as appropriately taking the lead. According to this view the man must first do something, then God will do something; then the man must do something more, then God will do something more; and thus, by a series of separate yet reciprocal acts, the work is gradually accomplished. First, man is to use his powers to ascertain duty and his own moral state, then God will work conviction. Upon this the man is to repent, then God will pardon him; then the pardoned is to lay hold of the proffered aids of grace, and these will work his purification.

A somewhat less offensive form of synergism is that which conceives of the work as a product, indeed, of an interaction of divine and human agency, but which represents the divine agency as taking the lead. According to this representation, God and man are conceived of as in very much the same attitude over against each other as before. The great difference is, that now it is God who first acts, then the man. First, God enlightens, then the man repents; next God regenerates, then the man believes; after this, with each new divine act of progressive sanctification, the man brings forth new fruits of holiness. Here, then, are three varieties of synergism. The first may be termed simultaneous synergism; the second and third are simply two forms of interactional synergism, differing only in the factor to which priority of action is assigned. All these varieties Methodism rejects as inconsistent with what the Bible teaches.

The doctrine of our Church on this point is, that while there is an exercise of human agency in the work of personally appropriating salvation, there is a precedent, attendant, and consequent exercise of divine agency. We conceive this to be true, not merely of the first inception of divine life in a human soul, but equally so of every new and marked development in that life. God first prepares us for spiritual experiences by operations prompted solely by his own grace and mercy, not by any thing we have done; then, having shown us our duty and privilege, he aids us by the simultaneous co-operation of grace in performing it, sealing, and in a sense rewarding, our effort with added blessings, which in turn are preparatory to new and more advanced experiences. This view alone corresponds with what we regard as the scriptural doctrine of man's actual free agency, as expressed in the eighth of our Articles of Religion: "The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such that he cannot turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith, and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God by Christ preventing us (*ut velimus*), that we may have a good will, and working with us (*dum volumus*), when we have that good will." This alone harmonizes with our view of divine grace as the source of all good desires, all spiritual strength, all holy experiences. It necessarily springs out of the scriptural conception of the relation subsisting between God and the human soul. According to this statement, "prevenient" grace awakens the sinner and prompts to repentance and faith in Jesus Christ. It is in the power of the soul to reject these gracious drawings; but if it will only yield consent, it is graciously aided to repent and believe, whereupon "attendant" divine grace regenerates his nature, and "consequent" grace seals to his heart the blessings of pardon and adoption. The relation of divine and human operations is strictly analogous in all cases of recovery from partial or full backsliding, and in all new attainments in the normal development of the divine life.

It will be seen that this view includes all the elements of truth found in the three forms of synergism above presented.

With the second form of interactional synergism it teaches a prevenient exercise of divine agency antedating all spiritual action on the part of man. With simultaneous synergism it represents the human agency as never exerted alone, but as ever aided by an accompanying divine action; while with the first form of interactional synergism it shows grace succeeding and consummating the exercise of human agency by new divine operations.

This view of the relation subsisting between divine and human agency in the subjective appropriation of salvation, is the only one which effectually guards us from the grave errors to which every undue emphasizing either of the divine or of the human element logically leads. Give greater prominence to the divine element than is here given and the logical result is a divine monergism, which frees men from the sense of personal responsibility for their own salvation, and prepares the mind readily

to drink in the error of universal Restorationism. These results have been actualized, and that on a fearful scale, wherever, as in the strict Calvinistic and early Lutheran Churches, too exclusive stress has been laid upon the divine factor. Both these Churches in their first great Confessions, and even to this day in their strictly confessional bodies of divinity, teach that in conversion man is perfectly passive (*se habet mere passive. Formula Concordiæ*). Following this declaration of their Church creed, the great Lutheran divines, especially of the seventeenth century, were as monergistic in their doctrine of conversion as were the Calvinists. The fruits of the error became in due time manifest, on the one hand in widespread reactions in favor of some unscriptural form of synergism, on the other in the rise and spread of the restorationalist error. In like manner any undue stress upon the human element in the appropriation of salvation logically leads to a Pelagian anthropology, and a doctrine of salvation by the merit of good works. It was to exhibit the true adjustment of the two factors, and to point out the fatal consequences of their misadjustment by Calvinistic monergists on the one hand, and by Pharisaic moralists and synergists on the other, that Fletcher of Madeley wrote his masterful "Checks," the careful perusal of which may well be recommended to all students of Christian theology. See especially his Works (New York edition), vol. i, pp. 425–595; vol. ii, pp. 9–363; vol. iii, pp. 111–197. One can hardly wish our brethren in the camp of "Progressive Orthodoxy" a greater blessing than that a new Fletcher may soon be raised up in their midst. To a well-instructed Methodist their doctrine of the Holy Spirit, especially in His relations to the genetic stadia of God's kingdom in the soul and in humanity, seems at least a century behind the best thought and teaching of current Christian theology.

Boston, May, 1886. W. F. Warren.

CHRISTIANITY'S NEXT PROBLEM.

One of our leading religious newspapers a few months ago said, "We see little evidence as yet that our ministers are mastering the social problems which are daily increasing in importance;" and the same article closes with the warning, "But let our ministers beware of surface acquaintance with such subjects. Like dynamite, Socialism must be handled by men who know what they are about."

The ministry might easily retort upon the editorial fraternity, that the religious press (and scarcely more the secular) gives little evidence of having mastered the social problem. And now and then there is in editorial columns something very like to the handling of dynamite with unpracticed hands.

"It has come to pass," says Professor Ely, "that not one religious weekly of prominence understands these questions of labor well enough to talk to laborers satisfactorily about them."* But the matter is alto-

* "Andover Review," Feb., 1886, p. 155.

gether too serious for flippant answer, and the *tu quoque* retort is unsuited to so grave a subject.

The truth is, that in this social financial problem—and the social problem is financial—the editor and minister are alike facing one of the most difficult questions with which Christianity has ever grappled: a question which only Christianity can solve; a question which must be solved, or else Christianity and society must go down through the bloody pathway of anarchy to barbarism. We may well regard the editorial caution given above, against superficial or ignorant or careless dealing with the subject. Its roots are too deep for surface treatment. It involves too varied and too vital interests; and withal there is too much of inflammable material lying about. But on the other hand, it must be recognized that the financial problem is the next great question to be solved by modern, and what we term Christian, civilization. Perhaps we should say more correctly, that this question must be solved as the next step in the work of making modern civilization Christian.

The next giant to be conquered is avarice—a protean demon. Covetousness is the one sin—covetousness, which is idolatry—which the Church has never banned, the one crime which she has never punished. The possession of wealth has been so largely a power and an honor, that organized Christianity has hardly ventured to inquire how it was obtained, much less to condemn its possessor for its unjust acquisition.

Christianity has, as yet, scarcely touched the question of property. However much it may have modified society, meliorated the condition of the poor, or lifted up individual men, it has not asserted its mastery of the wealth of its votaries, much less of the wealth of society in general. It has never applied the second great commandment—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—to the dealings of the rich with the poor, nor written, "As ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them," into the laws of trade. It will not do to say that Christianity has not at all affected the rights and obligations of wealth, but it is true, nevertheless, that trade is yet, the world over, essentially unchristian—atheistic.

This is not so strange as at first it might seem. The work of Christianity on society in the modification of relations, and the enactment of laws, has been gradual. It is the leaven in the meal. It freed the slave, it elevated woman to be man's companion and equal, it made human life sacred, not so much by legal enactment or anathema as by permeating with its own life the thought, institutions, and society with which it was mixed. It has only begun to utilize money as a Christian instrument. But in order to its mastery of the world it must give law to trade, hold the even balance between employer and employed, stretch its rod over broad acres, and hold the keys of coffers. It will not destroy the rights of property, but it will subordinate them to the more sacred rights of humanity, and will thus declare how much better is a man than a dollar. Some things there may be in the structure of society to-day as in the days of Moses, as in all the days since Moses, which must be tolerated temporarily because of the hardness of men's hearts. But Christianity is con-

stantly pressing toward the absolutely right and righteous, by the overthrow of compromises and expedients. As nothing is settled until it is right, so this will be a constantly recurring conflict until settled on the basis of justice.

In the progress toward this world-conquest, Christianity has come to where it is confronted by avarice as its antagonist more directly than ever before. The questions of individual and class rights which are agitating every civilized nation, and which in their last analysis are questions of money rights and property ownership, show that the universal moral sense, dimly it may be but yet correctly recognizes the great final antagonist of Christianity in its battle for the world's conquest. It was a Christian and a prophetic instinct which in the New Testament personifies Mammon as the alternative of God in the sovereignty of the world. It is not God or Belial, but God or Mammon.

It ought to be remarked here that the dominion of Mammon is not confined to the hearts of the rich. The complaints of labor against capital are not groundless. The accumulations of gigantic fortunes by craft and cunning, by fraud and theft, and downright robbery—in some cases under cover of law, in others in defiance of law—the ruthless seizure and control of the highways of continental traffic, the rape of the world's mineral wealth, the fruits of invention and discovery made instruments of oppression and ministers of greed—these are indeed terrible illustrations of the power, the tyranny, and the cruelty of avarice, as well as of its antagonism to Christianity. But on the other hand it is true (and this fact adds to our sense of the might of this antagonist of Christianity) that not a little of the outcry against capital is also the voice of avarice. The anarchist's demand is not the claim of justice, but the challenge of the highwayman. The communist is often seeking under the plea of equal rights to establish himself in the place of ease and luxury. The socialist, with change of circumstances, becomes the exacting landlord or the usurious capitalist. Mammon has his worshipers scarcely less in hovels than in palaces. These facts may add to our sense of the power of Mammon, but will not lessen our estimate of the greatness of the conflict.

Avarice is the power standing in the way of all moral progress. It must be conquered in order to the mastery of the world by Christianity. A glance at the various questions—moral, social, and political—which are agitating nations, and especially the most advanced peoples of the world, shows how absolutely the financial problem underlies every other, and how largely Mammon bars the way of progress. In the Irish question now occupying the thought of Great Britain, and challenging the wisdom and power of her greatest statesmen, money is the only difficulty. Mr. Parnell says the whole controversy is a question of rents. So also in the distressed manufacturing districts, the differences between manufacturer and laborer, resulting in strikes and lockouts and boycotts, are simply questions of money more or less.

This master passion of our modern civilization hinders the enactment of wholesome laws against various forms of vice, and makes the enforce-

ment of law always difficult and often impossible. It stimulates lotteries, establishes gambling-houses in our great cities, from which officers of the law are shut out with bars of gold or barricades of iron. Every youthful sport or generous pastime becomes the gambler's tool or opportunity. Even sweet charity pleading for the poor and the unfortunate must minister to avarice with throw of dice or turn of fortune's wheel. The civilized world has of late been sickened to loathing by the published details of lust and debauchery in high places, in which the greed of the procuress has ministered to the lust of the debauchee, while avarice's gilded hand has baffled justice and punished the exposure rather than the crime.

The great battle for the restriction or the destruction of the rum traffic is but a phase of the still greater strife with avarice. Our temperance orators have painted in vivid colors the horrors of drunkenness, its wastefulness and want, its squalor and loathsomeness, its cruelty and crime, its ruin of soul and body. They paint, none too vividly, the cravings of appetite which drink gratifies and strengthens by gratifying. But the temperance orator or organization little realizes that it is not burning appetite so much as cold avarice which stands in the way of any legal restriction or control of the liquor traffic. Appetite never organizes to break down law, to debauch legislation, to corrupt courts, or to suborn perjury of officers or witnesses. But capital, the organized millions of rumsellers and distillers and brewers, aspires to control elections, to shape or frustrate legislation. It boasts that prohibitory laws, if enacted, cannot be enforced, because officers, witnesses, and courts can be corrupted, and it points to the splendid array of legal advisers and advocates in legislative halls and courts of justice who have accepted its retainers, and through whose services legislation has been prevented or the execution of righteous law has been perverted.

We need not delay long to note how largely money holds the control of what is called society. Not morality, but Mammon, dictates fashion; not greatness of soul or intellect, but of purse, admits to the mansion and the palace. Who enters otherwise comes as the servitor rather than the equal. Even the Church is not free from the influence—shall we say the control—of money. The "gold ring" and the "goodly apparel" secured the "good place" even in apostolic days, and money was once offered as an equivalent for the gift of the Holy Ghost. It is not strange, therefore, that in these later days wealth claims its exclusive rights in the sanctuary and preempts its pew, as it purchases its seat at the stock board; or that it thinks the eloquence of the pulpit should be measured by a gold standard, or purchasable by the highest bidder. Nor is it altogether strange that the successors of the Galilean fishermen should sometimes mistakenly judge the pulpit of the wealthiest congregation most desirable, since wealth so often seems the condition of greatest influence.

Avarice stands in the pathway of missionary evangelization. No ports are now closed to Christian commerce. No nation shuts out the Christian missionary, or bans the Christian religion. Heathen superstition or prejudice against the true revelation hardly stands in the way of the

world's conversion. But the avarice of so-called Christian peoples and the crimes which are committed for the sake of gain—the cruel opium trade forced upon China, the French invasion of Siâm, the robbery and murder of our Indian tribes—have made the Christian name hateful and the Christian religion a loathing to many darkened souls. The parsimony of Christian Churches has prevented the sending out of missionaries to fields white unto the harvest—to people reaching out their hands for the Gospel. The promising fields of India, China, Japan, and the yet unvisited nations of Africa, await the Gospel to-day, not because there are wanting devoted and earnest men and women ready to go in the name of the Lord—not because the Church is ignorant of the fields or their needs—but because avarice locks up the wealth of the world in Christian coffers. The whole missionary contribution of the Church is not enough to pay for the transportation to the waiting nations of the preachers and teachers needed for their evangelization. The Church which began its missionary work with the whole membership, driven out from Jerusalem, going every-where preaching the Gospel, now stands weak and inefficient in the presence of the waving harvest-fields, because it has followed Ananias in keeping back its gold.

Avarice regards no relations or times as sacred from its touch. The most important of personal obligations are determined by weight of gold rather than strength of affection, and marriage vows are taken at the altar of Mammon rather than at that of God. Avarice ruthlessly invades the quiet of the Sabbath with the noise of business. Year by year it demands more of Sabbath toil, more of business care, and more of social frivolity and dissipation in the sacred hours. The Sunday railway traffic and travel have been built up not to meet commercial necessity—not responsive to the wants of the people, much less in the interest of human charity—but to add to the gains of avarice. The Sunday newspaper is published not to meet a want, but solely as a means of gain. Indeed, the abnormal appetite had first to be developed, a demand created by all the arts of advertising, sensationalism, and even by temporary wastefulness. No better illustration of the greed of avarice can be found than that furnished by the development of the Sunday newspaper.

Christianity is bound to solve this social financial problem not only as she has undertaken to conquer evil in general, and especially to secure justice and equal rights among all who accept her authority, but more especially because it may be said that much of the evil whose elimination is required in the solution of the problem is the fruit of—rather, perhaps we should say, is incidental to the development of —Christian civilization. Indeed, it must be admitted that this element has not been always nor altogether evil. It has sometimes served as scaffolding in the erection of the building. Nevertheless it must be removed before the building can be seen to be complete in its fair proportions. Without following this thought too far, or extending it beyond legitimate bounds, it is sufficient to notice how, in modern civilization, individualism predominates over social or communal ties or rights. In

the old civilizations the tribe or the family was the unit of humanity. In the modern, the man is the unit. It is not difficult to see how Christianity has helped to develop this individualism, and made it a means of progress. Christianity makes religious duties and privileges personal, not tribal. The man is his own priest—comes personally and alone in his relation to God. This independence of priest or patriarch, and separateness from tribe or family, must develop the sense of individuality in the highest, that is, the religious, nature of man. And in turn individualism thus fostered by religion must extend to social and secular life, in striking contrast with the family and communal ideas of older civilizations Not least has this individualism affected property rights. Individual ownership of land, for instance, if not absolutely peculiar to Christian civilization, has, under it, developed and taken on a form quite unknown before—a form which must undergo serious modification and be subject to important limitations, in order to secure the Christian rights of the people against the grasping avarice of the few. A secular paper says of the present Irish agitation, "The total extinction of landlordism, the allotment of the soil, or its occupation in common, after the fashion of the ancient septs, is the demand of the Irish people." This ownership of land in common is seen in the Irish sept, in the Highland clan, and the German tribe, while in each the chief was but the head of the community and the administrator of its affairs. But with the growth of individualism and the weakening of communal bonds the chief became proprietor and the clansmen serfs or dependents.

Secondly, Christian civilization has exalted individual accumulation of wealth to the rank of a virtue—has made it, indeed, the sign of all the virtues. It teaches first of all a sacred regard for property rights. It requires its followers to be industrious, frugal, and temperate; and gain is the natural, inevitable result of the exercise of these virtues. Christianity thus compels its people individually to be thrifty to "get on," in a worldly sense, as proof of their piety. That the Church—the individual society or sect—constantly tends to get away from the common people, and especially from the lowest classes, is illustration of this truth. The enemies of Christianity reproach her with this as an inconsistency. The successive formation of new church organizations to Christianize the low and vicious masses is an emphatic affirmation of this church drift.

It is not here asserted that this Christian accumulation is altogether bad. On the contrary, it has been a stimulus to the exercise of the other virtues of industry, frugality, and temperance, and has also furnished the means for the carrying forward of Christian enterprises; has been, in fact, scaffolding in the building of the Christian temple. Nevertheless, the individualism of Christianity brought over into secular affairs, together with the fostered greed of gain, have well-nigh destroyed the family tie existing among ruder tribes and under heathen systems—the tie, that is, which among the American Indians gave to the members of the same clan or totem common right in the po sessions of the whole clan—which among the rude tribes of the South Sea Islands made all the members of

a *gens* brothers—which in Japan makes almshouses unnecessary and pauperism almost unknown, because each family cares for its own poor. And, what is of present purpose, Christianity has as yet furnished no substitute for this communal relation. The solution of the social financial problem requires the development of this unknown quantity.

We have filled up our allotted space, but only said one half of what we have to say on our theme. Perhaps another opportunity will be given.

Boston, May, 1886. D. H. ELA.

ABOUT REVIVALISTS.

"By their fruits ye shall know them" is a standard measure, and may be applied to all agencies used by the Church. The Methodist Episcopal Church, in its zeal for the promotion of God's kingdom on earth and the salvation of souls, has tried various kinds of means for this purpose, and some methods that promised well have not stood the divinely appointed test. For a few years past evangelists—so-called—have been much in demand, and time is testing the quality of their work. The word "evangelist" is wrongly used, and takes the place of "revivalist," which is the proper word. Every body who is a "good messenger," or preaches the pure Gospel, is in one sense an evangelist, but may not be a revivalist. Watson says, that "the office in which the evangelists chiefly present themselves to our notice in the New Testament is that of assistants to the apostles; or, as they might be termed, vice-apostles, who acted under their authority and direction." It is clear that many of the so-called evangelists of this day are not like those of the New Testament time, inasmuch as they make the pastors act under *their* authority and direction. After a careful study of the matter of traveling revivalists for more than a quarter of a century we have reached some decided convictions. It goes without controversy, that not all pastors are revivalists in the common acceptation of the term. Neither are all men singers, nor can they become singers, no matter what effort they may make. Nor are all preachers eloquent or logical or specially persuasive in the pulpit. If poets are born, so are singers, and logicians, and revivalists. Paul and Barnabas and Cephas were antetypes of the preachers of to-day.

If these statements be admitted, then some practical questions present themselves for discussion. It is taken for granted that without revivals any church will sooner or later die; hence revivalists, either stationed or traveling, must be used by the church. Beyond all other organizations in existence the Methodist Episcopal Church provides adequately for all types of preachers, and all classes of work and workers, and under the practical operations of the itinerancy the workers can be admirably adjusted to the work. If at some point a church is to be built, a man can be sent to that place who has a talent in that direction, and frequently a new church or parsonage is needed much more than a revival. Or if debts

have been allowed to accumulate, the presiding elder should secure some man whose abilities in debt-paying are well known, for debts are sores that can be healed only by a receipt from the creditor, and a revival that does not at least provisionally clean off financial obligations is a failure. If a preacher is what is called a "pulpit man," a profound and eloquent preacher, but gifted in no other direction, he can be sent where just such a preacher is needed, and where the church members can furnish the other services. Probably his successor should be a thorough pastor rather than a great preacher, and thus one supplement the other; and although neither may be a revivalist, yet both may do more good than any revivalist could do in the place. Some churches need what is termed a "back door" revival—that is, such an enforcement of the Discipline as will either purify the church or reduce its membership, for laxity of discipline has been the ruin of many a church. Now, if the church edifice has been built or repaired, and the parsonage made comfortable, and the people indoctrinated, and the debts all paid, and the stumbling-blocks taken out of the way, then let a pastor be sent to that charge whose peculiar power lies in the line of revival work; and having good foundations on which to build, and finding a people ready and prepared, he may build wonderfully, and gather a multitude of people to the Lord. This may be called grading the ministers; but God has graded them, giving to but very few all desirable qualities. And by this diversity of gifts is our itinerant system justified; and when we cease to put the men where they are most needed the itinerancy will have failed of its purpose, and the Methodist Church go with the itinerancy. This may be called an ideal plan, but it may be realized—and, in many cases, it has been and is made a success.

But this in no way supersedes the necessity for special men to whom God has given gifts for revivalistic work. There will always be pastors whose health and strength are not equal to the task of holding a long series of revival services, and to the aid of these let these revivalists go. If pastors cannot get the service of a revivalist, let them call in a neighboring pastor, and let them work together, and when the work ceases in one place they can together carry it on in the other. It is only too well known that the results of the work of professional revivalists, with the rarest exceptions, have not been abiding, nor the final results good. What were the permanent fruits of James Caughey's and John Newland Maffit's revival labors? And of several later western revivalists we can say from personal knowledge that the fruit condemns the tree. Possibly the unfortunate results of the labors of professional revivalists may in some cases be explained. Whenever a church or pastor calls in an itinerating revivalist it seems to be a confession of weakness of faith or an unwillingness to undertake, with the Lord's help alone, the work necessary to a revival, and this confession has a damaging effect upon those who may during the revival come into the church. It is also true, as a rule, that a pastor who cannot conduct a successful revival meeting is not adapted to the work of caring for the converts that a revivalist may put into his hands. And, even if he be adapted to that work, there is a natural feel-

ing, shared by himself and the converts, that he is not their spiritual father, but a sort of step-father, and the ties that so closely bind the pastor to the people who are brought to Christ under his ministry are wanting. There is much of the "I am of Paul, and I of Apollos" spirit among those who ought to recognize the pastor as the real shepherd. So when the revivalist is gone the interest suddenly dies, and but few of the professed converts are found to be in sympathy with the church, or prepared to engage in its work. It may be said that if only one soul be saved it is worth all the time, labor, and expense, but if in the saving of that one a score or more are alienated from the church, or made to get eventually farther from Christ, then the saving of that one soul (that might have been saved otherwise) costs too much. If a revival brings on such a reaction as to stupefy the church for years the cost is too great.

But we find the chief reasons for unsatisfactory results from these traveling revivalists in their methods. Many of them have their own hymn-books for use and sale, and these hymns are not taken from our standard hymn-book, nor are they such as tend to edification. They are full of jingle and a certain kind of melody, but devoid of the spirit and power found in the grand old hymns that in the days of the fathers mightily moved sinners to Christ. Many of these modern revivalists seem to depend largely upon mere "bodily exercise," the clapping of hands, marching and countermarching, standing up or holding up the hands in token of the desire for salvation, or going into an inquiry room, and other things still more questionable because they have the look of mere machine work. The superabundance of singing and the paucity of prayer tend to increase the excitement and decrease the spirituality of the work. In former times the Holy Spirit was permitted to notify the penitent of his acceptance with God, but now too many are led to take the word of the revivalist, and profess conversion because he assures them that they are converted; and because of the spurious character of the so-called conversion a speedy falling away is the natural result. In too many cases the members of the church who most need the revival influence are the least affected by it, for they content themselves with paying the wages of the revivalist, and are not led nearer to Christ or benefited spiritually. They "farm out" the work that they ought themselves to do. These things sufficiently account for the lack of permanent result of the work of many modern revivalists. It seems, also, to be a fact that but few prominent, influential men and women are brought into the Church by these revivalists. Thinking men are slow to take up with strangers, and, hence, they are rarely found in any great numbers among the converts of a traveling revivalist. The pastor whose upright walk and godly example help him to preach, is the man who is most liable to reach the thinking, business, influential classes. His work abides, because he knows his congregation and they know him. And when he leads one to the Saviour he looks after that one carefully and prayerfully and constantly. Many a faithful pastor, aided by a faithful praying church, is having revivals that far exceed in power and permanent results the loudly trumpeted

movements of peripatetic revivalists. On some of our circuits and in some of our smaller stations wonderful works of grace are in progress under the old-fashioned appliances, and with the well tried methods—plain, pungent preaching and pointed exhortations, with judicious use of the "mourners' bench" for penitents, and the hearty singing of the old hymns and tunes once, and yet, so full of salvation and power. Many churches suffer from dry-rot, and are nearly dead because they have been waiting for the coming of some noted revivalist who can get larger audiences and better pay elsewhere. It was expedient that Jesus go away that the ubiquitous Comforter might be with us in the stead of one who could be in but one place at one time as a man. So our revivalists not being ubiquitous, and not being enough of them to supply the demand in the winter months, many charges languish and die. We need less machine work, and more Holy Ghost power, and this power is promised to every people who will meet the conditions. We need less numbering of the people, and fewer "jubilees." These things are repugnant to the genius of Methodism and contrary to the spirit of the Gospel. No doubt many are really converted in these revivals, and many abide; but there is quite as little doubt that better results would be had if the pastor and membership would go into their closets for spiritual preparation, and then go to the whitened field for the sheaves. As a rule, genuine revivals follow only long and prayerful seed-sowing; and if the church and pastor will call upon the Lord instead of upon a revivalist it is more than possible that the harvest will be gathered with more abiding results. Without reflecting upon the character or ability of these professional revivalists, we hold that the work done in the ordinary way by the regular pastor and his people will be more thorough and more permanent. If our faith will claim the promise it will be fulfilled, and when an earnest church, led by a devoted pastor, calls upon God, and meets his demands, the Holy Spirit will be poured out upon the community as at Pentecost, or as in the days of the fathers, when fear fell upon all the people.

Jacksonville, Ill. W. R. Goodwin.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

"An Appeal to the German People."—This is the title of a recent call on the Protestant portion of the German nation to make new collections every-where for the extraordinary expenses attending the new missions to be founded in the heathen lands to which the German Protectorate is now extending. The call is made on the authority of the Missionary Conference recently held in the far-famed old town of Halle, and is countersigned by such names as Warneck, Rothe, Dietrich, etc.

This does not, of course, mean that Protestant Germany has not maintained missions before this colonial era, for it has had for some time eleven independent societies which have collected large sums by voluntary

contributions, and have thus maintained 520 ordained missionaries, who in various parts of Asia and Africa have collected no less than 200,000 heathen into well-ordered Christian congregations. But these labors hold no proportions to the requirements of the great mission work, nor to the results gained by the missions of England or the United States. But with God's help the Germans propose to make their colonial possessions entail on the people the sense of duty to their Christian faith which shall develop a higher grade of missionary activity.

Just in these German Protectorates there is now only one German missionary center, namely, in Namaqua Land. In the German possessions in Eastern Africa the missionary work is done by the English societies. The Germans have no desire to crowd out these workers; on the contrary, they bid them Godspeed, knowing that there is more than work enough for all, and that it is the part of wisdom for them to concentrate their own efforts and their means where there are as yet no workers, as in New Guinea and the Cameroons.

This experimental effort was inaugurated some time ago in a provincial conference, and the appeal was followed by so generous a response as to give general joy and great encouragement. The present grand appeal now says: "We are bold enough to hope that this magnanimous example will incite all classes, and especially the wealthy among us, to do according to the measure of their capability. We need for these new missions means that shall rise into the hundreds of thousands, and in order to attain to this height large sums must flow from the coffers of the rich." To this end the leading mission workers of the land, headed by the zealous and indefatigable Warneck, call for subscriptions to be paid in installments. The editors of various religious journals are also ready to receive and announce any sums that may be sent them, and they are all enthusiastic in passing on the glad echo of "Money for missions!" The German nation is aroused in this cause as never before.

THE KULTURKAMPF seems to be about settled between Prussia and Poland at least. At the request of the pontiff the belligerent and obstinate Ledochowski has resigned his seat, and given place to a more facile occupant in the person of the first ecclesiastic of Königsberg, who enters on his duties with the consent of the State and the Church. It is certainly a great concession on the part of the Vatican that a German is allowed to occupy the principal ecclesiastical seat in Posen.

This is also a great victory for Bismarck against the Polish Propaganda, which has been a most incongruous mixture of politics, nationality, and religion. It seems to be the result of the direct negotiations between the Chancellor and the Pope, which began with the arbitration concerning the Caroline Islands. Bismarck now openly announces that he is done with the Party of the Center in the Imperial Parliament, which has been more active in political than in religious aims.

The reputation of Dr. Dinder is that of a discreet and experienced man, who possesses the capacity of holding his own wisely in difficult situations.

He possesses also the added advantage of a perfect control of the Polish tongue, so that he can confer equally well with both parties and nationalities. As chief pastor of the Catholics of Königsberg, he has naturally had to battle through all the *Kulturkampf*, and he seems to have done this with zeal for his own cause and moderation for his opponents. When the Old Catholics succeeded in obtaining the parochial church for their special use, he changed his own home, at a great sacrifice, into a church of refuge.

This nomination fills up the last of the long-vacant bishoprics of Prussia, and allows the principal questions to become the order of the day. And this is the work of the hour in this class of legislation. Many of the stern laws formed in the earlier part of this conflict were adopted partly as military necessities, and the nation and the legislators are alike willing to mitigate and modify them. The Prussian embassador at the Vatican seems to have found a *modus vivendi*, and is now in Berlin as guide and counselor in the process of altering the laws with a view to making them acceptable to both Church and State. There is evidently a will to affect this purpose on both sides, and therefore most probably a way will be found. The Catholic party in the Parliament will find its occupation gone in case of a solution and settlement of the vexed question, and it is consequently in no great haste to make itself helpless and needless. It is sincerely to be desired that the new bishop will receive a welcome in Posen and a hearty support from his people. But, as it is the first time that a German priest has sat in this episcopal chair, the Poles consider it a decided triumph of the Bismarckian national policy, and with this phase of the matter they are not content. The leading Polish journals pay all deference to the lofty character of the new incumbent, but cannot conceal the fact that he is not their choice.

"The Jews Once and Now."—The literary Jews of Germany are entering the arena in defense of their race with the above device on their banner. A few years ago an association was formed in Dresden composed of the most influential men from the bosom of the synagogue. Believers in other faiths, and perhaps of no faith, were granted a place in the fraternity, but their public discussions concerned Jewish interests mainly. At a recent meeting of the body the rabbi of the Dresden synagogue delivered an address, followed by a remarkable effort from a popular lawyer and prominent member of the Jewish body of Dresden. The title of this stirring appeal was: "The Jews Once and Now."

In the opening of his lecture the speaker, who was followed with marked interest and attention, depicted the present era as one containing germs of promise for the development of Judaism, although beside them he acknowledged the existence of a somber spirit of antagonism, especially among the literary youth of the day. This outlawry he declared to be a violation of the German Constitution in the rights that it grants to the Jews; and he further asserted, that though his people have obstinately

clung to the past in many instances, they have by no means been an obstacle in the way of the historical development of the human race. Moreover it is unjust to maintain that they have not been an historical nation, for the Jewish faith, as that of the Christian, has a development to present. Both beliefs show corresponding parties, and meet closely in the representatives of the liberal tendencies of Christianity and Judaism which belong to Lessing and Goethe in their ideal of human love. Christianity finds its roots in Jewish history; but it is by no means the aim of Judaism to be absorbed and disappear in Christianity; it is rather its task to develop its ideal situation, and to remove its meaningless external forms in order thus to fulfill Lessing's famous parable of the three rings in his drama of "Nathan the Sage."

But to this theoretical, and in some respects visionary, discussion the speaker finally added some very practical and startling suggestions. He would remove the seat of the International Jewish Alliance from Paris to Berlin, because the political center of gravity is now found in the imperial German capital. In accordance with the spirit of the age, he would abandon many Jewish customs, such as the Jewish modes of slaughtering animals, circumcision, etc., as being now immaterial to the Jewish faith. He would crowd the Hebrew tongue out of the Israelitish service, and abolish the Jewish Sabbath and peculiar festivals for the common Sunday of the Christian world, believing that this proceeding would hasten the period when Jews and Christians would sit together in brotherly love. This remarkable address was received with applause, even by officials of the synagogue.

THE RUSSIAN AUTOCRAT is just now using his iron hand upon the Germans of the Baltic Provinces. By imperial ukase the Lutheran schools of all grades, even the normal schools in Esthonia, Courland, and other provinces in Russia bordering on the Baltic, are suspended. This is a measure directed against the Germans who emigrated many years ago to these wastes under the condition that their tongue and religion were not to be changed, but were to remain unmolested. The endeavor now is, to stamp out both of these by indirect methods; for instance, in all the normal schools the instruction must be given mainly in the Russian tongue; this can only be done by Russians, as it is rare that the Germans learn the Russian well enough to make it a vehicle of teaching. The result therefore is, that the German teachers are in this way crowded out to make way for Russian teachers in German provinces.

In respect to the higher schools, an ordinance was recently issued that all the most important branches of study must be imparted by teachers who have taken their courses in the colleges and lyceums of St. Petersburg or other government schools, where Russian alone is the vehicle of instruction. This ministerial dictum has a double signification. Without directly saying so, it is intended again to crowd out of the corps of teachers the great mass of the profession who cannot lecture in the Russian tongue; and then it is most directly aimed at the young students of the

Baltic provinces who are not Russians, and cannot become so by a mere course of study. The most of these take their University studies in the Institution of Dorpat, which by special privilege is allowed to teach in the German idiom. There was no need of Russifying the higher institutions, because in Riga, Reval, and Mitau there are German as well as Russian gymnasia.

In addition to this attack on the educational interests, come also those now against the Protestant religion. Another imperial ukase orders the expropriation of private property for the erection of "orthodox churches," that is, of the Russo-Greek faith. This process of violence is also granted where land is needed for burying-grounds, parsonages, and schools. The owners are paid for their property, but by a Russian commission, and for the purposes of the Russian faith. From the same source we learn that a yearly subsidy of 100,000 rubles has been granted to the Baltic provinces for the support and propagation of so-called "orthodoxy." Fifteen new churches are contemplated, and some are already in the course of construction. Another ukase ordains that measures are to be taken for the support of four new dioceses, whose demands for said support began on the first of January last. A Russian official organ also announces that active measures are now being taken for the introduction of a general judicial reform This means that soon all the courts, as well as the laws, are to be virtually Russian.

"DOWN WITH THE SECTS" is the war-cry in certain parts of Germany, especially in Saxony. In some of the towns the government has stepped in to assist the State Church to stop their propaganda. But all of these measures are of no avail, the agitation still goes on, especially among the Methodists, who have lately consecrated a new church in Zwickau. Here, when forbidden to gather in the children whose attendance was compulsory in the State Church schools, they tried the experiment of collecting those who do not go to the public schools, which has been successful. According to the sensational accounts of the local papers, the Baptists are acting just as badly. Their center of agitation is in Planitz, and their leader there is a potter. A reporter gives a stenographic account of some inflammatory speeches held by working-men in a Baptist prayer-meeting. He adds that one cannot deny the good intentions of these people, but he thinks that their appeals are mere rant.

And still these ranters seem to find hearers and adherents in increasing numbers. The National Church has recently issued an address to its followers, trying to warm their enthusiasm by allusions to Luther and the national consciousness. This document acknowledges the existence of great abuses and imperfections, but counsels its followers to remain in the bosom of the mother Church and reform it. To quote some of its sentences: "As one will not abandon his family or his country because there may be imperfections in them, so one should not leave the mother Church in its extremity, but rather cling the more closely to it and endeavor to cure its evils." This humble talk is of quite recent date; the

"Church" first threw stones, but is now throwing grass. We opine that in many instances it is now too late. Luther himself, were he now alive, would doubtless scourge many of his cold and listless followers, and tell the Sects to come on!

THE DANES have been troubled for some years with an experiment in primary schools that has brought to them no good. The Bible has been excluded from them, and they have gradually been made nurseries of impiety and the various *isms* of demagogues. This character has been given to them by the influence of a popular leader who has had more success in invoking a spirit of unrest than in teaching truth or science. The better class of the community is now rising against them, and the Minister of Public Instruction has at last felt impelled to come out in bold opposition to them by advising a halt in the downward course, and the introduction of the Bible and religious teaching.

The Danish Bible Society is ready to co-operate in this movement by increasing its activity in the line of Bible distribution. A commission has also been formed for the revision of the New Testament, of which several sections are already finished. This energy is now all the more necessary because the British Bible Society, which has distributed a large number of Bibles in Sweden and Denmark, now feels like lessening its work and compelling thus a development of home energy in the cause.

According to the last report of the above society it distributed in 1885 about 11,700 Bibles, as well as 16,900 psalters and sections of the Bible, and this mainly through the energy of commissioned colporteurs. The entire distribution of Bibles by the British Society during the last thirteen years amounts to nearly 100,000, and it is judged that 200,000 more are needed.

The rapid growth of Copenhagen in the last generation increases the necessity for more churches, and some well-known personages are now interested in a public call for this cause, with a view to rouse up the lethargy of the Christian people both in city and country, and to turn it into activity for this purpose. Two new churches have just been begun, and another is being started. At least nine in all are wanted.

THE EVANGELIZATION OF FRANCE is proceeding apace in its various phases. One hundred and fifty, more or less, of pastors, evangelists, or teachers are actively engaged in the employ of the Central Evangelization Society. Through the preaching of the Gospel they have formed some three hundred and fifty societies, that will eventually, it is supposed, become component parts of the Church. The Protestant Reformed Churches are making great efforts to win back what was lost to them or robbed from them by the infamous Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, for before and after that act of violence not less than 3,000 chapels and 2,000 churches were destroyed. After the great revolution in 1802, when the Reformed Church was again organized, only 115 congregations received a constitution or charter of rights. To-day, that body has 600 congregations in

France, and 150 smaller churches, while in the entire land there are about 1,200 Protestant pastors.

In other lines of the evangelical life of France the report of last year is quite instructive. Under the care of a Lutheran pastor there is a Refuge for apprentices, working-men, and even students, at very moderate prices, where they may have good, wholesome food and the advantages of a Christian family life. The House of Deaconesses, which acts as a sort of training school for the order, has just made its ninth annual report. The work is prospering, although it has to contend with financial embarrassments.

Of the fourteen sisters now in the house, seven are ordained and seven are still novitiates. They find their sphere of labor mainly in the Lutheran parishes of the city, where they operate under the direct control of the pastor of each parish.

The work naturally partakes of a German character, and finds its chief usefulness among the German population. In the Mother-house some thirty sick persons were cared for during the year. About 700 patients were treated or advised without pay, and medicines were also distributed gratuitously. In the famous plebeian suburb of Montmartre there is an Orphanage founded by a Lutheran pastor, under the care of two deaconesses.

THE GIANT CONGREGATIONS of the great cities of Germany are being unveiled in some of the religious journals of the land, showing a good deal of rottenness in the machine which they appear to be; for instance: A country pastor lately interviewed a city brother in relation to the inner workings of his parish, and as they were friends in youth, both parties conversed without guile or constraint. "How many souls in your parish?" said the rural brother. "Eighty thousand," was the reply. "And in yours?" "Eight hundred." "How many baptisms last Sunday?" to him of the city. Reply, "Thirty." "And you?" "Three."

In the course of the conversation it appeared that the city pastor performed all his baptisms *en masse* at the church, while the country pastor went to the house of his parishioners and made a family festival of it with all the relatives assembled, which is the normal way in Germany, thus exerting a greater measure of influence for pastor and Church.

The two friends now came to speak of the marriages; and while the one has about eight yearly the other has several hundred. The latter will often marry twenty or thirty couple at a time, going through the whole ceremony in a formal and ceremonious way, and dismissing the parties as would a city alderman. The former again has but one at a time, and makes of this an impressive occasion in keeping with the solemnity of the service, and here also leaving an impression of a religious character that will most likely be lasting and profitable. The whole matter means that these monster congregations are a crying abuse as religious organizations, and their work degenerates into a mere formalism, if not a sort of farce. Therefore the cry for reform in this mode of doing a religious work.

STATISTICS OF THE PRUSSIAN CHURCH.—The Prussian State Church is nothing if not statistical, and it is quite interesting to see how it sticks to figures. And, as it takes a long time to gather these in, we have just received those for 1884. In that year, then, 601 pulpits were supplied; a reduction of 15 from the year preceding. The entire number of appointments now reaches 6,600. Among these newly placed men 183 were licensed candidates, and 97 had been assistant pastors.

The number of theological students has been trebled within the last seven or eight years. In 1884, 293 candidates received the license to preach; an increase of 152 over the year 1880. The number of preaching points increased by 14, while the church edifices have increased 13. Of the whole number of children born in 1884, 93.77 per cent. were baptized in the Protestant State Church; the remaining 6.23 per cent. either remained without baptism or entered other Churches. The marriages of pure Protestant couples or of mixed faith, 91.05.

The percentage of baptisms decreased, while on the contrary the marriages showed an increase over the preceding year. Among the large cities, Königsberg, Stettin, Magdeburg, and Berlin fell below the general percentage. The greatest falling off was in marriages; doubtless because many were satisfied with the civil ceremony alone. Among the unpleasant things in the report is, that eleven Protestants went over to Judaism.

THE Churches have taken up the tramp question in Germany, and are making a great deal of progress in what they call "Working Colonies." The third general meeting of the leaders of this work was recently held in Berlin, and the discussions were very gratifying and instructive. Dr. Bodelschwingh is the chief of the system and enterprise, and seems to be almost divinely appointed for the work. The governments help him to found colonies where tramps can be put to work, and whose whole object is to reclaim rather than to support them. Every thing like actual or professional begging is discountenanced, and the men are raised up to an independent manhood where possible, and then discharged. A gallery of portraits of the tramps showing how they looked when they were received and then when discharged added to the interest of the meeting. Of course many cases are failures; but when these men will not work in the Colony they are arrested and made to work in the Houses of Correction if they go back to their begging. The tramp question has certainly never been more wisely handled than by these associations, and they deserve success.

THE COLONY OF ARTUF IN PALESTINE is mainly an effort to found a refuge and a school for converted Jews, aided by a goodly number of Christians. The idea is to reintroduce systematic and scientific agriculture into the land with a view to regenerate it, and if possible to draw to it a Jewish population under Christian influences. It has been loudly decried by the Jews as a failure, but this is not true. A mistake was made in receiving too many, and also in taking incongruous elements. These latter, perceiving the error, have largely withdrawn because they were not willing

to engage in agricultural labor; but those who remain have the better opportunity to carry on their experiment. The settlement now contains 30 inhabitants, of whom 11 are men, 7 women, and 12 children. These are now in a better condition as regards their homes, and in better relations with one another, and are looking with decided confidence to the future. What is now most wanted is aid from the Christian world. The triumph of the Jews would be great were Artuf abandoned.

THE SWISS EVANGELICAL SOCIETY OF ZURICH, in its last annual report in regard to the various spheres of home mission work, shows a great deal of activity. The large loan library was greatly increased, and 30,000 larger and smaller publications were issued, besides 40,000 tracts. A gratuitous reading club gave to about 2,000 families an opportunity to enjoy Christian publications, and on Sunday a large number of boys were collected in the association rooms for instruction. A "Refuge" for traveling workmen sheltered, in the course of the year, no less than 11,000 of this class, some for a meal and others for a night. With this is connected a hospital, which is a welcome asylum for many poor working-men. The city missionaries have been very active, preaching and teaching in public and private, there being some twenty mission stations for Sunday work. The Benevolent Society assisted many poor people in various ways; while the Society for Sabbath Observance established Sunday lectures on various religious subjects. This central association has rural branches which greatly increase the sphere for doing good, and they also report gratifying success.

THE LONDON CATHOLIC DIRECTORY for 1886 gives very full statistics of the Roman Catholic Church in Great Britain. The "Church" has 1,575 churches, chapels, and stations. In this enumeration are not counted the private chapels in certain large households; of these there are eleven. In 1885 the number of priests increased from 2,522 to 2,576. During the year 91 priests were consecrated, 56 in the Secular Clergy and 35 in the Orders. Among these latter we note the Jesuits, Benedictines, Franciscans, Oblates, Redemptionists, and Marists. In the hierarchy there are 23 bishops and archbishops. In England and Wales there are 14 bishops, 1 archbishop, and 2 suffragans. In Scotland there are 2 archbishops, with 4 suffragans. The archiepiscopal diocese of Westminster contains 359 priests, of whom 100 belong to the Orders. The leading diocese, after that of London, is Liverpool, where there are 323 priests, 103 of whom belong to the Orders. In the line of schools there are 37 colleges, and 101 cloister schools. In the archiepiscopal diocese of Westminster there were in 1885 in the elementary schools 20,111 children. The British realm contains 14 archbishops, 87 bishoprics, 35 vicariates, and 10 apostolic prefectures.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE SOURCES OF MISSIONARY CONTRIBUTIONS.—Most Missionary Societies have, it is to be presumed, settled for themselves the question what are certain and what uncertain sources of financial income. Our own society looks chiefly to the churches for its regular income, and believes that in the individual contributions of members of the congregations it has its surest promise of support. The income by legacies must always be of uncertain amount. For example, the receipts from this source for the year ending October 31, 1884, were not quite $50,000. Last year they were $101,901, more than twice the amount credited to any previous year excepting 1883, when the figures were $78,091, and 1876, when they were $51,338. In 1872 there was only $10,364; in 1873 only $15,817, while in 1874 there was a jump to $47,603. Of the $6,500,000 (round numbers) received by the society in the past ten years, only about one dollar in twelve, or $518,570, has come from legacies, and a much smaller amount from "sundries." Our chief reliance is, and must be, on the intelligent liberality of the people; on the gifts—small individually, but large in the aggregate—of the masses. Nor must our dependence be on the wealthy few. Probably it would be found, if any analysis of our Church collections were possible, that the wealthy give a smaller amount proportionately than most of us suspect. However this may be, it is certain that, as the masses of our communicants, men and women in the middle and lower stations of life, are educated in the history and results of missions, in their duty toward the heathen and neglected populations in our own country and abroad, and in the obligation which their membership in Christ's kingdom imposes on their individual liberality—as this training process advances, so will the income of our Missionary Society. We cannot depend on legacies or "sundries," or the contributions of the wealthy; but we can trust the enlightened Christian conscience for the needful support and extension which our missions require from year to year.

We propose no discussion of this important matter in these pages, which are devoted rather to missionary news than to editorial comment; we simply desire to call attention to these surface facts, concerning our own and other American societies, in order that our readers may the better appreciate what we propose to introduce from a very intelligent article in the May number of the "Church Missionary Intelligencer." This monthly, we may say, without intending to be invidious or to disparage other periodicals of the class, is easily the ablest missionary monthly in existence. Its articles on missionary methods, on missionary history, on difficulties of administration, and on various other vital questions in missionary enterprise are not excelled in breadth of view, general candor, or intelligent comprehension. It represents the Church Missionary Society, which, as many of our readers are aware, is an expression of the missionary spirit of the Evangelicals of the Church of England. Its operations

are, perhaps, more widely extended than those of any other society, and it leads all other societies in the amount of its annual income. In 1878 its income touched and passed the million-dollar line, the actual receipts for that year being $1,120,540, all for foreign missions. It had approached the million-dollar line in 1874, 1876, and 1877. So far as we know it has not dropped below that line since it reached it. In the last five years the amounts have not varied largely. In 1881 the income was $1.037,540; in 1882, $1,105,680; in 1883, $1,126,155; in 1884, $1,162,-240; in 1885, $1,157,705. The income for the present year will be, it is announced, fully as large as last year, notwithstanding the agricultural depression. How is it possible to make the income of one of several missionary societies of one Church so large, and to maintain it so uniformly? We cannot now explain the home methods of the society; we can only say that the home field is thoroughly mapped out and covered by a series of branch associations, and it is from these agencies, which are managed with great skill, that the bulk of the contributions is received.

The article to which we wish to call attention, and from which we will cull some interesting facts and conclusions, is called "The Titled and the Wealthy: their Contributions to Foreign Missions." It is the first article in the May "Intelligencer." Its author is the Rev. H. Percy Grubb. Mr. Grubb says, it is generally well known that the means for the support of missions is furnished chiefly by the middle and lower classes of society; but this impression is a good deal weakened by the comments of the press on a society so rich that it can spend a million dollars yearly on its missionary enterprises, and by the mention from time to time of legacies or benefactions. He owns that he has been curious enough as to the sources of this income to analyze at great cost of labor the annual financial reports, with a view not only to satisfy his own mind on the subject, but to put the society in a position to plan intelligently for an extension of missionary zeal. He finds first, that the number of titled persons, excluding bishops, judges, privy councilors, and knights, with their wives, is not under 7,000. He then goes through the detailed reports of the society and extracts the contributions of all titled persons, including knights and their wives, and presents the result in a table. The table gives the items by counties under two heads: 1st, annual subscriptions, number and amounts; 2d, occasional benefactions, number and amounts. The result shows that 362 titled persons gave $5,325 in annual subscriptions, and $1,225 in benefactions. These are beggarly amounts, indeed. Of course they do not include the gifts to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, which raises about half the amount yearly of the Church Missionary Society; but the latter is the great foreign missionary society of the Church, and that it should have so small a support from the titled class is, as Mr. Grubb remarks, painful evidence of coldness where there should be warmth; of indifference where there should be enthusiasm. There is in the amount subscribed a uniformity which indicates that the subscriptions given are not an expression of interest in the cause, but simply a conventional matter. In Middlesex

County the average of fifty subscriptions is less than $10, in Kent the average of twenty-one is $10 50, and there are plenty of $5 subscriptions in the list, no fewer than one hundred and seventy-nine being for this amount, while thirty-nine are for only $2 50. Only one reaches $500; the next highest but one being $125. Among the noble contributors were two dukes, one duchess, fifteen earls, fourteen countesses, six marquises, two marchionesses, four viscounts, and twenty lords. The dukes gave about $43 each, the duchess gave $16, the earls an average of $80, the countesses not quite $10, the marquises $13, the marchionesses $80, the viscounts $7 50, the lords $20. There were besides one hundred and thirty-three titled ladies who gave less than $10, eighty-three honorables who gave the same sum, and eighty-two baronets and knights whose average was about $15. Mr. Grubb's tables show that four titled persons subscribe over one fifth of the total of $5,325; and when he remembers how many millions and tens of millions of income these titled persons represent, he is constrained to admit that small as he expected to find their contributions he was not prepared to find them so utterly insignificant. "One thousand pounds a year, the contribution by the nobility of England to the Church Missionary Society, the largest and most important of missionary societies! what a trifle it is!" What an ignoble gift for the "foremost and richest nobility in the world to the foremost cause in the world!"

This sum, compared with sums received from other sources of the society's income, is very small, indeed, as Mr. Grubb proceeds to show. Missionary boxes, which are held by the poorer classes of missionary supporters, and filled, not by begging so much as by personal self-denial, produce twenty times as much as the three hundred and sixty-two dukes, lords, and ladies, or $100,000. The Sunday-schools alone produce five times as much. Mr. Grubb shows how a small parish of only three hundred and six poor persons raised year before last $590 for the society by various methods. The parish of St. Margaret's, Brighton, gave more than the nobility, and there were only four subscriptions of $50 and upward, the largest being $150. But do not the nobility contribute in other ways, through the offertory, for example? Mr. Grubb thinks not. He seems determined to make them ashamed of themselves. He says:

> We are not aware that missionary offertories, taken as a whole throughout the country, are increased in any very marked degree by the gifts of titled and wealthy persons. We do not say that in individual congregations the presence of the rich does not materially affect the offertory; but we say, that taking the missionary offertories throughout the country as a whole, our own experience and our study of the Report do not lead us to conclude that the sums which the wealthy contribute to the offertories, bear any larger proportion to the offertories as a whole than do the sums which they are noted as contributing to the subscription lists bear to the total sums mentioned in these lists. There are, besides, two, perhaps three, classes of offertories to which the wealthy contribute but small sums, if at all, namely, those at the afternoon and evening Sunday services, and at missionary meetings, which they rarely attend. Further, the sum received in the alms-dish from a wealthy person seldom exceeds the customary sovereign; and if we may state our own conviction, an induction drawn from, if not a large, yet not a small, area of observation, it is this, that in a considerable number, if not in a majority,

of country parishes, even in those where titled and wealthy persons reside, the missionary offertory is indebted for a large proportion of its gold to the clergyman and his family.

Mr. Grubb here drops the nobility with the observation that the royal family is not represented at all in the society's lists, and enters into an analysis of the other contributions to the society, affirming that the larger sums are given, not by poor persons, perhaps, but by those who have to make considerable effort in the way of self-denial in order to do so. His tables show that of the $674,095 received through associations no more than $46,700 came in subscriptions of $50 and upward. These tables have more than ordinary interest, and those interested in missionary resources would do well to study them. We can only find further space at present for Mr. Grubb's conclusion, that what is true of the titled classes is true also of the wealthy. The society receives only a "fractional support from the moneyed classes." The bulk of the income is from the hundreds of thousands of village children and poor persons, the pennies and shillings of those in humble life. Mr. Grubb leaves the question with an earnest discussion as to why the titled and wealthy classes do so little, comparatively, for foreign missions.

THE FOREIGN MISSIONS OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH, SOUTH.—There has been not a little discussion, recently, concerning the plan of administration of the missions of the Church South, and it was expected that the General Conference which met in Richmond early in May would earnestly consider whether new methods were desirable and practicable. These pages are necessarily prepared before the Conference has fairly got beyond the preliminary stage, so that the course it will take is entirely unknown. Dr. Garland, president of the Board of Missions, started the discussion in the press, by suggesting certain changes which were needed, in his judgment, in order to greater efficiency in administration. There has been a marked improvement of organization in the past eight years—especially in the last quadrennium. The business methods, as we learn from the "Advocate of Missions," the monthly organ of the Board, have been vastly improved, and, certainly, the contributions have increased to a most gratifying extent. The income in 1882 was $103,000; in 1883, $160,000; in 1884, $177,000; in 1885, $186,000; and in 1886 $230,000, all for foreign missions. The fact that the income of the Board was more than doubled in four years indicates better methods and better administration. The missionaries in the field are anxious that the system of superintendency should be changed. They say that they are practically disfranchised under the present system of superintendency, and made voiceless in the plans of the Church. They have no vote in the home Conferences to which they belong, and no voice in the management of the missions in which they are laboring. The missions of the Board are in China, Brazil, Mexico, on the Mexican border, and among the Indians and Germans. In these fields 46 ordained missionaries are employed—10 in China, 5 in Brazil, 7 in Central Mexico, 11 on the Mexican border,

10 among the Indians, and 8 among the Germans. It is estimated that about $100,000 was raised this year for domestic missions. A new mission has just been opened in Japan.

THE OPENING IN SIAM.—It is, perhaps, not generally known that Siam, of which the Western world hears so little, is one of the open doors now presented to missionary enterprise. It is an obscure kingdom, but it is an important one, and ought to be occupied by a large force of missionaries. Only one missionary, an American Baptist, is engaged in this field besides the representatives of the American Presbyterian Board. The doors of the kingdom are wide open. Both king and people are not only not hostile, they are friendly to Christianity, and missionaries can go every-where and teach and preach the Gospel. The king has actually helped the Presbyterian missionaries by donations. The people, who were afraid a few years ago to receive any literature from the missionaries, are now eager to get books and tracts, and besiege the missionaries for them. The number of inquirers is steadily increasing. The doctrines of Buddhism are losing their hold on the people, and the time is ripe for Christianity. The Presbyterians have but two stations, one at Bangkok and the other at Petchaburi. The number of communicants is 328.

MISSIONARY WORK IN FORMOSA.—There are few fields in Asia more successful than Formosa has been, though at the beginning it was very unpromising. The English and Canadian Presbyterians have supported a mission in Formosa for some years, and one of the Canadian missionaries, Mr. Mackay, has led a most heroic life among the Formosans, marrying a native woman and giving himself to his work in much the same spirit as William Taylor has given himself to Africa. For years the people were hostile and the missionaries not only suffered much persecution, but were often in danger of being killed by furious mobs. Christianity, however, has so far won its way against their prejudices that many have renounced idolatry and become earnest Christians, living an exemplary life, and seeking to propagate Christianity among their heathen countrymen. The Rev. W. Campbell, in a letter to the London "Presbyterian Messenger," gives an interesting account of how an obscure village received the truths of the Gospel at the hands of native Christians. Mr. Campbell recently made a tour of the country of Ka-gi, which is on the western side of Formosa, nearly in the middle of the island. In the country where there used to be much opposition there are now six Christian congregations. Gu-ta-oan is a large village, twelve miles from Ka-gi city. It was not until six months ago that the missionaries learned that there were any who even knew of Christianity in Gu-ta-oan. When the first intimation was received that Christianity had been introduced in the town three students were sent from Taiwanfoo to make inquiries. These students saw enough to convince them that the people sincerely desired to know the truths of the Gospel, about thirty of them having renounced all connection with idolatry, and being daily engaged in the study of the New

Testament and hymn-book. Mr. Campbell and his companion received a warm welcome from these native Christians of Gu-ta-oan, who left their fields to receive the visitors and provide refreshment and suitable lodging for them, "and took every way," writes Mr. Campbell, "of showing their joy and thankfulness at our presence among them." "They also," he continues, "conducted me to a neighboring village, where five or six entire families had ceased the worship of idols, and were now under such Christian instruction as could be obtained." In the evening a general meeting was held, many outsiders being present, and listening most respectfully. Of the meeting Mr. Campbell says:

> The apartment in which we met proving rather confined, a large table was placed on the open ground outside, and, standing upon this, we preached alternately till we were thoroughly tired. More than a hundred people gathered round. It was clear, full moon, and I have seldom spoken under circumstances more encouraging and impressive. After much interesting conversation that same evening, one brother offered a site, while about twenty others engaged to put up a suitable place of worship at their own expense. It was agreed that a building with bamboo frame-work would be quite sufficient to meet present requirements.

The origin of this interesting movement is thus described:

> So far as I could learn, it appears that the beginning of the movement in Gu-ta-oan dates much further back than the present year. They told me that about three years ago, during the time of a bad harvest, a number of the villagers were scattered abroad in search of employment; that two of them found their way to the Christian village of Giam-cheng, where Deacon Tsu-ong became acquainted with them, procuring occupation for them, and from the very commencement speaking to them of obtaining salvation through the mercy of God. To one of these men he presented a copy of the small hymn-book used at our meetings; and some weeks after, this man returned able to read some of the hymns, and is now warmly interested in the invitation to become a worshiper of the true and living God. About this time also a Gu-ta-oan man went to the city of Ka-gi to take up his residence there, and for the first time listened to some remarks from a Church adherent on the need and the preciousness of Christ's salvation. Then our Ka-gi elder Se-keng went down and spent a Sabbath at Gu-ta-oan, finding a little company of brethren awaiting him, who, considering their opportunities, had acquired an amount of Christian knowledge that was most creditable to them. Before I left on Saturday morning they requested that Ang-khe should be allowed to remain with them for eight or ten days to see after the building of the chapel, and to have reading-classes with them every evening after worship. To this I readily assented, parting from them soon after with something of the feelings of one who had found a vein of silver. I have no doubt that a number of the fine, promising lads at Gu-ta-oan will yet be able to give a good account of themselves. Several of the grown-up people are already speaking of sending their sons down to the middle school in Taiwanfoo.

The movement embraces whole families. The people seem to be very much in earnest, and important results are expected.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

Irish political and economic questions are forced upon the attention of Americans whether they will or no. The large Irish element in our population, the presence in almost every comfortable city or town home of one or more servants of Irish birth, compels an interest which is immediately next to our own political concerns. Such an article as that in the "Nineteenth Century" for March, on "The Economic Value of Ireland to Great Britain," will have many American readers. Robert Giffen writes in a very calm and thoughtful manner of the economic questions created by the poverty of Ireland, as well as of the economic methods which have created that poverty. This writer shows, that with every decade the disproportion of the population of the rest of the United Kingdom to that of Ireland increases. A new people is grown in Great Britain equal to the whole of the disaffected part of Ireland at the present time every ten years. Down to the year 1845, from the beginning of the century, the people of Ireland were about half those of Great Britain, and about a third of the whole population of the United Kingdom. The population of the disaffected parts of Ireland was also nearly three fourths of the whole of that country, and consequently about a fourth of that of the United Kingdom. The change from such proportions is about that of one seventh for the proportion of Ireland itself to the United Kingdom, and one twelfth for the proportion of the disaffected parts of Ireland. This writer shows also how Irish capital is only one twenty-fourth part of that of the United Kingdom. England trades with India annually to the extent of £66,000,000; with Australia to the extent of £55,000,000; with Ireland a trade of about £40,000,000. The author concludes that Great Britain has not much to lose in dissolving partnership with Ireland, while Ireland has a great deal to lose.

Professor Huxley returns to his attack upon the supernatural elements of theology in an anthropological study with the title, "The Evolution of Theology." His first sentence shows how limited his knowledge is of that which he attempts to study: "I conceive that the origin, the growth, the decline, and the fall of those speculations respecting the existence, the powers, and the disposition of beings analogous to men, but more or less devoid of corporeal qualities, which may be broadly included under the head of theology, are phenomena the study of which legitimately falls within the province of the anthropologist." There is no fault to be found with his claim that the anthropologist has a right to study these things; but so far as this statement defines what he means by theology, his conception of it is absurdly and totally inadequate. Professor Huxley plunges at once into the question of the authorship of the Pentateuch; assumes that there is little certainty to be attached to these utterances, as they are "an enumeration of documents which certainly belong to very different ages, but of the exact dates and authorship of any of which, except perhaps one or two of the prophetical writings,

there is no evidence either internal or external, so far as I can discover, of such a nature as to justify more than a confession of ignorance, or at most an approximate conclusion." Any man who in the presence of modern critical studies can make such a statement puts himself out of court at once, so far as he claims to be a scientific student of theology. Nevertheless, the article is readable, as is all Professor Huxley's work; conveys a vast amount of information from the ethnographic and biological standpoint; and is valuable as a stimulus to theological scholars who have learned to read Professor Huxley with less alarm than in years gone by.

A second paper on this same subject appears in the April number of the "Nineteenth Century," and is given the leading place. The basis of Professor Huxley is further illustrated in the second article by this statement: "In the present results of biblical criticism, however, I can discover no justification for the common assumption that between the time of Joshua and Rehoboam any thing was known either of the Deuteronomic or of the Levitical legislation, or that the theology of the Israelites, from the king who sat on the throne to the lowest of his subjects, was in any important respect different from that which might naturally be expected from their previous history and the conditions of their existence. I see no reason to doubt that, like the rest of the world, the Israelites passed through a period of mere ghost worship, and had advanced through ancestry worship and fetichism and totemism to the theological level at which we find them in the books of Judges and Samuel." There is a very great difference between seeing no reason to doubt and seeing much reason to believe. When Professor Huxley is engaged in a strictly scientific inquiry he ostensibly believes nothing for which he does not have evidence; but when he makes a theological excursion he will believe nothing to be theologically true on any evidence whatever.

Those who oppose woman suffrage will find in this number a well-written paper by the Hon. Mrs. Chapman, which closes with the following sentence: "My earnest hope is, that the political franchise will not be given to any woman. To give it may be progress, but there is progress in a wrong direction."

R. H. Hutton has in this number a study of Cardinal Newman which, in literary quality, strikes us as one of the best things in recent literature. He is no more than just to Cardinal Newman when he states, that "his unique position consists in this, that while most of those for whom certain ideas have a great fascination have used them rather for the purpose of superseding revelation, and not explaining, or trying to explain, how we might have obtained all the advantages of faith without faith, Newman has steadily used these scientific ideas in subordination to that master-key of all our being which he has found in revelation. Instead of being diverted from the study of natural law by his profound devotion to things spiritual, that devotion seems to have quickened tenfold his keenness of thought for the natural history of man's mind, which he always rightly regards as the very basis upon which all supernatural teaching is necessarily founded and superinduced." But the author is in error in sup-

posing that Newman was almost the first to look at natural science through the spiritual atmosphere. Any one who is familiar with those theologians of the seventeenth century whose teachings have been epitomized by Principal Tulloch will see that Newman was indebted for his spirit to more than one theological ancestor.

We very much fear that many of our theological writers make too much of the silence of Scripture on some points. No great while since, we heard a very interesting sermon the key-note of which was, the silence of the Lord with regard to certain subjects. The good preacher attempted to show that this silence was voluntary, and determined upon after weighty thought. But the rationalist teachers whom he antagonized could have showed him that the probable reason why the Master did not speak upon such subjects was, that the subjects themselves were scarcely known to any one of his time, and that he himself, as a peasant of Judea, had had no opportunity, speaking of his humanity alone, to gather those experiences and knowledges which were necessary to their discussion. The "Presbyterian Review" for April opens with a very readable paper by Professor Herrick Johnson on "The Silence of Scripture a Proof of its Divine Origin." The article smacks much more of the pulpit and lecture room than of the review. We feel that the value of silence is held much too strongly in some pages of this paper. Dr. Johnson makes account of the silence of the Scripture with regard to the date of the birth of Christ —the month of the year; its silence with regard to the infancy and early life of Jesus; and with regard to his personal appearance. He holds that the silence of Scripture is almost as remarkable concerning Mary, the mother of Jesus, as concerning Jesus himself; and enlarges in the usual way upon the omission, namely, that it was intended to anticipate the dangers of Mariolatry. What Dr. Johnson has to say concerning the silence of the Scriptures as to Mary seems to us to be weak in two directions. This silence could be accounted for by the general position of women in that land and in that day, when they formed but little part of society, and especially had little importance religiously. It is very remarkable that Dr. Johnson should use the following sentence: "Not a single word of affectionate mention appears in all the record as coming either from Jesus or from disinterested biographers telling the story of his life;" but failed to consider that other, "When Jesus therefore saw his mother, and the disciple standing by whom he loved, he saith unto his mother, Woman, behold thy son! Then saith he to the disciple, Behold thy mother! And from that hour that disciple took her unto his own." We attach more importance to the Bible's silence as to scientific fact. The fourth instance of silence relates to the reserve of Scripture concerning the future or the unseen world. To our mind, the argument as stated by Dr. Johnson cuts both ways. There is as much force in the silence of Scripture against certain things being true of the future life, as there is strength for the argument for a future life in the broad statements which exist and in the absence of detail. It would seem that the faith of many might have been increased if there had been larger and,

using the word in the best sense, more rational detail. This article would be more effective if it were less rhetorical.

The Rev. Donald Fraser, D.D., has a study of "The Salvation Army," which is not very enthusiastic and is yet kindly. In this paper the following interesting statement is made: "To the followers of Wesley it was always something of a puzzle that Calvinists should hold their own in a revival of religion. . . . They have recognized in Mr. Moody some Methodist ways, but not Mr. Wesley's theology. During all these years no Methodist preacher emerged from the Old Connection or the New who could attract and impress the general community." This power of attraction he finds in William Booth, who, in 1861, broke away from Methodist appointments where he labored in the New Connection, and began to work independently among the poor at the east end of London with the assistance of his wife, a woman of considerable mental power as well as spiritual fervor. A very interesting sketch of the rise of the Salvation Army is given, and from this sketch it appears that Mr. Booth is physically and mentally of the clearly recognized evangelistic type. Dr. Fraser has come to believe that the half kindly, half-scornful toleration which the Salvation Army commands for itself in Great Britain is quite likely to be more injurious to its progress than any amount of angry opposition. As a Scotchman, he shows great acumen when he says, "We imagine that the American people have enough of home-born religious vagaries without importing new specimens from across the ocean." There is much food for reflection in his closing sentences: "We cannot but deem self-restraint needful to preserve spiritual fervor from degenerating into frenzy and rant. Surely the more we are with God the more grave we should be in handling his word and work, and the sense of his nearness should calm and chasten us. What has the godly man to do with hysterical feebleness, martial vaporing, or clamorous incoherence?"

The May number of the "Princeton Review" has a very interesting paper on Wordsworth by Titus Munson Cone. It is not very pleasant to find that the author of so many beautiful sentiments was little thought of or little esteemed by his neighbors, the verdict of one of these being, "Mr. Wordsworth was hard upon poor people. He was close in money matters. He used to tell strangers 'We have no poor people here.'" He does not seem to have been remembered with affection by any of his poor neighbors. The verdict is a just one, that Wordsworth's love of man was a purely literary and imaginative passion. He was like many other enthusiasts for humanity who labor for the amelioration of mankind with their noses in the air. That this verdict is not too harsh is shown by the introductory lines to Michael, where he speaks of

> "Shepherds, dwellers in the valleys, men
> Whom I already loved; not verily
> For their own sakes, but for the fields and woods,
> Where was their occupation and abode."

So Mr. Wordsworth loves men for the valleys and not valleys for the men.

George Bancroft defends with much force, in his paper on the "Seventh Petition," the old version as against the new, believing that it ought to be "deliver us from evil," rather than "deliver us from the evil one," as in the Revised. Charles Loring Brace is evidently continuing his theological studies, as he has here a good paper upon "Egyptian Monotheism," in which he traces Monotheism as discoverable in that literature of Egypt which antedates the breakdown into Polytheism. General Howard, whose experience fits him particularly to write intelligently of the Freedmen, shows how they behaved themselves during the war, and gives some very interesting facts as to the great burden thrown upon the military forces and upon the benevolent energies of the South by the emancipation of the blacks and the advance of the Union armies. F. N. Zabriskie, in his essay upon "The Novel of Our Times," accounts for the fact that so many English critics have pronounced Whitman's poetry to be the voice in the wilderness "which foreruns the coming of the true American muse." "The usual fallacy, especially among our English cousins, is in the *a priori* theory that an American literature must be something abnormal—some monstrosity akin to our California pumpkin or our Florida alligators."

The "Forum," which leaped at once into fame and strength, continues to possess in its April and May numbers the strength which it had in its initial issue. We have often had occasion to compliment the editor of the North American upon the timeliness of the contributions which he secures. That compliment must be given in even larger measure to the editor of the "Forum." In the April number David Dudley Field, a veteran who by no means lags superfluous on the field, discusses the relation of the Children and the State, and advances some truths as to the right of the State to protect itself from the evils of immoral homes and of the criminal education of the children. With these rights of the State we have long sympathized, and we believe this subject will command larger attention in the future. Even as the State has the right, under the threatenings of a pestilence, to protect itself by taking the sanitation of a home into its own hands, so the State, considered as the summary of power and executive force for the welfare of the community, has a right to take from immoral and degraded parents the children whose lives are to become by the force of their criminal education a poisonous ferment in the life of the community.

Andrew Carnegie, who is about the best mixture of the business man and of the author in our American life, gives "An Employer's View of the Labor Question." This is one of the best papers which have been called forth by the excitements of the time. We strongly commend it to the attention of all who are interested in the discussion of these labor problems. There are several sentences so judicious and important as to deserve to be quoted: "I would lay it down as a maxim that there is no excuse for a strike or a lock-out until arbitration of differences has been offered by one party and refused by the other." "One great source of trouble arises from the fact that the immense establishments are not

managed by their owners, but by salaried officers who cannot possibly have any permanent interest in the welfare of the working-men. These officials are chiefly anxious to present a satisfactory balance-sheet at the end of the year." He holds that the greatest cause of friction between capital and labor in the largest establishments at the present time is, that the men are not paid at any time the compensation proper to that time. All this means that workmen's wages fall six months after a rise of prices, and sometimes decline six months after a fall. Mr. Carnegie's principle is, that wages should be based upon a sliding scale in proportion to the net prices received for product month by month. This principle is already here and there in successful operation.

Professor Noah K. Davis has a bright paper on "The Negro in the South." There are many excellent suggestions in this paper, though its tone is strictly Caucasian. It is written from the Southern stand-point, but is full of kind words and has some epigrammatic wit, as when, in speaking of the half-dozen colleges established here and there to enlighten the mass of 5,000,000 blacks, he says: "Poor Sambo! he asks for bread and you build him a college; he asks for a fish and you send him a professor."

The final paper in this number is by Rev. David Swing on "The Ideal Church," which he defines to be one "in which piety shall outrank doctrine, the words of Christ outrank all the words of the law-giver, in which the spirit of Christ shall be the proof of the presence of a Christian, in which the variety of thought, interpretation, belief, shall be forgotten by hearts full of toleration, full of friendship; which shall make a brotherhood out of sentiment, character, duty, rather than out of doctrines and definitions." All of which is very pretty; but will Dr. Swing tell us how you can have a duty without a definition. The May number is not equal to the April number, but there are valuable points in President Barnard's paper on "How I was Educated," Rev. John W. Chadwick's on "Cremation," and in Moncure D. Conway's on "Contemporary Supernaturalism."

The April "Andover Review" is not, in its contributed articles, up to the level of the May number, though attention may be well directed to Dr. W. W. Adams's second paper on the "Spiritual Problem of the Manufacturing Towns" in the April number, and to the editorial in the May number, entitled "Is the Orthodox Pulpit Orthodox?" A very thoughtful article deserving study is that by the Rev. R. Alger in the "Unitarian Review" for May. Not often has the theme of the calamities of men and the providence of God been more effectively presented. It is very interesting to us to observe the effect of Mr. Cable's articles on Southern questions on the writers who come from below Mason and Dixon's line. If one were to determine Mr. Cable's importance by the amount of attention which is paid him, one would feel that he had already achieved the dignity of a national force. In the April number of the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South," the Hon. I. E. Schumate describes Mr. Cable as a novelist out of his element. The spirit of this paper is

quite different from that from the pen of the Rev. Dr. C. G. Andrews on the Education of the Colored Race.

While the external appearance of the "Universalist Quarterly" is singularly like that of some of the English reviews, we are sometimes forced to feel that its spirit needs to be more thoroughly assimilated to that of the best reviews. We are forced to this reflection in reading the review of Dr. Shedd's work on the doctrine of endless punishment, which does not seem to us to be worthy of the place in which it is found.

The most notable feature in the April number of the "African Methodist Episcopal Church Review" is a paper on the "Ordination of Women" by Bishop Campbell, which strongly favors the ordination of women as deacons, at least.

The "New Englander and Yale Review" gives the leading place to an article by Leonard W. Bacon on John Brown, in which the author declares "that there was absolutely nothing that the state of Virginia could do but find the majestic old hero to be guilty or insane. No government can suffer an invasion of its territory to go unpunished, even when it is undertaken with a permit from Mr. Sanborn." Considering that this statement appears in the New Englander it may be said to be remarkable.

The "North American" attempts to utilize the revived interest in the history of the war. In its May issue the leading place is given to General Beauregard, who writes on the defense of Charleston. This is followed singularly enough by a paper from the pen of Frederick Douglass on "The Future of the Colored Race." The no-name essay relates to the Senate as "our House of Lords." The paper is sharply critical of the present constitution and the undue influence of the Senate. Grand Master Powderly's paper on "Strikes and Arbitration" will increase the public respect for that well-meaning but as yet ineffective head.

There are two papers in the April number of the "American Catholic Quarterly Review" which deserve attention from non-Roman readers. These relate to "God and Agnosticism," by Condè B. Pallen, Ph.D., and "The Church and Cremation," by Bishop Corcoran.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times: Their Diversity and Unity in Life and Doctrine. By GOTTHARD VICTOR LECHLER, D.D., Professor of Theology in Leipsic. Third Edition, Thoroughly Revised and Re-written. Translated by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. Two Volumes. 12mo, pp. 366, 390. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

FOR more than thirty years the name of Lechler has been known to those who have kept themselves informed respecting the controversies carried on among the Protestant scholars of continental Europe touching theological and biblical subjects, as an able defender of the orthodox side of some of the questions mooted. The treatise now in hand is his chief work. It has been a growth rather than a creation, having first appeared as a prize essay as early as 1850. It was reproduced in regular book form in 1856, and again as described by its title in 1885. From this last and greatly enlarged edition the translation indicated above has been made.

The work is specifically historical, but also incidentally exegetical, and necessarily somewhat controversial, in opposition to the too hasty and one-sided assumptions of Baur and the whole Tübingen school. It is naturally distributed into two divisions—"Books"—devoted severally to the *Apostolic* and the *Post-apostolic* periods, the former making about three fourths of the whole. It treats first of the religious life of the early Church, and then of its doctrines, as delivered by the apostles and written down in the New Testament, and rendered practically effective in the lives of the believers. The beginnings at Jerusalem come first in order, and then the appearance of the Gentile element at Antioch and elsewhere, and out of these come the Jewish-Christian school of St. James, and a little later the Gentile-Christian school of St. Paul, which for a time seemed to be somewhat out of harmony, but evidently only as to incidental details. The extinction of the Church at Jerusalem and the dispersion of its members ended the conflict, and left the Pauline element in the ascendency in all parts westward from Palestine. The disharmony between the doctrinal tendencies of the Jewish and the Gentile Churches, of which the Tübingen school of writers make so much, is shown to have been chiefly in respect to matters of no real importance, while in all that pertains to the substance of doctrine there is substantial unity. It is also shown that the doctrinal unity of the apostolic Churches was always subordinate to, and the result of, the unity of the Spirit in the Christian life and experience of the believers.

In tracing the progress of religious thought in the Church under the immediate teaching of the apostles, the author finds the materials for a system of theological doctrines, clear, forceful, and admirably adapted to the felt wants of the individual and of society. The work is therefore especially valuable as a development of Christian doctrine drawn from the highest and purest sources.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers. Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. The Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition, Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes, by A. CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Volume IV. Tertullian (Part Fourth), Minucius Felix, Commodian, Origen (Parts First and Second). Pp. 696. Volume V. Hippolytus, Cyprian, Caius, Novatian, Appendix. Pp. 699. Volume VI. Gregory Thaumaturgus, Dionysius the Great, Julius Africanus, Anatolius and Minor Writers, Methodius, Arnobius. Pp. 571. Imperial octavo. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Company. 1886.

The above transcript of the common and special titles gives a fair and pretty full and accurate account of the contents of the several volumes indicated. The first portion of Volume IV is the closing "Part" (the fourth) of Tertullian, which, like the other portions of the works of the same Father, is deserving of special attention. So, too, the writings of Origen, begun in this volume and continued in the next, are worthy of the careful study of all who would become personally conversant with the Christian thought of a very considerable school in the early Church. The fifth volume is devoted to "the formation of Latin Christianity in the school of North Africa," of the literature of which the works here represented are the chief authorities. It was by these authors that the doctrines of the Nicene Fathers were developed and formulated, so that in them we have the evidences of the growth of the doctrinal system which has ever since dominated Western Christianity. Volume VI is more fragmentary in its composition, yet it is so methodized as to make up an harmonious unity, presenting a view of the Church at the close of the period of the great persecutions, and of its condition just before the conversion of Constantine, and the consequent nominal Christianization of the Empire, and the dawn of the era of Athanasius, and the eve of the first great catholic Council at Nicæa. These volumes very favorably sustain the character of the series, as expressed by their predecessors. We may accordingly emphasize the recommendation before made to all who would study Church history and the history of the development of "Catholic Orthodoxy," to possess and read these books, and not to be content to know what they contain at second-hand.

Current Discussions in Theology. By the Professors of Chicago Theological Seminary. Vol. III. 12mo, pp. 359. Chicago: Fleming H. Revell.

Following up their action of two and three years past (see "Methodist Review" of July, 1884,) the professors of Chicago Theological Seminary issue a third volume, made up of discussions of subjects especially current among biblical and theological students and religious teachers generally. Professor (of Old Testament Exegesis) Samuel Ives Curtiss discusses at considerable length "Textual Studies," "Lexicographical and Grammatical Studies," "Exegetical Studies," "Introductory and Historical Studies," "Subsidiary Helps," and "The Revision." That these are able, acute, and broadly learned is assured by the author's reputation; while his liberalism allows him to indulge in speculation, and to make suggestions rather freely. Professor J. T. Hyde discusses Exegetical Theology, in respect to the

New Testament, devoting a chapter each to "New Testament Introduction," "The Text," "Interpretation," and "History." Professor H. M. Scott gives his attention to Church History, the "Fathers," the "Mediæval Church," and the "Reformation and Post-Reformation Church." Professor George N. Boardman reviews with great care and learnedly Dr. H. B. Smith's "System of Christian Theology;" and also discusses the doctrine of Atonement and of Christian Ethics; Professor F. W. Fisk treats of "Homiletics," and Professor G. B. Willcox of "Pastoral Theology." In these several divisions of the work nearly every chief point of theology is brought under notice, sometimes incisively, but more commonly only as indicating facts that show the drift of the religious thinking of the age. As a survey of the progress of theological discussion during the past year, it is at once definite and comprehensive, and an admirable presentation of the movement of the minds of the evangelical Churches.

First Healing and Then Service, and other Sermons. Preached in 1885. By C. H. SPURGEON, of London. 12mo, pp. 416. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

Mr. Spurgeon is certainly a prolific author. He preaches to the thousands that gather in his "Tabernacle," and then his discourses are printed and afterward read by untold thousands all over the English-speaking world. It is not necessary that one should accept all the details of his doctrines in order to detect and appreciate the rich flavor of the Gospel that distinguishes them. The present volume is the tenth annual number of the series. The publishers have done their part of the work in a commendable style.

A Harmony of the Four Gospels in English, according to the Common Version. Newly Arranged, with Explanatory Notes. By EDWARD ROBINSON, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Biblical Researches," etc. Revised Edition, with Foot-Notes from the Revised Version of 1881, and Additional Notes by M. B. RIDDLE, D.D. 8vo, pp. 205. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. $1 50.

Dr. Robinson's "Harmony of the New Testament," both in Greek and English, has been accepted as a standard. This new edition of the English has undergone a thorough revision by an altogether competent hand, in which it has been somewhat amended and enriched. It will prove an acceptable directory to any who may wish to study the Gospel narrative in the order of its events.

Eventful Nights in Bible History. By ALFRED LEE, Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Delaware. 12mo, pp. 423. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Human ingenuity seems to have achieved some of its most marvelous results in finding out lines of study in biblical matters. In this case we have thirty-two studies or meditations, each founded on some historical event or parable, the scene of each of which is laid in the night-time, the first being the giving of the promise to Abraham, and the last the apocalyptical announcement, "No Night There." It is a good book for quiet reading.

The Treasury of David: Containing an Original Exposition of the Book of Psalms: A Collection of Illustrative Extracts from the Whole Range of Literature: A Series of Homiletic Hints upon almost every Verse, and Lists of Writers upon Each Psalm. By C. H. SPURGEON. Vol. VII, Psalms CXXV to CL. 8vo, pp. 475. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This is the concluding volume of a remarkable series, covering the whole book of the Psalms. The design of the work is maintained with great steadiness, and the quality of the performance has improved rather than deteriorated as it has advanced. The whole production is unique in its purpose and method, partly a commentary, partly a series of illustrations, and partly an aid to the right practical uses of the Psalms for religious instruction. Of course, the nominal author has not himself done all this work, though evidently his spirit pervades and animates every part of it, and it is a good spirit. The work is well suited to the wants of the devout Christian reader, a wholesome companion for the closet, and as a help for the pulpit it will prove especially useful in its suggestions of just such thoughts as will minister consolation to those who may be hungering and thirsting after righteousness.

Commentary on the Gospel of John. With an Historical and Critical Introduction. By F. GODET, Doctor in Theology and Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel. Vol. I. Translated from the Third French Edition, with a Preface, Introductory Suggestions, and Additional Notes, by TIMOTHY DWIGHT, Professor of Sacred Literature in Yale College. 8vo, pp. 559. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Godet's Commentaries have been before the public for more than twenty years, and their character has become well known, and their great value is universally appreciated. The third edition, prepared by the author in three volumes, was completed last year—the whole work having been thoroughly rewritten—and from that edition the present translation was made. The author evidently found his heart drawn into close sympathy with the work in hand, and of the many valuable commentaries on this gospel very few seem to have entered so fully into the spirit of the sacred original. The work is, therefore, to be prized quite as much for its spiritual instructions as for its critical and exegetical learning. The prefatory and introductory matter will be found very helpful to all who may wish to really study the work, and not simply read the comments. The appended "Additional Notes," thirty-one in number, and occupying forty-seven pages, are among the most available portions of the whole book. This volume extends over only the first five chapters of the gospel.

Praise Songs of Israel. A New Rendering of the Book of Psalms (New and Revised Edition). By JOHN DE WITT, D.D., of the Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.; a Member of the American Old Testament Revision Company. 8vo, pp. 219. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

This is a second edition of a work which we noticed with decided commendations when first published. The revisions found in the present edition are drawn chiefly from the Revised Old Testament. It is altogether an elegant and valuable production.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Evolution of To-day. A Summary of the Theory of Evolution as Held by Scientists at the Present Time, and an Account of the Progress Made by the Discussions and Investigations of a Quarter of a Century. By H. W. CONN, Ph.D., Instructor of Biology at Wesleyan University. 12mo, pp. 342. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The multitude of books written and published treating of the subject of evolution, in some one or other of its aspects, is marvelous, but because the subject is still an open one each new-comer is pretty sure of attention. As, however, the subject is no longer a new one, any new work, in order to command attention beyond a first glance, must make some real contribution to the discussion, which the work named at the head of these notes attempts to do, not so much by original contributions as by setting in order a summary of the inception, progress, and present status of the whole subject of evolution. It is, therefore, much more a book for the general reader than for the student seeking for original information.

The writer is a new-comer into the arena of the "battle of the books," and he very modestly proposes only to report what others have said or written, and to make out a summary of the case as it stands, though in all such cases the story varies [very much] with the telling.

He appears to be a young man, who has gone pretty thoroughly through the literature of the subject, not simply as a reader, but as a student, and while he evidently endeavors to state every point with judicial fairness, it is manifest that he has his own convictions on all that he declares, which give their coloring to his utterances. As an instructor in an institution owned by and administered in the interest of an orthodox Church, it might be suspected that he would be inclined to one side rather than the other of some of the burning questions that have risen up about this discussion; but it will be found on reading the book that he has not been much, if at all, trammeled by his position and its surroundings. Possibly in avoiding any undue favor toward the "orthodox side" he leans somewhat in the opposite direction. He recognizes the fact that there has seemed to be the possibility of a conflict between evolution and theology in their deliverances on a variety of subjects; this, however, is quietly waved aside, by assuming that evolution has nothing to do with theology, which will not be affected in either direction by the establishment or the overthrow of the theory of evolution—which position may be true or otherwise according to the contents of that theory.

The controversy that has prevailed about this subject has been complicated and intensified by the loose manner in which the term evolution has been employed. No rational person, of even the most limited knowledge of the growth of living things, is unaware of the fact that a form of evolution is the law of life; and only a little observation will lead to the conclusion that it is a universal law. But since there are other laws affecting living things which condition the operations of that law, the true scientist is chiefly concerned to find out not so much its reality as its

extent and its limitations. This is recognized by our author when he declares that "Darwinism itself [under which term he includes all evolution] explains nothing; it simply claims that the [supposed] survival of the fittest varieties would [were it universally operative] slowly give rise to new species." So defined and circumscribed, Darwinism appears as simply a law of growth; and since all the lines of demarkation between species are simply hypothetical, they may be readily passed over in the processes of natural selection. So apprehended, the law of evolution is as little hostile to supernaturalism as is that of gravitation, or of chemical affinities. With Spencer's concession that evolution "does not create, it only modifies," what could be less antagonistic to Christian Theism? The only further questions to be considered, relate to the point of departure from which the forces of nature have developed all living forms that are or have been, and whether or not there are distinct types of beings so separated that one cannot by any possibility pass into another. Respecting the former the theologian has no concern, for he only claims that however the world may be, it is still the work of God. But to the latter he requires an affirmative answer. The discussions of our author relate chiefly to these two questions, which he illustrates with an abundance of details, and it must be conceded that his conclusions, though couched in judicial terms, usually lean to the side of the anti-theologians.

It is freely granted that no theory of biological activity has been propounded that is not, though fortified by an array of facts, also apparently contradicted by other facts, and in every case there are vast ranges of possible evidence that have not been explored. The actual observations of living things, as compared with the whole range of nature, are very limited in extent, and also very superficial. The external aspects, whether of plants or animals, are not reliable as indications of what their descent may have been; and no rational definition can be given of the word "species," except as grounded in an unprovable hypothesis. The records of geology, the world's history written on tables of stone, though covering longer ranges of time and wider varieties of objects than the world of life, are still very incomplete, and often apparently contradictory. The science of embryology attempts to find the history of each animal's ancestry in its processes of prenatal development; and while its discoveries are curious and intensely interesting, they as yet teach quite too little, with any reliable certainty, to lay even the basis of a system of scientific inductions. *Not proven* may be predicated of many, even the most plausible, of the hypotheses by which our learned scientists have sought to explain the phenomena of living things. All this Mr. Conn makes very clear in his statements, but with the ready credence that strangely enough characterizes nearly all of his class, his disposition to believe much more than is proved is manifest; and even when the meagerness of the proofs is conceded, the reality of the hypothesis is still held up as plausible for its beauty, or to be accepted because the learned scientists think well of it.

The application of the theory of evolution to the "Descent of Man" is

that about which the liveliest interest is felt. Here our author's attempted judicial fairness is especially conspicuous; but his success in his endeavors is much less obvious, for in nearly every case the leaning of his statements and conclusions is in opposition to any possible Christian theory of the subject. Setting out with the manifest fact that man in his physical organism is of the same great family with other animals, and not very far removed from some of them, the inference is readily made that he, like them, has come to his present state by a process of evolution. As to his animal nature this may or may not be; and however that may be, it is a matter of very little interest in respect to his spiritual and religious character and destiny. But the quiet assumption, without attempting any proof, that man's distinctive characteristics, reason, taste, and conscience, are only modifications of the animal instincts, so held—we are told, by nearly all of the best scientific writers—appears rather too large a draft upon our "liberality." It is granted that the chasm between the highest forms of bestial instincts and the lowest of human rationality is immense, but not wider than that between a Newton and a Hottentot, and perhaps, presumably, the chasm will be bridged, and the continuity of the scale of being established. But all that depends upon still another important consideration. If the properties of the rational nature are different in *kind* from those of the non-rational instincts, it is conceded that the latter could not be developed into the former. But here the advantage of the doubt is given to the possibilities of the irrational instincts. In all that has, even in the faintest degree, been shown by scientific research, there is no proof that inorganic matter ever originated life in any form; nor that a vegetable ever developed into an animal; nor that merely psychological instincts ever passed over into the distinctive properties of rational beings. To assume that such may be the case, and then to build up a theory of nature upon such an utterly baseless hypothesis, seems to be the net result of the whole theory of evolution as held and taught by the non-theistic Scientists of the present age. "Darwinism," as it is assumed to be by its special adherents and advocates, is a travesty of the genuine philosophy of evolution.

Such an outcome to such an inquiry, carrying with it, as it must, all that is involved in the conflict between theistical faith and soulless naturalism, cannot but be altogether unsatisfactory to any who are not prepared to surrender all confidence in a supernatural religion at the behest of a baseless hypothesis.

Our reading of this book has reminded us anew of what we long ago learned, that beyond almost any others, students of the natural sciences are unfitted by their mental habits for formulating any proper conceptions of spiritual things. Our Scientists are no doubt learned men in their own specialties; but so circumscribed is their field of vision in comparison with the realms beyond nature, that they become narrow-minded, and incapable of higher forms of thinking. And because of their intensity of thought, they also become dogmatic, and intolerant of all beyond their own limited horizon. It may be hoped, however, that the writer whose

work we are noticing has not yet become irrecoverably engulfed in that maelstrom.

As a literary production the volume in hand speaks well for the author's mastery of the literature of his subject, and also for his facility in writing and in book-making. But the substance and outcome of his discussions seem strangely out of harmony with the ostensible design and the name of the institution in which he is an instructor. Perhaps, however, all this must be accepted as the outcome of a process of evolution, a practical demonstration of the "survival of the fittest."

Nature and the Bible. Lectures on the Mosaic History of the Creation in its Relations to Natural Science. By DR. FR. H. REUSCH, Professor of Catholic Theology in the University of Bonn. Revised and Corrected by the Author. Translated from the Fourth Edition by KATHLEEN LYTTLETON. Two vols., 8vo, pp. 461, 372. Edinburgh: T. T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

In these volumes we have an exhaustive re-examination, from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic theology, of the various questions that grow out of the relations of the science of nature to the lessons of revelation. The author's position compels him to write controversially, and to give his work something of the character of a plea. The scientists—whose assumed facts and arguments he antagonizes, or at least seeks to set in more correct relations than they have occupied—have announced conclusions, professedly established by adequate inductions, which invalidate some things that it has been assumed are clearly stated in the Bible. These conclusions are by this author called in question, both generally and in detail, and by an immense array of counter proofs it is shown that they are not sustained by any such clear evidence as can be accepted as sufficient for a determination of the cases in hand. At many of the most important points in the discussion it is clearly shown that *not proven* must be the verdict of every unbiased judge. Hypotheses, for which only a very few facts can be shown in proof, are accepted by skeptical scientists as well-sustained theories, and then employed to interpret all related facts into a forced harmony with their requirements.

The important questions respecting the extent of biblical teaching in the domain of natural science receive, at the outset, proper attention, and it is shown that much that science has demonstrated, and which it has been assumed contradicts the teachings of the Bible, is either in harmony with it or else it relates to matters in respect to which the Bible gives no utterance by which any scientific position can be inferred. By confining the two books, Nature and the Bible, each to its proper sphere, nearly all of their apparent contradictions are made to disappear, and that method would have saved the Church from the false position in which it stood in the case of Galileo. The Mosaic history of the creation, our author assumes, is intended to serve the purposes not of science, but of theology, and references to the former are used in it only as needed for the clearer statement of the latter. The apparent difficulties about the six days of creation may be, he insists, obviated by the help of any one of four desig-

nated theories. So the facts and theories of geology, so far as they have been made out, which is much less than is sometimes claimed, present no insuperable, nor indeed formidable, difficulties. Geology is certainly a highly respectable witness in any case where it has reached definite conclusions; but facts and not hypotheses must be heard from. Quite naturally this writer devotes a considerable share of attention to the subject of evolution. In a modified and properly guarded form, he favors that theory as the manifest method of biological activity. Even the notion of spontaneous generation is not necessarily atheistical, perhaps not antibiblical, and the theory of the development of species, as they now exist, from some one or several original "monerons," as some think is rendered probable by well-ascertained facts, is quite compatible with the biblical account of the creation, and yet even that beautiful theory, which one would like to believe, can be maintained only by refusing to listen to not a few very stubborn objections. It is quite certain that a process of development is in progress among all forms of living things; just how far back it begun and to what extent it may proceed are only subjects of speculation. As matters of fact, however, no proof has ever appeared that inorganic matter can originate life, or that ever a vegetable evolved animal functions, or that irrational psychology ever became rational mind. As to *species*, among living things, nobody can tell what the term means, and therefore all questions about their immutability are simply words without definite meanings, which can determine nothing. Respecting the questions of the unity and the antiquity of the human race, the theory of evolution is decidedly favorable to the usually accepted biblical doctrine of those subjects, which also the facts of natural science generally favor.

We have examined these lectures in connection with our recollections of the treatment of many of the same questions in the volume of Professor Conn, noticed above, and have been struck with their remarkable contrasts, the result, no doubt, of the diversity of the different mental attitudes of the two writers. In Dr. Reusch's eyes biblical statements, or even implications, and also traditional theological data, are strong factors in the solution of the questions at issue, while the findings of science are, by him, submitted in every case to severe re-examinations, and never accepted for more than they prove. Mr. Conn, on the contrary, estimates scientific evidence as of the chief value, nor does he display much care in distinguishing between facts and hypotheses. With him a few facts are sufficient for a very broad and sweeping induction, and having so set up his fiction it is very easy to reverse the process, and deductively force all other phenomena into the factitious category. And this method of argumentation is also manifestly intensified, in its operation in his case, by a prevalent predilection in favor of the findings of science, and a corresponding tendency to depreciate all forms of opposing evidence. While neither of these writers is to be accepted as entirely unprejudiced, the biblicist appears to be the less fatally disqualified than the scientist for rendering a just and probably correct judgment in the case.

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

Triumphant Democracy; or, Fifty Years' March of the Republic. By ANDREW CARNEGIE. 8vo, pp. 519. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The appearance of this volume, with the name of its author, suggests the thought of Vulcan, at Jupiter's symposium, contesting with Apollo and Hermes for their peculiar honors. Mr. Carnegie is best known through his connection with the iron trade, and more definitely with the Bessemer steel works, though this is not the first time that he has appeared in print. Though a Scotchman by birth, he writes like the wildest kind of Irishman. He is a great admirer of our country and its institutions—domestic, social, and political—and especially its financial capabilities and its material civilization. There is a quiet assumption all along that because there is every-where an increase over other places and times in the wealth and the physical well-being of all classes, nothing more could be desired; and any possible evils liable to result from the changed conditions of labor and the inseparable transformations of society appear not to be thought of. But these roseate views of the millennium of gold and silver, with the enthronement of the steam-engine, may suggest other thoughts to those who have come to believe that "man shall not live by bread alone." In company with this one may read to advantage Froude's "Oceana," with its philosophizing on the possible evils to society of concentrating the people in cities and manufacturing towns.

Massacres of the Mountains. A History of the Indian Wars of the Far West. By J. P. DUNN, Jr., M.S., LL.B. 8vo, pp. 784. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The "Indian Question" is many-sided, and all its sides are bad. One writer tells about "A Century of Shame," and finds a sympathetic response throughout the country. Another utters the aphorism that "the only good Indians are dead ones," and the sentiment is cheered to the echo by those best acquainted with the subject. Probably both parties are correct as to their facts, and that wrong-doings by both white men and Indians, in their mutual relations, pretty fairly balance each other. This book is, as to its matter, less a partisan plea than a record of facts; the history of Indian affairs in the Rocky Mountains since the acquisition of that region at the close of the Mexican war, with chapters devoted to Mormon wars and massacres. It is perhaps desirable that such history should be written, and Mr. Dunn has certainly done his work creditably. But it is not pleasant reading, and scarcely anywhere else does human character appear to less advantage than in these unvarnished statements of evident facts. The Indian problem was never apparently further from solution than it is to-day, except as the steady course of affairs indicates that it must issue in the not remote future in the utter extinction of the weaker race. Such may be the will of God, but if so that fact is no excuse for the cruelty and injustice of those who make themselves the executioners of his decrees.

Persia: The Land of the Imams A Narrative of Travel and Residence, 1871–1885. By JAMES BASSETT, Missionary of the Presbyterian Board. 12mo, pp. 342. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume, like many earlier ones, is an illustration of the indebtedness of the public to missionaries for the very best kind of information respecting some of the least-known parts of the earth. During his eleven years' residence in Persia as an American missionary, not including three years of absence, Mr. Bassett personally visited large portions of the Persian empire, its villages and open wastes, as well as its principal cities, and so saw the land and the people just as they are, of which he gives lively and evidently trustworthy accounts and descriptions. Though without the sensational element, the narrative is full of life and deeply interesting, though the people and the places are all wretched enough. Eleven of the sixteen chapters are made up of journeyings and residences, the other five are devoted to descriptions of the country and accounts of the government and people, and their political and religious institutions, their multitudinous tribes and races, each a nation of itself, with its own laws and usages, and especially its religion. Altogether the volume is a compact mass of information, at once interesting and substantially valuable.

Historical Lights: A Volume of Six Thousand Quotations from Standard Histories and Biographies, and Twenty Thousand Cross-References. With a General Index, and Index of Personal Names. Chiefly Facts and Incidents. Compiled by Rev. CHARLES E. LITTLE, Author of "Biblical Lights and Side Lights." 8vo, pp. 958. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The compiler of this work claims for it that it is "unique in design," which is true, not as to its purpose, but rather in respect to its methods and construction. It belongs to the numerous and widely various family of helps for public speakers in the form of extracts and quotable passages. These are chosen from a large number of the most reputable English and American authors, and most frequently from historical and biographical works. The selections indicate a wide range of reading, and they are made with good judgment, in respect to both their substance and form. First we have the subjects that are discussed or illustrated in the excerpted paragraphs, arranged in alphabetical order, and to each extract is appended the name of the author and the place in his works where it may be found. As reading matter they are good—not unlike what may be found in the miscellaneous department of a well-conducted family newspaper. For those who affect the use of this kind of helps in public address we know of nothing better.

Hand-Book of Bible Biography. By Rev. C. R. BARNES. A.B. 12mo, pp. 546. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

This is just what it professes to be, a hand-book, and, within its prescribed limits, it is a success. It gives, in alphabetical order, a list comprising the name of every person named in the Bible, with a brief indication of who or what was the person named. A very convenient reference book, especially for readers of the Old Testament.

The Student's Modern Europe. A History of Modern Europe, from the Capture of Constantinople by the Turks to the Treaty of Berlin, 1878. By RICHARD LODGE, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Brazenose College, Oxford. 12mo, pp. 772. New York: Harper & Brothers. Price, $1 25.

Harper's "Student's Series" of histories—ancient, mediæval, and modern—now numbering twenty volumes—constitute a library of historical reading of unequaled value in its specialty, that is, studies for the million. For such as may not wish for so much, a valuable and very available selection could be made, including Philip Smith's "Ancient History of the East," Dr. William Smith's "History of Greece," Liddell's "History of Rome," Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," Jervis's "History of France," Hume's "History of England," Hallam's "Middle Ages," "Old Testament History," and "New Testament History," both by Philip Smith; and Lewis's "History of Germany," making together a comprehensive library of first-class writings, and offered at a price that renders them generally available. This last of the series extends over a broad field, and of necessity its mode of treatment is brief and general.

Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant. In Two Volumes. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 647. New York: Charles L. Webster & Co.

The second volume of General Grant's Memoirs brings to a highly satisfactory conclusion the great work that was begun and well advanced in the first. The characteristics of the work as shown in the first volume, and indicated in our notice of it, continue to appear in this, as respects alike the man and the book. Of the former nothing further need be said; the latter is a marvelous production both as a literary work and as a specimen of book-making. The narrative is continued from the point already reached, namely, the surrender of Vicksburg, and proceeds, by way of Chattanooga, to Washington and northern Virginia, the campaign of the Wilderness, the surrender at Appomattox, the march to Washington, and end of the war.

A noticeable feature of the work is its free and easy estimates of the men with whom the writer was concerned, at once discriminating and kindly, in respect to their actions and motives, equally removed from adulation and censoriousness. The book is an invaluable contribution to the history of an important epoch in the nation's career, made by one who was amply qualified for the performance of such a work. As, under God, General Grant became the saviour of the Nation's life in the time of its peril, so in this work he rescues the honor of its Army and its Government from the possibility of future misrepresentations of their motives and actions.

Memoir of Mrs. Edward Livingston, with Letters Hitherto Unpublished. By LOUISE LIVINGSTON HUNT. 18mo, pp. 182. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A charming memoir—much less than a biography—of a woman of rare excellence. It will be chiefly valued by those whose relations to its gifted subject give to it special and personal interest, though it contains some things in which the public will be interested. It is unusually well written.

LITERATURE AND FICTION.

English Hymns: Their Authors and History. By SAMUEL WILLOUGHBY DUFFIELD, Author of "The Latin Hymn Writers and their Hymns," etc. 12mo, pp. 647. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The hymnody of the Protestant Churches is scarcely second in value to any other department of their literature, whether for precise statements of doctrine, or for effectiveness in creating and directing spiritual impulses. It is also well known that periods of special religious quickening have usually been attended with a wide-spread and lofty outburst of sacred lyrics, and these as they have come down to our times constitute a valuable portion of the Church's literary treasures. Quite naturally, not a few gifted ones have been drawn to the study of this department of religious thought whose appreciative discussions of hymns and hymn writers, and hymnology generally, have come to be an attractive element in our current religious literature. Much of this kind first appeared in the religious newspapers, and portions of such matter have been collected and issued in permanent volumes, of which the one named above is, as to both form and matter, among the very best.

The name of its author, Rev. Mr. Duffield (grandson of the well known and venerable Dr. Duffield of Detroit), is familiar to all who have followed the current discussions of the subject of hymnology in the periodicals of our times as one, and not the least, of the remarkable trio of contemporary hymnologists, of which Dr. Charles S. Robinson and Professor Bird of Lehigh University are the other members—and to these perhaps the name of our own Dr. Nutter should be added—who within the recent past have given such a favorable prominence to their chosen theme. It was certainly something to be desired that Mr. Duffield's essays, scattered among the periodicals, which have displayed such excellent appreciation and correct taste, should be put into a more permanent form, and in a thoroughly digested compilation. His "Latin Hymns and Hymn Writers" had demonstrated his fitness for the work undertaken by him, and also suggested the need of similar work in favor of English sacred verse; and whereas that work was for scholars and specialists, the required volume should be for the many. Accordingly his publishers tell us:

> It was for this reason that the Rev. Mr. Duffield was induced to extend his original plan of treating only the Latin hymns, and to give to English hymnology the benefit of the years of previous study which he had spent upon the sources of our spiritual songs. The volume embraces features of unusual advantage. The author has availed himself of every thing on the subject which was at the disposal of hymnologists, as well as of those less considered, but not less valuable, stores of incident and anecdote which occur in out-of-the-way places, such as biographies and periodicals devoted to other topics. From his extensive reading, and from his special opportunities as an original investigator of the ancient hymns, he has been able to supplement the previous information which has been current, as well as to add many illustrative incidents and suggestions.

In undertaking his task the author found himself embarrassed by the abundance of the materials at hand, of which he determined that he would use fifteen hundred hymns—just, and no more—and in making his

selections he appears to have been compelled in many cases to decide as arbitrarily as in the old-time theory of election and reprobation. His method of arrangement is that of the alphabet and first lines, beginning with Watts's "A broken heart, my God, my King," and ending with Dr. Muhlenberg's "Zion, the marvelous story be telling."

Respecting his matter and the methods employed, the author proposed to give, (1) A critical study of the best English hymns; (2) A series of biographical sketches and estimates of their authors; (3) Incidents and anecdotes respecting particular hymns; (4) Practical illustrations; (5) Literary studies in general hymnology; (6) Antique or foreign derivation of well known hymns; and last of all he gives us an extensive apparatus of alphabetical indexes. But the matters which make up these several divisions, except the last, are not separated into distinct parts, but are found scattered throughout the volume, as occasion was given, in connection with some particular hymn then under notice; and thus instead of formal discussions we have fragments and suggestions scattered through the book as nuggets or gems, whose value seems the greater by reason of the surprise caused by their unexpected discovery. The too hasty declarations of certain critics, whose lack of appreciation of things purely religious disqualify them to judge in the case, that there is very little real poetry in the whole range of the English hymnic anthology, is disproved by abundant illustrations; and the claim of this class of poetry to a place among the stores of classical literature is successfully asserted.

The spirit and temper of the author's criticisms are uniformly amiable and appreciative; "malice toward none" and "charity for all" are every-where his ruling maxims, and his comparisons all fall within the category of good, better, and best. This is especially manifest in his estimates of his chief hymn writers, of which we may give two or three illustrations:

> It was Charles Wesley who sang the doctrines of the Methodists into the hearts of believers, and his evangelical fervor is such that he made all Christendom his parish, in a grander sense even than his administrative brother John. Nothing that John has written reaches the height of "Jesus, Lover of my soul," or the beauty of "Love divine, all love excelling," or the dignity of "I know that my Redeemer lives," and yet these are only portions of the great choral in which his many-voiced genius bore a part.—Page 350.

The author's impartial breadth of appreciation, and his superiority to all bigotry of sect or class, are further illustrated by his estimate of Faber and his hymns:

> These hymns are so truly devotional in spirit, and so eminently appropriate to the religious use of all Christians, that they have been for a long time among the treasures of English hymnody. Editions have been issued from which all those that belong to the exclusive use of the Church of Rome have been (with the author's concurrence) eliminated, and in which the touching and exquisite lyrics which are so dear to all believers have been retained.—Page 507.

Among American hymn writers and compilers our author shows a decided partiality for Dr. Ray Palmer and C. S. Robinson, to the latter of whom this volume is dedicated with recognitions of help received, in the

forms of both example and inspiration, "whose *Laudes Domini* furnished a basis for the present work, and his advice and urgency have promoted its progress."

In his preface the author addresses his extensive audience, the great Christian public, with becoming modesty, and yet with equally appropriate assurance that his offering is not altogether undeserving of appreciation:

> I have the assurance to declare that the authorities which I have consulted, the authors who have given me their confirmation, the hymn books which pave my floor, and the hymnologies under which my desk groans, are inaccessible to the ordinary reader, and largely out of the reach of specialists. *I have been freely laying other people's rose-leaves in my wax, that I may burn a fragrant candle withal in the midst of the obscurity.*

MISCELLANEOUS.

Merriam and Company's new and thoroughly revised edition of Webster's Dictionary (Unabridged) is a prodigy of linguistic learning, and itself the best measure of the remarkable growth of the science of lexicography since the publication of Johnson's Dictionary in 1755. Its rivals have given it a severe chase, and each in turn seems about to go beyond it, but simultaneously with the advent of each new-comer a new edition of the "Unabridged" has taken an advanced position, either by improvement of its vocabulary, or else by the addition of some new feature in the form of an appendix. In this last edition we have a new "Pronouncing Gazetteer of the World," in which are given over 25,000 titles of places, in their proper orthography and local pronunciation, and a brief account of each, descriptive and historical, making over a hundred pages of new matter. Though some excellent contestants have appeared in this struggle for the preeminence, the oldest leader still holds the foremost place. We cheerfully accord it the preeminence in our sanctum.

Index to Harper's New Monthly Magazine. Alphabetical, Analytical, and Classified. Volumes I to LXX. Compiled by CHARLES A. DURFEE. 8vo, pp. 783. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1886.

A directory and gazetteer of a great city, giving the streets and squares and places, the name and occupation of each resident, and an account of all public and private institutions, would be a work analogous in purpose and scope to this "Index," which is also a marvel of study, learning, skill, and persistent industry. We personally saw and read the first number of that wonderful "Monthly," which was *new*, but can scarcely be so called with propriety after entering upon its seventy-first volume. With this index, that vast library of seventy great volumes, surcharged with immense stores of valuable reading matter, becomes again available.

The Work of the Holy Spirit. By JAMES S. CANDLISH, D.D. (Hand-books for Bible Classes Series.) 12mo, pp. 118. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Elaborate, spiritual, excellent.

German Psychology of To-Day. The Empirical School. By TH. RIBOT, Director of the Revue Philosophique. Translated from the Second French Edition by JAMES MARK BALDWIN, B.A., Late Fellow Princeton College. With a Preface by JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Lit.D. 12mo, pp. 307. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The psychology which this volume discusses is that of the soul, and not of the brains and nerves, and in this sense it is contradistinguished from the whole body of instincts which belong to merely irrational physical organisms. Its whole field lies within the realm of the metaphysical, or the non-physiological. The author proposes simply to summarize and report the *pro tempore* state of the science of mind, as distinguished from physical science, in living organisms, and to show somewhat historically, and more largely critically, its various aspects, its schools and authorities, as they have appeared during the present century. In doing this, however, his own opinions and preferences are plainly manifested, though not offensively obtruded. The work is well written, and exceptionally well translated, and for the very limited number who can read and appreciate such a work it may be very confidently and warmly commended.

The Railways and the Republic. By JAMES F. HUDSON. 12mo, pp. 489. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The title of this book suggests its character and design, which suggestion is emphasized by the heading of its first chapter, "The Problem of Railroad *Domination;*" and its whole drift is indicated by the opening sentence, "A new social power sometimes rises to immense proportions before its nature and effects are understood." It is throughout a note of warning—a trumpet-blast proclaiming the nation's perils, socially, politically, and financially, from the unscrupulous and grasping policy of the great railroad corporations of the country. The sources of the apprehended dangers are abundantly demonstrated, and the writer's call for cautionary and remedial legislation is justified by facts. The warning is timely, and should be heeded.

A Critical Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament. Prepared by CHARLES F. HUDSON, under the direction of HORACE L. HASTINGS, Editor of "The Christian." Revised and Completed by EZRA ABBOT, D.D., LL.D., Professor of New Testament Criticism and Interpretation in the Divinity School of Harvard University. Seventh Edition Revised. To which is added "Green's Greek and English Lexicon." Crown 8vo, pp. 742. Boston, Mass.: H. L. Hastings. London: S. Bagster & Sons. $2 50.

It is not necessary to say any thing in commendation of a work of such eminent and recognized excellency as is Hudson's "Greek and English Concordance of the New Testament," especially its later editions. For every student of the New Testament it is indispensable, serving both as a commentary and a labor-saving device, and compelling all who may use it to employ the best methods of study. To every young minister we would say, as was said to Peter, changing only one word, "And he that hath no copy, let him sell his garment and buy one."

Kant's Ethics. A Critical Exposition. By NOAH PORTER, President of Yale College. 16mo, pp. 249. Chicago: S. C. Grigg & Co. $1 25. — 2

"Grigg's Philosophical Classics" constitutes a unique and valuable library. First in the series came Kant's "Pure Reason," next Schelling's "Transcendental Idealism," after that came in order Fichte's "Science of Knowledge," and Hegel's "Æsthetics," and now we have Kant's "Ethics." These books are not translations, but condensed *resumés* of the discussions of their several authors. Dr. Porter's work, as will be supposed, is exceedingly well done, and the book will be of great service to the large class of persons who desire a general knowledge of the original with less expense of time and study than the mastery of the complete work would require.

The Choice of Books, and Other Literary Pieces. By FREDERIC HARRISON. 12mo, pp. 447. London and New York: Macmillan & Co.

However widely we may differ from Mr. Frederic Harrison's views on all matters that relate to questions of sociology and theology, we cannot be insensible to the keenness of his critical perceptions, and the discriminating correctness of his tastes. The little book here given to the public is a collection of essays, some never before published, and some with which many readers are already acquainted. They are much above the average of their class.

A Comprehensive History of Methodism. In One Volume. Embracing its Origin, Progress, and Present Spiritual, Educational, and Benevolent Status in all Lands. By JAMES PORTER, D.D., Author of "Compendium of Methodism," etc. 12mo, pp. 601. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

In some cases the comparative value of a book lies in the fact that it is less in bulk than some other, and by that rule Dr. Porter's "History of Methodism" may be adjudged among the best of its class. Other histories of the same subject, extending to several volumes, may outrank it as literary productions, but for the use of ordinary readers—nine tenths of those who read at all—the more concise work is no doubt preferable. The "Methodism" whose history is here given is first that of Great Britain, and then that of our own denomination, whose career, from the beginning to the present time, is faithfully recorded, with concise but intelligible accounts of its principal institutions. It is the book for the people.

Atla. A Story of the Lost Island. By Mrs. J. GREGORY SMITH, Author of "Dawn to Sunrise," etc. 16mo, pp. 284. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The fancied existence until nearly the date of the beginnings of Western history, of a vast peninsular region extending westward from Africa, and approaching the New World, which also was the seat of an advanced civilization, has formed the basis of a vast amount of intellectual romance. In that land of dreams and unsubstantial myths this "Story of the Lost Island" is located, with its unstinted wealth of fancied beauty and luxuriance. It is a beautiful thing, and will be read with delight.

Witnesses from the Dust; or, the Bible Illustrated from the Monuments. By Rev. J. N. FRADENBURGH, A.M., Ph.D. 12mo, pp. 461. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 60.

The writer of this volume has addicted himself to biblical archæology, and by his studies he has arrived at such a state of proficiency among his specialties that he has been honored with membership in "The American Oriental Society," and in "The Society of Biblical Archæology of London," etc. In this monograph he presents a single phase of his general subject, to wit, the evidential value of the ancient monuments—more especially those of Assyria and Egypt—in respect to the Old Testament records. Though written for general readers, the book contains not a little that even specialists may study to advantage; and by such it will be best appreciated.

Manual Training the Solution of Social and Industrial Problems. By CHARLES H. HAM. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 403. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The author of this work seems to have made its subject an earnest and continuous study, and to have reached very definite, perhaps also one-sided, conclusions. He is a thorough believer in the steam-engine and all it represents; to wit, skilled labor and material civilization based on wealth. These are his gods, and evidently he has faith in them, and he may be satisfied with the fact that he lives in an age and among a people who—as were the Ephesians in respect to Diana—are worshipers of his divinities; though there are still a few heretics who refuse to worship the golden image. There are grave reasons to doubt whether the "Social and Industrial Problem" can ever be satisfactorily solved in a community of artisans, though, apparently, England is making the experiment. The author has devoted very great labor to his book, and however we may dissent from his philosophy we must praise his performance.

In the Golden Days. By EDNA LYALL. 18mo, pp. 207. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A romance, aiming to "describe the gradual growth of a character," located in the England of two centuries ago, in which a number of well-known historical characters are pressed into service. It is a fairly well-written production.

THE CLERICAL LIBRARY.—*Platform and Pulpit Aids.* 12mo, pp. 286. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The unusual indefiniteness of the title of this volume is compensated for by the clearness of statement made in the brief "Preface," which says, "It contains speeches from the most eminent Christian orators of the present day and recent times, and selections of fresh, pithy, and sometimes humorous illustrations." The authors drawn upon are largely, but not exclusively, of the Church of England, with a very slight infusion of matter by American authors. The book is divided into five departments —Home-work, Foreign Missions, Bible Distribution, Temperance, and Miscellaneous. The selections are made with good judgment and taste.

Probation and Punishment. A Rational and Scriptural Exposition of the Doctrine of the Future Punishment of the Wicked, as Held by the Great Body of Christian Believers of all Ages, with Special Reference to the Unscriptural Doctrine of a Second Probation. By S. M. VERNON, D.D., Author of "History of Revelation," etc. 12mo, pp. 293. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. $1 25.

The purpose of this work appears to be simply to restate, in an order adapted to its present requirements, the much-debated question of the future possibilities of those who go out of this life without having secured the gift of eternal life. That the array of proofs in favor of the traditional beliefs is so ample that their conclusions would not be questioned except that they are not acceptable is very certain; and to doubt an argument for dogmatic reasons is not allowable. The method of discussion is calm, forcible, and dispassionate, and the whole spirit of the work such as the subject requires.

Forewarned—Forearmed. By J. THAIN DAVIDSON, D.D., Author of "Talks with Young Men," etc. 12mo pp. 286. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

Under the above indefinite and undescriptive title a preacher who had before won a good name by his "Talks with Young Men" here presents twenty decidedly good sermons, admonitory, instructive, and cautionary. They are decidedly readable, and wholesome in moral and spiritual tone.

Paths to Wealth. By JOHN D. KNOX. Printed for the Author. 12mo, pp. 538. Topeka, Kansas.

The title of this book fails to properly characterize it, unless the "wealth" to which it points out the "paths" is taken in the larger and better sense in which Scripture associates it with the honor that comes from God. It abounds with valuable lessons for the conduct of life, in which to achieve success for both worlds.

Moments on the Mount. A Series of Devotional Meditations. By Rev. GEORGE MATHESON, M.A., D.D., Minister of the Parish of Innellan. Second Edition. 12mo, pp. 280. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

This book is well described by its title. The "Meditations," each having a text of Scripture prefixed, number one hundred and eight, averaging a little over two pages. They answer very well to their professed design.

The Conflict Ended; or, Evil Forever Vanquished. By Rev. JOHN COOPER. Author of "Science and Spiritual Life," etc. 12mo, pp. 155. Edinburgh: Macniver & Wallace.

This is evidently the work of an independent and solitary thinker, with a good share of both erudition and mental acumen. The outcome of his speculations does not seem to be of very much value.

An Aramaic Method. A Class Book for the Study of the Elements of Aramaic. By CHARLES RUFUS BROWN. Part I, pp. 112, Paradigms. Part II, pp. 96. Elements of Grammar.

A convenient manual, answering to a confessed need.

East Angels. A Novel. By CONSTANCE FENNIMORE WOOLSON, Author of "Anne," etc. 16mo, pp. 591. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Barbara's Vagaries. By MARY LANGDON TIDBALL. 18mo, pp. 175. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Salkinson's Hebrew New Testament, an 18mo volume of 493 pages, 1885, beautifully printed, is a work of much interest, both as a literary curiosity and as a text-book in Hebrew. It is kept on sale in most of the chief cities of Europe, and may be obtained in this city of Rev. Jacob Freshman, pastor of the Hebrew Christian Church.

The Union of the Churches. By JOHN H. BRUNNER, D.D., Member of Holston Conference, Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Sold by the Author, Hiwassee College, East Tennessee. 12mo, pp. 360. New York: Phillips & Hunt. $1 25.

This book is a plea for the organic reunion of the two principal Methodisms, which having been one became two in 1844. It is partly historical, telling how the separation came about, and what have been the relations of the two bodies while standing apart, partly sentimental, with the beautiful idea of unity as the inspiration, and partly an estimate of economical considerations, in favor of a better use of men and money. We are not especially charmed with the notion of a coming together of elements which when united fell apart by reason of mutual antagonisms, incompatibilities of temper, which to this day exist, though less active than formerly. It is certainly "good and pleasant for brethren to dwell together in unity," and to secure that end a little *separateness* may be a desirable condition.

The Simplicity that is in Christ: Sermons to the Woodland Church, Philadelphia. By LEONARD WOOLSEY BACON. 12mo. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

These are live sermons; suggestive because full of thought, a little out of the usual method, as is the author, and for the same cause positive and assertive, for, though without offensive egotism, he is decidedly egoistic. We can heartily commend them to all readers of sermons.

The Two Books of Nature and Revelation Collated. By GEORGE D. ARMSTRONG, D.D., Pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Norfolk, Va. 12mo, pp. 213. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

A volume made up of six essays or studies, along the line of the relations of natural and revealed religion. The subjects are Nature and Revelation, Primeval Man, Evolution, the Mosaic Cosmogony, the Pentateuch, Providence and Prayer. The writer is of the ultra-conservative school, holding fast blindly to thoroughly disproved theories, by doing which a great injury is done to the truth of revealed religion. In another place we have noticed the narrowness of mind of many distinguished scientists; we regret to find a corresponding lack of breadth among the champions of religion.

Anger: Its Nature, Causes, and Cure. By Rev. W. H. POOLE, LL.D., of Detroit Conference, Michigan. 16mo, pp. 163. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

A discussion with a moral.

Two Arrows. A Story of Red and White. By WILLIAM O. STODDARD, Author of the "Talking Leaves," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 289. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Stories of the mountains; frontier rambles and hunting excursions, with whites and Indians, men and boys, squaws, dogs, and ponies.

George Eliot and Her Heroines. A Study. By ABBA GOOLD WOOLSON. 12mo, pp. 177. New York: Harper & Brothers.

No doubt George Eliot's works are pervaded by a deep and subtle philosophy, to detect and illustrate which is the purpose of this volume. The division of the matter is into George Eliot as a Literary Artist; Her Personality and Opinions; Studies of Woman's Character; Purposes of Her Plots; Is Real Life Responsible for the Failures she Portrays? Causes of her Despondent Tone; Her Standard of Ethics; Her Religion of Humanity; The Novelist of the Future. Each of these subjects is discussed with force and acumen, and while it is not necessary to accept all that may be claimed, it will pay to carefully consider what is said.

Joseph, the Prime-Minister. By Rev. WILLIAM M. TAYLOR, D.D., LL.D., Minister of the Broadway Tabernacle, New York City. 12mo, pp. 241. New York: Harper & Brothers. $1 50.

Dr. Taylor's previous volumes, each portraying the character and restating the history of some distinguished scriptural hero, has insured a welcome for this one, the seventh of the series. The story of Joseph is at once a domestic tale, an idyl, and a treatise on political economy; and best of all, it is the presentation of the highest personal excellences among the most trying conditions. All who have read the former volumes will expect much from this, and will not be disappointed.

The Logic of Introspection; or, Methods in Mental Science. By Rev. J. B. WENTWORTH, D.D. 12mo, pp. 447. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

An original and elaborate production. We shall review it at length in a future number.

The Camp at Surf Bluff. (Up-the-Ladder Club Series. Round Four, Vacation. 12mo, pp. 304. By EDWARD A. RAND.

The Man with the White Hat; or, The Story of an Unknown Mission. By C. R. PARSONS. 12mo, pp. 211. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Red-Letter Days. Anniversary Concerts and Entertainment Exercises. 12mo, pp. 91 (paper). New York: Phillips & Hunt.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—51. *Stories of Provence.* From the French of Alphonse Daudet. By S. L. LEE.—52. *'Twixt Love and Duty.* A Novel. By TIGHE HOPKINS.—53. *A Plea for the Constitution of the United States.* By GEORGE BANCROFT.—54. *Fortune's Wheel.* By A. INNES SHAND.—55. *Lord Beaconsfield's Correspondence with his Sister,* 1832–1852. — 56. *Mauleverer's Millions.* A Yorkshire Romance. By T. WEMYSS REID.—57. *What does History Teach?* Two Edinburgh Lectures. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE.—58. *The last of the MacAllisters.* By Mrs. AMELIA E. BARR. — 59. *Cavalry Life.* By J. S. WINTER.—60. *Movements of Religious Thought in Britain.* By JOHN TULLOCH, D.D., LL.D.—61. *Hurrish.* By the Hon. EMILY LAWLESS.—62. *Irish History for English Readers.* By WILLIAM STEPHENSON GREGG.—63. *Our Sensation Novel.* Edited by JUSTIN H. MCCARTHY, M.P.

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H. B. Skidmore

METHODIST REVIEW.

SEPTEMBER, 1886.

ARTICLE I.—WOMEN AND MISSIONS.

FEMALE DEGRADATION IN HEATHEN LANDS.

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The relation of marriage, which under the [illegible] of Christianity has been exalted almost to a sacrament, presents throughout the entire history of non-Christian peoples a lamentable record of violence and of sin. The Khonds of Jamaica and the present Thibetans of Asia furnish us with samples of peoples without a substitute for a form for marriage in the one case, or any judicial sanction of it in the other. The Hassaniyeh Arab recognizes a "three-night" marriage—of legal obligation only three days out of [illegible] while in Mocha all marriages are temporary. In Thibet, [illegible] are "pawned" and loaned, and in parts of China they

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It is a dreadful story, this, with which we have already grown most sadly familiar, of the degradation, the wrongs, and the sufferings of women in non-Christian lands. The illustrations of their misery are so multitudinous and so monotonous that one is bewildered to select from them.

The relation of marriage, which under the ennobling influences of Christianity has been exalted almost to a sacrament, presents throughout the entire history of non-Christian peoples a lamentable record of violence and of sin. The old Maroons of Jamaica and the present Thibetans of Asia furnish us with samples of peoples without a substitute for a form for marriage in the one case, or any judicial sanction of it in the other. The Hassaniyeh Arab recognizes a "three-quarter" marriage—of legal obligation only three days out of four—while in Mocha all marriages are temporary. In Thibet, wives are "pawned" and loaned, and in parts of China they

are hired to other men. The communal marriage—wherein all the women are married to all the men, as recommended in the Platonic Republic—is by no means unknown to history, though it imbrutes men and women, shocks every sense of decency, and at best graduates childhood, as beasts in an agricultural pen. "Wife-capture," wherein women have been stolen, speared, clubbed, or otherwise half-killed in the process, has been, or is, too wide-spread to allow of even the enumeration of the peoples who have practiced it. From Australia to Kamchatka, from the Eskimo of the north, on through Brazil and Chili, to the Patagonian of the South; or afar, where the Polynesians, the Fijians, the Philippines, and other Pacific Islanders preserved the custom; among Caucasians, Arabs, and Negroes, the story has the same hue, and makes one blush to know himself a man. Polygamy and polyandry, whether in Thibet, Ceylon, New Zealand, the Aleutian Archipelago, among the Cossacks or the Orinocos, afford little relief to these wretched chapters of human life. We close our eyes to a record of systematic debasement and oppression, which compels us to pity even when we may not relieve.

Girl-life, among more than half the population of the globe, seems the cheapest thing in the dust-bin of human possessions. A missionary lady in China tells of twenty-five women between thirty and sixty years of age, personally known to her, among whom were born sixty male and one hundred and twenty female children. Of these, twenty-one males and twenty-three females lived till ten years of age. Eight males and thirty-one females were destroyed at birth. Another missionary lady in the same country knew of one hundred mothers who had destroyed one hundred and fifty-eight female children; forty, who had destroyed seventy-eight, and six who had destroyed eleven.

The motives which induce the practice are too many to admit of enumeration. If a mother has not borne sons, she often destroys all her female offspring that she may the sooner hope to have a son. If she have sons, two or three girls may be allowed to live, but any thereafter will be smothered at birth, because of the expense of rearing them, or from some more oblique cause.

The government of India, in 1871, investigated the crime of

infanticide in certain provinces, among the Rajputs. The report of the magistrate reads like a romance set on fire of hell. It contains statements like these:

> The Baboos of Bhudawur Kalan live in ten villages, in seven of which were found one hundred and four boys and one girl. Their other villages are said to contain two girls. These villages are notorious for Suttee monuments, and their tanks are said to be paved with infants' bones. . . . The Baboos of Nagpore live in twenty-seven villages. In the nineteen visited were found two hundred and ten boys and forty-five girls. The Baboos of Purtabgarh live in five villages. In the two visited were found thirty-one boys and one girl. One girl is said to exist in their other villages. The Baboos of Asagpoor preserve their old reputation. They have twenty boys, and no girl has ever been known in their village.

The explanation that these men do not marry in their own tribe implies that they can secure all the wives they want from other tribes, though the women and their parents know that girl-children will be thus disposed of. But this only emphasizes the low estimate in which infant girl-life is held. The government of India has absolutely prohibited infanticide, yet there is a regular system secretly maintained for the purpose of concealing it which so far baffles detection, that there is scarcely a village in India, if indeed there be a hamlet, whose shrine is not desecrated by this form of murder.

The tendency to degrade women has not been checked by the civilizations of Eastern nations. Nine hundred years before Christ, Manu, the reputed author of the Hindu code, collected and systematized the law current in his time, and this coming to be accepted as authority in jurisprudence and religion, directed the tendencies of the nation, checked growth by creating an undue veneration for antiquity, and degenerated the family by assigning to woman a low place in society and in religion. Says Manu:

> Day and night must women be made to feel their dependence on their husbands. . . . Let not a husband eat with his wife, nor look at her eating. . . . Women have no business to repeat sacred texts. . . . No sacrifice is permitted to a woman separately from her husband, no religious observance, no fasting.

Women of high caste were then unveiled in public, were to some extent educated, and under given circumstances were

allowed to choose their own husbands. While other things have entered into the case, such as the Moslem invasion of which we will presently speak, yet it remains, that the seeds of disrespect for woman, which resulted in her social degradation, were abundantly present in the statutes of this so-called Hindu civilization. And we may add incidentally, so sure is the vengeance which a just Creator takes on the oppression of the weak, and so inexorably has he united the fortunes of the men and women of the world, that it has not yet occurred in human history but that the degradation of woman has necessarily resulted in the deterioration of the entire structure of society. In every land where woman is thrust down she drags man down after her.

If there was that in Hinduism which involved steady decline in the social status of its women, there was that in Mohammedanism which precipitated it. Nineteen centuries later than Manu (A. D. 1000) the Moslems invaded India, and an alien race became the paramount power. They introduced the rude manners of an unbridled soldiery, invaded the sanctity of the Hindu's home, and took from his side his betrothed daughters or the mother of his children. Among the classes able to keep their women in zenanas, enforced seclusion followed, and among others, a conventionalism which required absolute non-intercourse from all social approach between women and men except within a very limited range of near relations.

With zenana seclusion came early marriage and the infant betrothal, and for the same reason. The census of the Northwest Provinces of India showed in 1881 no less than 280,790 married girls under nine years of age, and over a million between the ages of ten and fourteen.

The early marriage brought terrible evils in its train. There was increased risk in child-bearing, stunted growth of mind and body, separation of the girl from parents and family at a tender age, impossibility of moral and religious training, wifehood while not fitted for companionship, and motherhood while not mature enough to sustain or to educate children. Well may Dr. Mohendra Lal Sircar say:

> It is the greatest evil in India. It has stood, so to say, at the very springs of the life of the nation, and prevented the normal expanse of which it is capable. It has degraded and keeps in a

degraded condition, the race. It is a most disastrous barrier to the progress of Christianity and of every thing good. It lowers the standard and comfort of the domestic circle. It panders in a most unnatural way to passion and sensuality. It raises the rate of mortality in the family and society generally, and diminishes the general interests, pleasures, and innocent amusements of the family circle. It injures their present and their future, robs them of their just rights, their brightest jewels, and most valued possessions.

The early marriage and the infant betrothal implied child-widowhood. Of 124,000,000 females in India, according to the government census of 1881, there were 21,000,000 widows, 78,000 of whom were under nine years of age, 207,000 under fourteen, and 382,000 under nineteen, or, roundly, 600,000 widows, nearly all of whom ought never to have been married.

The Hindus of Calcutta alone counted 58,000 wives and 55,000 widows. From a variety of motives it came to be recognized in the land that widows should not remarry. Originally it was not so. Outcast, deserted, and superseded women, as well as widows, were formerly allowed to remarry. But among the higher classes this has long been prohibited, and the British government has, through its courts, acknowledged the binding force of both the infant betrothal and the prohibition of remarriage of widows. Hence the land is full of the groanings of child-widows.

Another link in this concatenation of abuses is the illiteracy of the female portion of the population. Female education can be effectually promoted only after the abolition of the early-marriage system. Women in India have been kept in illiteracy for a thousand years! In the census already alluded to for 1881, it was shown that in the North-west Provinces alone, over 21,000,000 girls and women were in absolute illiteracy; and among a total population of 125,000,000 in the country not over 70,000 were able to read and write.

It must not be supposed that the Indian women are necessarily incompetent, nor that the country does not afford illustrations of natural mental ability in women. Says Mr. Hunter, President of the Education Commission of 1882:

As a matter of fact there always have been women of great accomplishments and strong talents for business in India. At this moment one of the best administered native states has been ruled

during two generations by native women, the successive Begums of Bopal. Many of the most ably managed of the landed properties or zemindaries of Bengal are entirely in the hands of females; while in commercial life, women conduct through their agents lucrative and complicated concerns. . . . The intellectual activity of Indian women is very keen, and it seems to last longer in life than those of men. This, though the idea of giving girls a school education as a necessary part of their training for life, did not originate in India until quite within our own day.

Yet another thing to guard against is the fancy that woman thus depressed and degraded has no influence. In all lands women are the conservators of religion, whether that religion be true or false. Hon. Justice Muthusami says of their general influence, "The women of India rule the men."

Still further let us guard against the notion that these women are indifferent to their depressed state. It is in a vein of sad satire that they say: "We are cats, we are cows; how should we know? As we came into the world we go out of it; all we know is, we die like sheep."

"The life we lead is just like that of a frog in a well," said a Hindu zenana woman. "Every-where there is beauty, but we cannot see it."

"Any life is better than this," says another heathen woman; "even an animal, a worm, is less miserable."

Turning once more to China, we find the illiteracy of females not the same in all parts of the empire. In North China the estimate is, that in sixty or seventy out of every hundred families of wealth the females are able to read. "I have found the wife of a Chi-fu of Taiyuen," says a missionary, "to use all the fingers of both hands in counting up the books she had read, and that means learned by heart."

In Shantung, however, not more than one woman in five hundred could read. Possibly a fair estimate for even this literary nation would be, taking the whole of China proper, that one woman in three can read.

There is one other feature of Chinese society which ought not to be wholly unnoticed, even in this hasty allusion to the more prominent ills which the Chinese woman is heir to—namely, domestic slavery. It is not easy to write with accuracy about the girl-slavery of the Chinese Empire. A reliable writer "knows of girls disappearing," or, as it was said, "gone

to spend a month with friends." Sometimes pressure for money comes on the family and the daughter is *pawned;* sometimes it is said plainly that her father has taken her to a distant city to sell her. Sometimes she is handed over to the purchaser by indirect methods. The girl is at play and is "kidnapped," and no tidings of her can be obtained. After a month it turns out that her elder brother, or the head of the house, and therefore the disposer of the liberty of the females of the family, was in debt, and the "kidnapped" girl had been sold, and delivered according to previous arrangement.

WOMEN'S MISSIONS TO WOMEN.

It was in 1834 that Dr. David Abeel, one of the earliest missionaries to China, being in England for rest, told of the degradation of the women of the East, and drew up an appeal to the Christian women of Great Britain that resulted in the organization of "The Society for Promoting Female Education in the East," which society, after half a century, has efficient missions in almost all parts of the non-Christian world.

When Dr. Abeel reached the United States he met a company of women in the parlors of that eminently practical saint, Mrs. T. C. Doremus, in New York city, and made an appeal to the women of America as he had done to those of Great Britain. It was not till after twenty-five years that—what Mrs. Doremus called "a seed long buried"—this address of Dr. Abeel gave the impulse for the organization—and that in the Doremus parlors too—of the "Woman's Union Missionary Society of America," the mother-society of those whose work we have now to pass under review.

"What are you women going to do when the war is over?" asked one Christian woman of another, while a few years ago both were engaged in the great activities of the Sanitary Commission. There was little thought with them, or with any one, that God had women in training then for much greater work elsewhere. They became experts in organization and administration on a large scale. Vast and independent responsibilities were upon them. They grew under them and up to them, and at the close of the war were as a giant waked out of a dream. The Providence which had been enlarging their capacities and developing their resources, had, during those

same years been preparing a new field for their exercise by most marvelous changes in political, social, and religious affairs in Asia, through which were afforded hitherto unknown opportunities for reaching the women of the East by the women of Christendom. None but a very dull student could fail to discern the relation between this agency, flushed with its triumphs in camp and hospital, and the Providence which set before them this new "open door." Nor were they slow to enter it.

Within less than a decade, occurred the most extensive and rapid organization of the religious activities of Christian women that ecclesiastical history records, and their achievements have become the characteristic feature of the missionary work of the last quarter of a century. Following the admirable "Woman's Union Missionary Society," large denominational organizations of women for this foreign work sprung into existence in the following chronological order: The Congregationalist Woman's Board (1868), the Methodist Episcopal (1869), the Presbyterians (1870), the Baptist Missionary Union (1871), the Protestant Episcopal (1872), the Reformed Dutch Church (1875), and the Lutheran (1879).

The two Congregational women who met to pray weekly for eight months before venturing to make a call to consider the propriety of an organization of a Woman's Board, though unnamed, and the nine women who met in Boston to organize the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, will be memorable in future ecclesiastical history. The Congregationalist women led off with a constitution which accorded them large responsibility in the management of their work at home and abroad, the Secretary and Prudential Committee of the American Board being an advisory committee to whom the missionary candidates selected by the ladies were referred for appointment. The Methodist Episcopal women followed with an organization, not auxiliary to the Parent Society, though pledged to work in harmony with it, with a separate and wholly independent treasury, guarded from dangerous repletion by a restriction which left the ladies none but wholly supplemental methods of raising funds. They might take no public collections in the churches. Their candidates were to be approved by the Parent Society, which retained a veto

power over its appropriations. Its agents on any foreign field were to be subject to the Church and missionary authorities on that field. In later years they have become subject to the appointment of the Bishop as component parts of the local Conference. The initial power to "appoint" to any field remains with the ladies here, as well as the right to determine the fields they should occupy, and the number and character of agents to be employed, the ladies being held *de facto* responsible for the conduct of their work both at home and abroad.

The Baptist ladies have only independent responsibility in their home management, while the entire direction of their work in foreign parts is left with the committee of the Baptist Missionary Union. Nor is theirs exclusively a work among females. Besides supporting boys' schools, they support much of the educational work in the foreign fields of their parent "Union." To some this would seem a more felicitous adjustment than that of the Methodists, and there are special reasons why in some parts, as in Burmah, it is not necessary to separate the sexes in school and society; but we note the fact, that the Methodist Episcopal ladies, who have more exclusively woman's work, and greater responsibility in the administration of their affairs, have raised much larger sums of money than have the Baptist women, with mixed work and the absence of responsibility in foreign parts. Comparing the income of the two societies for the first seven years of each, the Methodist ladies raised fifty per cent. more than their Baptist sisters, and extending the comparison over fourteen years, they raised one hundred per cent. more.

So far as conflict between so largely independent bodies as that of the Woman's Society and their Parent Board in the Methodist Episcopal Church goes, experience shows that no greater friction has arisen in the course of sixteen years than is common to all societies within the circle of their own separate administration, and none which Christian courtesy and good sense have not enabled them to adjust.

FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION.

As to the general administrative capacity and judgment with which the ladies of these several societies have conducted their affairs, a sort of consensus of Christian judgment is expressed

in a report adopted by the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, after an experience of seven years with these Women's Boards, in which they said:

> It is our unanimous opinion that what God has thus raised up, and so signally prepared and sanctioned, ought to be encouraged to do its own chosen work in its own way.

The American Board also expressed a discriminating judgment when it said:

> The wise economy, the prudent management, and the results achieved by Women's Boards may well challenge the admiration and the emulation of the other societies.

Among the gravest responsibilities assumed by Missionary Boards is that of authorizing expenditures on anticipated income. If they fail of their estimated resources, the result is indebtedness. It demands, therefore, the most careful and experienced exercise of judgment to avoid embarrassing the work abroad or involving the society at home. The Congregational Woman's Board is relieved of this responsibility, because they raise their money one year and expend it the next. They cannot have any debt. The Wesleyan (British) Missionary Society made a temporary experiment of this kind, but soon returned to the usual practice of the societies. It is to the credit of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, that while they have authorized expenditure on estimated income, events have always justified their judgment. Accepting foreign responsibilities to the verge of their boldest faith, they have never yet closed a year *with a dollar of indebtedness*, while they have advanced their income from a very small beginning to $200,000 in 1885: a sum not equaled in the annual receipts of the Parent Society during the first thirty-two years of its existence, a period double that of the history of this society.

Incidentally a question so often suggested deserves a passing word. It is sometimes asked, "Is not the income of the Women's Societies detrimental to the receipts of the Parent Boards?" Perhaps no better answer can be given than a statement of Rev. N. G. Clark, D.D., Senior Foreign Secretary of the American Board. What he states is, *mutatis mutandis*, true of all the denominational societies. He says:

Looking at the question on the financial side alone, the work of the different Woman's Boards has been of greatest value. Exclusive of the two great bequests, the receipts into the treasury of the American Board from donations and legacies for the last ten years were between four and five hundred thousand dollars in excess of the previous decade, and this difference was due to the Woman's Boards. From them was received over one million dollars. Admitting that one third, or even one half, of this sum would have come into the treasury of the American Board had there been no such organization, and it is still true that the advance in the aggregate receipts for the last ten years was due to the Woman's Boards.

Constructing a similar argument for the Methodist Episcopal Church, if the term be extended to the sixteen years of the existence of the Woman's Society, we would show that the Parent Society's receipts have advanced within this period over four millions of dollars as compared with the preceding sixteen years, though those were inflated by war currency. If, following the American Board, we add the income of the Woman's Society to that of the Parent Board for these later sixteen years, it would show an aggregate advance of eighty per cent., or almost five millions of dollars, on the preceding sixteen years. Whether this is absolutely fair as an argument or not, there can be little doubt of the aggregate increase of missionary receipts because of the existence of our Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. It must also be borne in mind that these ladies are supporting much work previously cared for by the Parent Board.

The ladies have exhibited both literary ability and business enterprise in the conduct of their magazines and other literature. The periodicals of most of the societies have been almost if not wholly self-supporting, and some are sources of revenue. The paper published by the ladies of the Baptist Board transferred a surplus in 1885 from its periodical account to the secretary's salary account of $1,247. "Life and Light," published by the Congregational Woman's Board, has sustained itself from the start. The "Heathen Woman's Friend," of the Methodist Woman's Society, has not only paid its total cost from the beginning, but has supplied a large revenue which has been expended, in part, in the publication of gratuitously circulated literature calculated to convey information and arouse an interest among the women

of the Church. During last year alone it furnished the funds for the publication of 1,800,000 pages of such literature, and also for the current expenses of a vernacular paper in India for circulation among women in the zenanas. After granting $2,293 50 for the above purposes in 1885, it transferred to investment account $1,850. For years it has furnished funds for similiar purposes, yet it has an accumulated fund of $10,600, invested in bonds and banks.

The business tact and judgment of the Methodist women have been exhibited in all departments, but our brief space only admits the noting of the fact that they have collected over a million and a third dollars, and have over two hundred thousand dollars' worth of real estate in India, China, Japan, Mexico, South America, and Bulgaria.

Much has been said in discussing missionary economics about the gratuitous services of the ladies of the several Boards, and perhaps too much emphasis has been sometimes placed on the fact that they had only unsalaried officers. This is not the place to discuss the question of unpaid official services, in benevolent societies in general, and missionary societies in particular. Almost all the larger missionary organizations have judged it best to secure paid secretaries, with the notable exception of the Church of England Missionary Society. Even the ladies' societies have not always found it possible to secure the most efficient agents without larger or smaller, direct or indirect, financial support being given to them.

While all this is true, it does not lessen the appreciation due, and accorded, to the magnanimity, self-sacrifice, and holy charity of these unsalaried women, who for the cause they hold dear, and for the love of their divine Lord, have gladly accepted care and responsibility, hardship and toil, that they might arouse their sisters at home to sympathy with their sisters beyond the seas.

ONE AMONG MANY.

A typical representative of these Methodist women is the "elect lady" whose portrait furnishes the frontispiece to this number of the "Review." A Methodist of Methodists, "to the manner born," she brought to this society, as its first and, till now, its only metropolitan secretary, an esoteric appre-

hension of the spirit and aims of her Church, acquired in the associations of the home of her father, the senior Dr. Thomas E. Bond, and a full understanding of the purpose and plans of a missionary management with which her husband was associated from its inception, till death made room for his son to become his successor. We may say in passing, the chariot that halted for Skidmore, Janes, and Durbin bore from our missionary councils in 1876 a trio not easily equaled—eminent for the practical business ability and judgment of the first, the devout wisdom and zeal of the second, and the creative power and prevision of the third.

In her own right also Mrs. Skidmore represents her associates. Practiced for more than thirty years in the management of noble charities like that of Five Points Mission in New York city, and disciplined to appreciate the best type of spiritual life as a class-leader in the Church of her choice through a third of a century, she was fitly furnished to sympathize with those whom she was to join in sending into the maelstrom of heathenism, and to encourage by her example that *abandon* of consecration and fervor of faith which have so signally marked this movement.

OPERATIONS AFIELD.

Twenty-five years ago it was a question what Christian women could do in heathendom. So narrow was the apparent sphere of operations for them, and so little had they been allowed independently to attempt, that it was held in many quarters that "the addition of this class seemed to add nothing to the working force of the mission. . . . A little work already begun by married women was put into the hands of the unmarried. Nothing new was attempted. There was no lengthening of lines and strengthening of stakes." Some pronounced it "the greatest folly of modern missions" to send those women into the field.

In truth, there was unequal demand because of the unequal social relations in different quarters of the globe. It was not true, for instance, in Northern China, as it was in Southern China, that no evangelistic work among women could be done except by women. In 1879 Rev. Mr. Richard, of the English Baptist Mission, baptized within ten days 130 converts in the Ching Fu, of whom 65 were women. Others, even unmar-

ried men, found no difficulty in prosecuting this work. But there could be no question as to the country at large. The speediest way to evangelize a nation is, undoubtedly, to evangelize the women of that nation. The only way to reach the women of China generally was to reach them in their homes. Chinese women are not accustomed to go from home to be mentally quickened by contact with other minds. Men hear the Gospel in the markets and chapels where they are gathered from long distances; not so the women. Assuming that half the population are women, it would seem at first flush that half the evangelizing force should be women, but second thought suggests that because the women must be reached in isolated household congregations, and because native women till past middle life must be "keepers at home," possibly the proportion of women evangelists should be much greater. The young men can give the vigor of their best days to evangelizing the men, but it is only the older women who can become evangelists. An eminent missionary lady says of the Chinese women:

> They are not public speakers. They work in the family from house to house, and through the mothers reach the children. They do that thing, and they do but that one thing. As hardly any Chinese women know how to read, as the old women rarely leave their villages and the young women seldom leave their houses, the only way is to carry the Gospel to them.

Of course in India the conditions of society demand the separation of the sexes. Mr. Cust but voices the common judgment when he says, that it is neither "likely nor desirable that for some generations the rule should be broken, for it might lead to greater evils. Until a great change comes over the structure of Indian society in Northern India, it is as well that in railways and churches, as in schools and hospitals, the sexes should be separated, and a decent reserve maintained in alluding to their existence."

The forms of work of the Woman's Societies may be classified as Benevolent, Educational, and Evangelistic. Yet as all these elements enter into each portion of the work, this is but an imperfect classification. The orphanages sustained by these ladies have been very effective as educational and evangelistic agencies. From them have gone the wives of native preachers, zenana teachers, Bible readers, and medical women, and they have

been the scene of profound religious awakening, and wide revival influences both in India and Japan. Their benevolent character is manifest in their origin, specially in India. Few people have occasion to realize what famine is, as frequently experienced in Asiatic countries, when within a single province two or even four millions of people die of starvation in a few months. Few living things are spared. Insects die in the fields, and fishes in the shrunken rivers; oxen, dogs, jackals, and even field-rats starve in the land. Household utensils, ornaments, the very doors, are sold for food, and all cares, all affections, all hopes are forgotten, while famished, demoralized, maddened, brutalized men cast cannibals' looks and even devour each other. Pestilence follows; where the dead lie they rot; babes try in vain to draw life from the shrunken breasts of dead mothers; living skeletons, more fortunate, stalk into the cities, and are seen gnawing blue marl for lack of food to appease their hunger. It is a terrific picture that no mortal would care to describe, if ever he could.

Out of such pestilence and body of death came our first group of orphan boys and girls in the Methodist Episcopal Orphanage of India. When the Woman's Society got fairly into operation it relieved the Parent Board of the management and support of the girls in this institution. It is beyond human skill to catalogue the Christian influences and evangelizing forces from that institution, which are now building up a strong, self-reliant Christian community among seventeen millions of people in North India. It would be a pleasure to speak of the exceedingly rare qualities of the ladies who have had these institutions in charge.

Of the extensive educational enterprises of this society, orphanages form a part, but only a part. We cannot within our limits more than allude to this extended and well-organized school work. These schools have had large influence in India. They demonstrate to the national government that such education was possible, and became its auxiliary when it undertook the same. A few facts will give force to this remark. The government Education Commission in 1882 reported a total of 127,066 native girls in school throughout the empire, of whom nearly one half were under missionary instruction. Of the whole, 6,379 were in mission boarding-schools, 40,897 in

mission day-schools, and 9,132 under instruction by missionaries in zenanas.

These schools are efficient as an evangelizing agency, their enemies themselves being judges. Although they have exerted less power on Moslems than on others, yet even they have felt the influence so strongly that they have been led to organize in Northern India a "Society for the Promotion of Islam and the Education of Females." In their appeal to the public on behalf of this society they confess that the Christian schools are undermining the faith of the Moslem children.

Miss Isabella Thoburn, the first appointee of this society, rejoices in a girls' school in Lucknow which the government recognizes as the best of its kind in Upper India, and which the native community says is a "standing monument of her powers of organization and management." A movement is already inaugurated to exalt it into a college.

It is not alone in the intellectual results of these schools that we rejoice, but in the gracious revival influences which have been manifest in them. In the girls' schools in Japan, the influence of which is felt throughout the empire, the revival power has been great; eighteen of the girls applied on a single Sabbath for baptism in the one school at Nagasaki. The next day the religious interest was so great that the recitations had to be suspended, and the girls were found weeping and praying in their rooms; still later, fourteen more of the girls were converted. One man who had two daughters in this school for some time was converted, and also his wife. He asked for the names of the parents of all the girls in the school, for he said he must go and tell them, as he is sure when they know what this Christianity is they will surely embrace it. This revival is also immediately related to the introduction of the Gospel into Korea by an interesting incident for which we regret that we cannot make room.

We cannot now set forth the high esteem in which these schools are held by governments in most lands where they are established. There is something touching about the statement of the Yokohama school that when, by some new and unheard-of arrangement, the government officials directed that the pupils of this school should come into the same examination as their own, that these girls all knelt down and asked God to help

them, and when they arrived at the place of examination some of the other scholars shouted, "O, here comes the Jesus Christ school; they cannot pass!" Yet they did, every one of them. One of the examiners asked of another, "What school is this in which every child has passed?" and the answer was, "Why, it is the one known as the Jesus Christ school."

It would be interesting to trace the effects of similar girls' schools in Bulgaria, South America, and Mexico, for their influence is percolating the social order where they are placed, though they suffer by comparison in the reports with some others in Asia, possibly because their work often does not admit of being made public, lest their enemies come into their secret. Not only was all possible obstruction offered to these schools in Bulgaria, for instance, but the bishop said he would have them driven from Loftcha and from Bulgaria "if it cost every hair of his beard."

We have not spoken of the 2,000 zenanas in which over 4,000 of the women of India are under instruction by these Methodist ladies alone, because it is difficult to separate this from another feature of the work, that of the *Female Evangelist*—an agency which, we think, promises more for future evangelical results than any other. "Nothing but the old apostolic plan of evangelism will answer," says Rev. H. Williams, of the Church Missionary Society, "namely, proclaiming the tidings of salvation to every one who will hear it. Men are wanted to preach to men, women to women."

After forty years' residence in India, filling every civil post in the empire from lowest to highest, Sir William Muir says that "a recognized component part of a fully equipped mission should be a *Female Evangelist.*" Mr. Cust, the able linguist, long familiar with missions by official residence in India, and by profound study of them through other years, alluding to the small missionary force of the world, says:

> My suggestion is to make a fuller use of women. Call upon that sex which no longer deserves the conventional epithet of the weaker or less wise, to supply the vacuum and stand in the gap. But they must have precisely the same allowance, be provided with similar accommodations, and placed on the same footing.

Never was there more wealth and warmth of welcome awaiting a visitant than is accorded many a Christian woman

evangelist by the women of non-Christian lands! Never was there a greater power to be awakened for the redemption of mankind than that which Christian women may exert over the homes and the mothers of heathendom. How eagerly these women listen to the story of Him who came to relieve the oppressed! "One holds my hands, another my feet," says one of these workers, "as I begin to tell them of Jesus." Many are the touching incidents of the reception of the truth, though but partially understood. How many there may be, none can tell, who, neither churched nor chronicled, have believed savingly in Christ on fragmentary knowledge, like that dying girl in the zenana where no ordained minister could enter, who, having given up her babe, asked for water, and when it was brought crowned herself, laying her open Bible across her head, *baptized herself!*—and died. There are many millions of these secluded women in India. How many are indirectly learning of the truth, though not counted in the congregations, and how far and wide these Female Evangelists may be scattering the Gospel, no statistical tables will enable us to understand. Incidents often cast light upon the subject. One old woman was standing on the outskirts of a crowd at a bathing place on the Ganges River near Cawnpore, where Nana Sahib massacred four hundred Christians. A foreign lady evangelist was talking to two hundred heathen women, and singing to them, and with them, of Christ. "Your singing is drawing my heart this way," said a little old woman on the outer edge of the company. "I have been standing here a long time and can't go away. Every night as I go to sleep I hear you singing,

'Yisu Masih mero prana bachaiya'
('Jesus Christ has saved my soul'),

and I sing it too all day in my heart as I do my work." Many a zenana woman who has not found Christ, yet finds her experience summarized in that of her Hindu sister who said, "We are birds in a cage still, but you have taught us to sing."

The Methodist women are teaching, systematically visiting and praying with, more than a thousand Moslem and Hindu women in the city of Lucknow alone; and they employ 182 native Female Evangelists, known in their terminology as "Bible readers," who are threading the intricate lanes of Indian cities, wandering by the banks of the Yang-tse and the

silver La Platte, sitting under the sunny skies of Italy, or on the fertile plains of Mexico, climbing the Balkans, sailing the seas of the Mikado's empire, and entering the gates of the "Hermit Nation," until it seems that "the women that publish the tidings are a great host."

Before these societies were formed the pigeon-holes of the Secretaries of our Missionary Society were choked with applications of suitable women to serve in these fields, and there has been no hour since, when we could approximately exhaust the supply of devoted, educated, and sensible women ready to give themselves to this work. How slow not only we but the whole Protestant Church has been to learn the meaning of it all! How timidly all the denominations have stood, saying these women could not be sent unprotected—could not, with their Christian purity, be thrown into such maelstroms of heathen vice, or were not competent to act except under male supervision!

But they have gone—gone from homes of culture, halls of learning, and the enchantments of Christian society—gone to isolation and to the dreariness and monotony of heathen misery—gone into public melas, private hovels, and lofty mansions in India and China, camped among wild Koords, crept on hands and knees amid the smoke and vermin of the Zulu's kraal, sung Christian hymns to cannibal crowds, slept quietly on the Infinite Arm in the habitations of cruelty and the abodes of lust, "scribbled" the seas with "the centric and eccentric" of their journeyings, risked health and life in ways named and unknown, bound up offensive wounds, sympathized with the fallen, trained children, given to mothers a loftier ideal of motherhood, addressed themselves to national reforms in the interests of their sex, and been "living epistles" of the everlasting Gospel. And all this they have done, not under the impulse of mere sentiment, but with patience that could plod, with ingenuity that could create, and with practical wisdom that could conserve, they have prosecuted their work in a way and with results which may challenge comparison with that of their sisters, or even of their brethren, of any century and of any clime.

Art. II.—A PLEA FOR THE STUDY OF LITERATURE.

In one of the most piquant numbers of "Fors Clavigera," Mr. Ruskin tells of a lady who attended with great pleasure a series of lectures on Botany, in the course of which the lecturer averred that "the object of his lectures would be entirely accomplished if he could convince his hearers that there was no such thing as a flower." Upon which statement Mr. Ruskin comments as follows:

> Some fifty years ago the poet Goethe discovered that all the parts of plants had a kind of common nature, and would change into each other. . . . In a certain sense, therefore, you see the botanical lecturer was quite right. There are no such things as flowers—there are only leaves. But in the deepest sense of all, the botanical lecturer was, to the extremity of wrongness, wrong; for leaf and root and fruit exist, all of them, only that there may be flowers. He disregarded the life and passion of the creature, which were its essence.

Mr. Ruskin's comment may serve to indicate, in a pithy way, the radical difference between the scientific and the literary methods of study and thought. The plant means one thing to the botanist, and quite another and different thing to the poet or man of letters. The botanist scans it carefully to discover all the physical facts about it; he wishes to know of what parts it is made up—what similarities there may be among these parts—what is the function of each—what changes they may undergo in the growth of the plant—what analogies there are between each of them and the parts of other plants—how it grows from its first germination to the time when it has produced the fertile seeds of other plants and then dies. It is facts and laws he is after—laws that are only sequences between facts.

But for all these things the man of letters cares very little. He rather asks, What is the plant made for? Its different parts are doubtless adapted to each other so as to secure its growth and reproduction; but what was the plant made for? what does it mean? And he naturally says it was made for its highest form of beauty, for its highest power over human sympathy: it was made for flowers. And so Mr. Ruskin says that, "in the thought of nature herself, there is in a plant nothing else but its flowers."

In like manner Mr. Matthew Arnold says that poetry (and it is equally true of all imaginative literature) "has the power of so dealing with things as to awaken a wonderfully new, full, and intimate sense of them, and of *our relations with them*. It is not Linnæus, or Cavendish, or Cuvier who gives us the true sense of earth, or water, or animals, or plants—who seizes the secret for us, who makes us participate in their life; it is Shakespeare with his

> 'Daffodils
> That come before the swallow dares, and take
> The winds of March with beauty;'

it is Wordsworth, with his

> 'Voice . . . heard
> In spring-time from the cuckoo bird,
> Breaking the silence of the seas
> Among the farthest Hebrides;'

it is Keats, with his

> 'Moving waters at their priestlike task
> Of cold ablution round Earth's human shores.'"

The botanist studies the plant in its physical relations. His method is analytical, and he proceeds by intellectual processes of observation and comparison to the discovery of facts and laws: he begins by pulling the plant to pieces and ends in knowing how it is put together. To him it is always a physical thing. But the poet cares for the meaning and the suggestion which the plant brings to his imagination and emotions. To him it is a living thing with moral significance and power, and he certainly does not want to pull it to pieces, for then it would be "a plant no more, and only litter on the floor." To Peter Bell in the poem,

> "A yellow primrose by the river's brim,
> A yellow primrose 'twas to him,
> And it was nothing more;"

but Peter Bell was neither man of science nor man of letters, and it is a wonder that he noticed even that the primrose was yellow. But to the botanist, the yellow primrose by the river's brim would have been "*Primula officinalis*—a pubescent, exogenous herb, bearing oblong, spatulate leaves, and umbels of regular perfect pentamerous yellow flowers, the five stamens opposite the lobes of a salver-shaped corolla; mostly of riparian

habit." To Wordsworth, or Shelley, or Burns it would have been something quite different, as one of them has said:

> "To me the meanest flower that blows can give
> Thoughts that do often lie too deep for tears."

Now what is thus true of the different ways in which the scientist and the poet regard the plant is equally true of the ways in which they regard all things. One taxes the scientific, the other the poetic or literary view of life and affairs. One studies to get a clear, intellectual perception of the logical relations of things to each other, their similarities and causes—that is, sequences—for science can never get farther than that, and knows no other idea of cause. The other studies the relation of things to man's higher moral and emotional nature.

This, however, need not imply that these two very different attributes are not possible to the same man. Certainly the same man may have much of the faculty of the scientist and of the temper of the poet. Nor need we claim that the intellectual power to take the scientific view of things is any less desirable than the imagination and sympathy necessary to take the literary view. It is only needful to indicate that there is a difference between the scientific and the literary temper. They both may be possessed in a considerable degree by the same person, but they cannot both be entertained at the same time.

Literature is the fit expression in language of this literary view of life. The term literature is, indeed, often used vaguely to cover all the written product of a people which is, for any reason whatever, of permanent value. In this sense the term English Literature would cover the Principia of Newton—at least in translation—and the Novum Organum of Bacon; and so the term Greek Literature would include the Analytics of Aristotle. But such books as these are science and philosophy, not literature in the narrow sense in which we must use the term. It is not necessary to give a scientifically accurate definition of literature; it will suffice for our purpose to define it as the record in language which the facts of life leave upon our imagination and our emotions. And the greatness of literature is measured by the breadth of the life thus interpreted to our emotions, and by the elevation of the emotions to which it appeals. Sometimes the range of life with which a writer sym-

pathizes is not very broad, but his emotions are very noble. That was the case with Milton, and in somewhat less degree with Shelley; and their work is justly called great. Sometimes the range of life with which an author sympathizes is very wide, but his emotions are not especially lofty or profound. Such is the case with Chaucer or Walter Scott, and yet their work is justly called great. And sometimes the range of life that is comprehended is very wide, and the emotions lofty also, and then the work is greatest of all; that is the case with Shakespeare.

It may perhaps be said that this definition includes only poetry. "Poetry," says Matthew Arnold, "is the criticism of life;" and Mr. Austin says, it "is the imaginative interpretation of life." But these definitions seem to be of literature rather than of poetry, and they mark the distinction between literature and science. They surely include all creative literature; not poetry only, but fiction and even criticism, which aims to give us a sympathetic appreciation of letters. They do not include history and biography as such; yet it may be said that history and biography derive most of their charm from their power to appeal to our emotions. Without any of the distinctly literary charms, history sinks at once into chronicle and political data, and biography into annals. It will be understood, then, that we mean by the literary temper the disposition to view things in their relation to the imagination and emotions; and by literature, the record of such relations.

With this definition before us, we are in better position to ask what are the advantages to be gained from a study of literature. The question, indeed, hardly seems to need a detailed answer, for it certainly cannot need argument to show the value of a quick perception for all the ministries of life to our imagination and emotions. And, be it noticed, we are speaking of literary study purely. A classic, ancient or modern, may be made the subject of philological or grammatical study, and that study may be very important in its way, but it is not literary study, but purely scientific. And it is doubtful whether the two methods of study can be advantageously combined; at any rate we must do one thing or the other with our classic, not try to do both at once. Of course this statement should not be held to exclude all diligent study needful to ascertain the exact meaning of the author we are reading, and to enable

us to enter intimately into his exact feeling; and this will often necessitate much verbal study, for a great writer does not use his words carelessly or wastefully. He does not throw in two or three random epithets to fill his meter or round his period. Great writing is always that into which the writer has put his best thought and his most earnest feelings, and when a man does that he is sure to feel that language is poor enough at best. No one can read a great play of Shakespeare or some of Milton's best verses, and get the *whole* of the author's thought and feeling, or any near approximation to it, without giving to every sentence as deliberate and earnest attention as he would give to a demonstration in Euclid.

Every educated man, whatever his work or profession, will have to write some and talk much more, and marvelously difficult things these are to do. The older a man grows, the more he realizes the value and the difficulty of accurate, graceful, forcible speech. No instrument that we shall ever learn is so intricate, so varied, so difficult as our every-day language. Speech is chiefly learned by unconscious *imitation*, and we keep on learning it all our lives in the same way that we acquired the elements of it in our childhood. Rhetorical study can do little more for us than to point out the best models and to indicate a few principles to guide our observation. The rest must be done by reading and practice. It is not necessary to point out how much value the careful study of our own great English writers must have in enlarging one's vocabulary, in familiarizing one with correct and vigorous forms of expression, and in cultivating a nice sense of rhetorical method and proportion. The man who has read well usually writes well. He may write with labor and difficulty, it may be a sore task to him; since facility in writing comes much less from natural application than from constant practice. But his taste will become so cultivated that he will know the difference between good and bad writing, and he will be dissatisfied with any thing poorer than his own best ideals. It will almost always be found that a great writer, however imperfect his education may have been in other respects, has been at some time early in his life an earnest and careful reader of the best books.

Perhaps the three men in our century who have shown the greatest mastery of English are De Quincey, Carlyle, and Rus-

kin—and every body knows what readers they were. Before he left the university, De Quincey had fairly saturated his mind with Spenser, Shakespeare, Milton, Sir Thomas Browne, and Jeremy Taylor; and he showed the influence of these men in every line he ever wrote. Carlyle, who certainly was an original writer if any one ever was, says, that though he learned not much of any thing else at Edinburgh University, he did take to reading. "From the chaos of that library," says he, "I succeeded in fishing up more books than had been known to the keeper thereof; the foundation of a literary life was thereby laid." And Ruskin, in his autobiography just now publishing, tells us that when he was yet a child he had Walter Scott's novels and Pope's Homer for his constant study on week days, and "Robinson Crusoe" and the "Pilgrim's Progress" on Sundays; that before he was twelve years old, his mother had forced him to learn by heart the thirty-second chapter of Deuteronomy, the 119th Psalm, the Sermon on the Mount, the fifteenth of First Corinthians, and the most of the Apocalypse; and that before he was fourteen, he had heard read aloud by his father again and again all the comedies and histories of Shakespeare, and all of Walter Scott. It is no wonder that, as he says, it was for him impossible, even in the foolishest time of youth, to write entirely superficial or formal English.

But good books develop our power of expression, not merely by widening our knowledge of the mechanism of speech, and by giving us a vocabulary and rhetorical taste with which to use it. They assist us perhaps even more by cultivating those emotions upon which the effectiveness of speech largely depends. For speech is designed to tell not only our thoughts but our feelings; and unless our thoughts be colored with feeling, our speech, though it may be precise, is sure to be blank and dull. And the best literature always stimulates our sense of the emotional interest of things and of their human relations, and gives to our thoughts about them that warmth of feeling which makes speech earnest and moving. "I have to read Burke's 'Letter to a Noble Lord' once a month," said Rufus Choate; "I get sick if I don't." The "Letter to a Noble Lord" is precisely the one of Burke's works which has least of political or legal interest and most of the literary. Choate took it as a tonic for his feelings. The

brilliant and scholarly man, who so ably filled the chair of rhetoric in this college twenty years ago, said on one occasion to his students that it was his habit, whenever he wished to write or speak his very best, to get his feelings in tune by reading some favorite passages of Shakespeare or Milton. Beyond all question, the careful study of the best literature, by cultivating the imagination and emotions, enables the writer not only to see his subject but to *feel* it also, and to set it in those relations in which it shall appear to others most attractive and moving.

Another incidental reason for the study of literature is to be found in the light which it throws upon all the *history* of the past. The truest history of any civilized people—their only real history indeed—is written in their literature, and can be known only through that medium. The mere record of external events, the succession of kings, the story of battles, the chronicles of the intrigues of diplomacy and of political struggle—this is not all of history, nor the most important part of it. If we would know the real history of a people we must look behind all the externalities of their story, and discover how *they* lived and worked—what they believed and hoped—what were their ideals, their aspirations, and to what ends their efforts, social and political, were consciously or unconsciously tending. And all these things we shall find best revealed in literature; it is quite possible to write a famous history that shall tell us almost nothing at all about them. A man might read the third and fourth volumes of Hume's history and not have any idea of the sixteenth century of England when he got through with them. But no man with any blood inside of him can read some of the Elizabethan dramas, or Spenser's "Faery Queen," or some of the ringing lyrics of that age, without feeling as if he had been there. Will not the Greek scholars tell us that there is no history of the Athens of the fifth century before Christ so good as that in the plays of Aristophanes? And is there any writer that can so make one at home in the Augustan Rome as can Horace? Or, coming to more modern times, suppose a man to read all the half dozen or so very good histories of the age of Queen Anne; all of them together could not give him so real a sense of the age as a little reading in the Spectator or Tatler, or in the essays of Swift and the verses of Pope.

It is not intended, however, to say any thing in depreciation of the study of formal history and of political science, which for any man, and especially for any young American citizen, are certainly among the most important studies. But whoever would fully understand any past age must realize for himself the national sentiment and feeling of that age, and for that he must go to its literature.

Another advantage of the study of literature, which it shares with that of history, is its power to extend our human sympathies into the past, to make us feel the oneness through all time of our common human emotions, and so to know ourselves to be part of the great procession of the ages. Any system of culture is very imperfect that does not accomplish this; that does not quicken our perception of all human relations, and make us realize more deeply our kinship with those who have gone before us. It is one of the choicest and most ennobling results of a real education, that it extends our narrow and exclusive admiration for our own time by widening our views, and bringing us into a more intimate sense of fellowship with all the great thought and exalted feeling of the past. Across all the centuries of change we feel that one human heart is beating still. In the sorrow of a Priam or a Lear—in the passion of a Cleopatra or a Juliet—we read as freshly as though they were of but yesterday the records of our common humanity. Without this sympathy which links him to the past, a man is indeed isolated; shut up in the narrow room of the present, the race without it would be like the flies of a summer.

There is reason to distrust the culture of those writers who are forever praising our own age of advancement, and chanting the triumphs of modern thought and latter-day progress as if the millennium had set in about the time they arrived upon the scene. Our age is no doubt an age of progress—most ages have been—and we trust that through all the ages one increasing purpose runs; but there is nothing in our achievements that should set us upon any very lofty eminence above the men of other days. Our own age has certainly been noted for its advance in the physical sciences, and for the application of these sciences to the mechanical and industrial arts. It is an age of steam, and iron, and electricity, and of most wonderful and many-fingered machinery, which enables millions of herded op-

eratives to make almost every thing without need of any brains of their own. But if we measure our age by the truth and elevation of its thinking—by its quickness to perceive the noble and beautiful—by its lofty imagination and its unselfish heroism—by its enthusiasm for moral and religious ideas—we shall not find any special reason to plume ourselves overmuch. Certainly in all our modern progress we are not likely to get beyond the illumination of Plato, and Cicero, and Dante, and Shakespeare, and Milton. To talk of having advanced beyond these great men, and hundreds of others, is about like talking of having walked past a star; we may not see it before us just now, but that is only because we have changed our own direction. Be sure the stars are shining there still, and we may find it worth while now and then to turn about and look at them. That man who does not feel this reverence for the past—this solemn sense of the continuity of history and the pathos of human life—is lacking in the most important elements of culture, and, however clever he may be, he is hardly a great man.

When our greatest statesman, Daniel Webster, first visited London, he was given a complimentary breakfast shortly after his arrival by some eminent political and literary Londoners. It was there Carlyle met him, and carried away the image he afterward made so famous:

> One of the stiffest logic buffers and parliamentary athletes anywhere to be met with in our world at present; a grim, tall, broad-bottomed, yellow-skinned man, with brows like cliffs, and huge, black, dull, wearied, yet unweariable-looking eyes under them, and the angriest shut mouth I ever saw. A droop on the sides of the upper lip is quite mastiff-like—magnificent to look upon; it is so quiet withal. I guess I should like ill to be that man's nigger!

So said Carlyle; and in truth our Webster neither seemed nor was much of a sentimentalist. But Sir Henry Taylor tells us how, that morning after breakfast, a few of his friends took the great American into Westminster Abbey. Webster stepped into the Poet's Corner, looked about him in silence for a moment on the solemn reminders of the love and genius and greatness of the past, then threw up his hands to his face and burst into tears. No proof of weakness that, but rather of the depth of his nature! Now it is this feeling to which literature makes its appeal, and which it tends to deepen and strengthen.

And in this respect literary study has a great advantage over scientific. The motive power of science being intellectual curiosity, it is always after *new* truth. Science always has its back to yesterday. Scientific truths once established pass into the stock of the common knowledge of the world; they are assumed as the postulates of further investigations; they are taken up into wider and more inclusive truths, and so lose altogether their own individual interest. Thus the greatest scientific book that the world has yet seen may in the course of a century come to be antiquated, so that no one will read it, even though all its conclusions are accepted and have become part of the world's thinking. De Quincey, in one of his essays, makes a distinction between what he calls the literature of knowledge and the literature of power. The first is by its very nature only of temporary interest; the second, everlasting.

> As soon as a Laplace or any one else builds higher upon the foundations of Newton's book, he effectually throws his structure out of the sunshine into decay and darkness; by weapons taken from that book he superannuates and destroys the book; only the name of the author remains as a mere *nominis umbra*. But, on the contrary, the Iliad, the Prometheus of Æschylus, the Othello and Lear, the Hamlet and Macbeth, or the Paradise Lost, are immortal and forever triumphant. . . . They never can transmigrate into new incarnations.

But this distinction which De Quincey is making between what he calls the literature of knowledge and the literature of power, is plainly enough nothing else but the distinction between recorded science and literature. What he calls the literature of knowledge is nothing more nor less than scientific writing, and science has no past. It is fitly symbolized by the torch that illumines the present, and then, with glowing radiance, passes quickly from the grasp of to-day to the waiting hand of to-morrow.

The study of literature has still more direct and immediate uses than any of these. It is valuable not merely as a means to such ends as these, but for its own sake. The study of literature may contribute in no inconsiderable degree to the happiness of life, and happiness is a legitimate object of pursuit. What a fund of refined and exalted pleasure is always at command of the man who really loves good books! Among the sources of happiness open to an intelligent man we ought doubtless to

rank highest the moral and religious ones—the correspondence fixed with heaven and the quiet approvings of a good conscience. And next to these as sources of happiness come the domestic affections, the joys and the charities of home; but next in the rank of pleasure, below these and below these *only*, are the pleasures of literature. He who has really made himself at home in the society of the best and wisest men who have gone before him, though his life may appear to be lonely and isolated, need never really want for companionship, for entertainment, nor for inspiration. The great works of literature are like our best friends in this respect, as well as in others, that we do not tire of them. Whatever writings appeal to the intellect only are of no interest after we have once fully appreciated their meaning, but writings that appeal to the imagination and emotions have a perennial interest. We never care to have an old thought repeated without change or enlargement; but an agreeable emotion, however well remembered, often becomes more agreeable by repetition. A great work of literature cannot be exhausted by a single reading, nor by any number of readings. The growth and widening of our own experience only enlarges and quickens our sympathy for the emotions of the writer, and discloses meanings and suggestions we had not felt before. A great work of letters embodies the deepest experience of a great mind, and one finds himself more and more responsive to its meanings and its power as his own experience broadens and deepens. And even when some lesser book, some simple song, seems only to revive the same old emotion which it stirred at first, that emotion comes back with a throng of priceless associations that have been linked with it in the course of other years. Our literary intimacies inweave themselves with our best feelings, and become a part of our life. There is no metaphor in the phrase "The friendship of books." That man is to be pitied who has no familiar friends among good books. His must be a dreary and vacant life; and all the worse for him if he never knows it to be such, and never feels himself solicited to retire from the idle noises of the world to the higher companionship of letters.

But it is not pleasure merely that is to be gained by literary study; no study gives more real profit. The assumption is not

to be tolerated, which still seems to be tacitly entertained by a good many people, that the study of literature, especially of our own literature, is only a kind of accomplishment, desirable, doubtless, if one can find the time, but to be placed among the elegancies rather than the essentials of an education, and provided for after what are sometimes called the more solid parts of a course of study have been attended to. This view is fortunately not so prevalent now as it was some score or more years ago, when all the English literature taught in our colleges consisted of a few mostly biographical facts crowded into a single term. But there are yet survivals of this view now and then to be met with. In opposition to all such notions it must be stoutly affirmed, that while not claiming superiority over other recognized branches of higher education, the study of literature is inferior in value to none, and it deserves a place side by side with the most essential. The practical value of its results, considered merely as knowledge, is not at all inferior to those of any other study. Even in the narrowest and hardest sense of the word "practical," it is as truly practical to know what goes on in a man's heart as in his stomach—since we believe that man does not live by bread alone. But the value of literary studies lies principally in the fact that they are not "practical" in the narrow and mischievous sense of that term. When men insist that their studies should be practical, they often mean that they should tend directly to material acquisition, to money-making. It may be granted that all education ought to tend, more or less directly, to increase a man's efficiency in most forms of practical activity; but it is not true that a liberal education ought to be planned principally with a view to material results, or pursued with any such motive. It ought rather to counteract the narrow and exacting spirit of materialism, and to broaden and elevate the whole man. Nearly all studies naturally tend to that result if pursued in the right spirit; but it is the peculiar advantage of literary studies that they can hardly be pursued from the lower motive. If followed successfully at all they will be followed from the love of them, because they are felt to be their own inspiration and reward. They teach us that the real end of all education is to make better men and women, and to develop a symmetrical and elevated character.

The cultivation of the intellectual powers is only one part of

an education, and it can claim no pre-eminence over the other parts. Not only should the perceptions be quickened and the powers of comparison and reasoning strengthened, but also, and with equal diligence, must the imagination be enlarged, the healthy emotions multiplied, and the sympathies refined. The intellect is not the whole man, nor indeed can it be called the highest part of man. It is in the realm of the moral emotions that we find that part of our nature which is the most truly godlike. Indeed, the grandest thoughts are never conceptions of the pure intellect, but they are always tinged with emotions, and they belong less to the philosophers than to the poets.

Nor can it be said that the intellect is more susceptible of cultivation than the imagination and emotions—that educational methods can get at it more easily. There are, of course, native differences of endowment; but as a rule, men are as susceptible of training on the side of the sympathies and the imagination as on the side of the perceptive and the reasoning powers. And without this cultivation of taste and imagination a man, however acute or highly trained his intellect, is a hard and narrow man. He has missed the essential element of culture and the surest safeguard against vulgarity. For vulgarity of mind does not always arise from lack of intellectual training. There are intellectual giants among the Philistines. Vulgarity is matter of feeling. The intellect may tell us what is the *true* in the narrowest logical sense, but for the *beautiful* and the *good* —for what is noble and humane in sentiment or action—the intellect has no appreciation. Men sometimes speak depreciatingly of "matters of taste," as if they were hardly worth the while of an earnest man to think much about. And if they mean by taste only a power of judging nicely between pleasures of the senses, they are right. But taste, in its broader and higher sense of a susceptibility to refined emotions, a power to discriminate between the higher and the lower emotions, and the instinctive preference of the higher, is a matter of very great importance, and on it largely depends not merely our own happiness but our usefulness, our power to influence, to persuade, to ennoble others. It is taste in this broad sense that catches in the hard realities of daily experience some gleams of the ideal, nourishes our aspirations, and sets the spiritual above the material in our estimates of life. And is

there not just now sore need of developing this power in this vaunted age of progress, when attention is drawn so irresistibly to the lower side of life, with an increasing complexity of material interests? Even literature itself seems to have lost something of its ideal and imaginative qualities, its power to inspire and arouse, and to be sinking to a dull realism. There is no English-speaking poet of eminence that is not over sixty years old, and in fiction we are fallen into an atmosphere of intense earthliness.

Let it not be thought that this culture of the imagination and of the emotions which is referred to as essential to the amenity and grace and elevation of character is a thing which pertains exclusively to the sentiments. It is sure to have moral results and to issue in conduct. It is a commonplace that no action is ever determined by intellectual convictions merely; and it is equally true that the habitual conduct of a man is uniformly decided by the tone of his emotions. Out of the heart are the issues of life. Underlying every man's conduct there is doubtless some form of beliefs more or less definite, and this intellectual basis of action is of very great importance. If it be weak, his actions will be hesitating and uncertain; if mistaken, though honest they will often be futile or even harmful. But it is still true, that only when our intellectual beliefs are warmed with emotion do they pass into motives, and have power to influence the will. In fact, all our thinking on practical matters is of necessity tinged with emotion; for one cannot consider any thing that pertains to conduct in the dry light of pure intellect. No truly practical education can, therefore, leave out of sight the culture of those emotions on which all conduct depends, and which can be most effectively cultivated by the study of literature. Purely didactic teaching is powerless over conduct. All the moral philosophy in the world never made a man moral. It is not instruction we chiefly want, but inspiration, sympathy, and spiritual elevation.

True, there is a bad literature as well as a good, and the bad book may have some elements of greatness and permanence. But in the long run, in the literary art only the good is the lasting. The false may win applause and notoriety, but the moral sense will ultimately assert its supremacy in men's literary judgments, and only the true will achieve fame. The

great poet has the penetrative imagination which sees the facts of human nature truly, the healthy sympathy which feels them; and in art this truth of imagination and feeling constitutes morality. In letters, as in life, you will find Emerson's aphorism holds good, that

> "What is excellent,
> As God lives, is permanent."

And when we remember that the study of any work of literature calls into exercise not the intellect only but the sympathies—that we must take an author's meaning into our reflection till we can *feel* as he does—is it not evident that there can be no better form of discipline for the emotions, none more sure to ennoble and refine them, and to issue in higher and purer conduct, than this spiritual companionship with great souls to which literature invites?

Better than any thing else can literature perform the great service of planting truth in the heart, where only truth can be fruitful. Say what we will, it is in the books which are the repository of the best thoughts of the best men that we may most surely look for that

> "Gracious light
> That does not come with houses or with gold,
> With place, with honor, and a flattering crew;
> That is not in the world's market bought and sold—
> But the smooth slipping weeks
> Drop by, and leave its seeker still untired
> As on he fares, by his own heart inspired."

Art. III. — ORIGIN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

The Methodists in the United States entered upon a new departure after the war which, in 1783, gave independence to the country. The history of that new departure is far more obscure, in several of its features, than it is commonly supposed to be. That history, too, is, save in its bare outlines, unfamiliar because it has never been fully written, nor, so far as written, generally read. As we shall see, the movement to establish a new Church with complete ecclesiastical adjustments on this

continent was begun but not consummated at what is known as the Christmas Conference of 1784.

Prior to the arrival of Dr. Coke, in November, 1784, the government of the Methodist Societies in the New World centered in John Wesley. He sent two preachers hither in 1769, namely, Richard Boardman and Joseph Pilmoor. They labored here under Wesley's authority, as did their brethren in England. In 1771 he sent two additional laborers, namely, Francis Asbury and Richard Wright. In October, 1772, Mr. Asbury received from Mr. Wesley authority to act as his "Assistant"—that is to say, as his delegate or deputy. Asbury served in that capacity until 1773, when two other preachers were sent hither by Mr. Wesley, namely, Thomas Rankin and George Shadford. Mr. Rankin had been a traveling preacher longer than Asbury, and the office of "Assistant" was transferred from Asbury to him. He exercised its functions until he fled from the country in 1777. Communication with Wesley was now cut off by the war, and, says William Watters, "Mr. Asbury, the only old preacher that determined in those perilous times to give up his parents' country, and all his natural connections, was finally and unanimously chosen by the preachers assembled in Conference our General Assistant." *

* The meeting of preachers by which Mr. Asbury was chosen "General Assistant" was not the regular "Conference," but an assembly called together informally at Mr. Asbury's retreat, in Delaware, a short time before the regular Conference, which met, agreeable to the resolution of the Conference of 1778, in Fluvanna County, Va. In the "Methodist Quarterly Review" for January, 1876, is an account of these affairs, the correctness of which, so far as we know, has never been called in question.

"The year 1779 was a notable one in the early history of American Methodism. The war of the Revolution was then at its height, and all the English preachers had fled the country, except Asbury, who was secreted at the house of a friend in Delaware. Here Asbury called together as many preachers (sixteen) as were within reach, and held a 'Conference' with them. This body . . . began by recognizing Asbury as 'General Assistant' for America. . . . In due time the regular Conference assembled according to appointment, . . . at which there were present a considerably larger number than at the meeting with Asbury in Delaware."—Pp. 123, 124.

This latter body, says Stevens, was the "regularly appointed Conference legitimately adjourned from the preceding year," and if so, that in Delaware was not, in any legal sense, a Conference at all. The next year, also, there were two rival Conferences—the regular one, appointed by the Fluvanna Conference, met in Powhattan County, Va.; the other, with Asbury, in Baltimore. The two bodies were strongly opposed to each other on important questions of administration. The

The title "General Assistant" really meant General Superintendent. Asbury having been thus chosen by the preachers in Conference to superintend the work, "fixed their appointments" until the end of the war. Peace reopened communication with Mr. Wesley, and about one year before the Christmas Conference of 1784 Asbury received from him the appointment to the office to which his brethren had chosen him. This office he continued to exercise until the arrival of Dr. Coke in the autumn of 1784.

Coke brought to the American Methodists two important documents which bore the signature of Mr. Wesley. The first was a certificate of his own ordination by Wesley, as a Superintendent of the Methodist Societies in America. The other document was called a "Circular Letter," and was addressed "To Dr. Coke, Mr. Asbury, and our Brethren in North America." It informed them that Mr. Wesley had "appointed Dr. Coke and Mr. Francis Asbury to be joint Superintendents over our brethren in North America, as also Richard Whatcoat and Thomas Vasey to act as elders among them, by Baptizing and administering the Lord's Supper."

Now, how did Mr. Wesley come to send Dr. Coke to America at that time on such a mission, and with such authority?

We are able fortunately to give the answer to this question in the language of the man who was then the General Assistant, or Superintendent of the American Methodists, and who, therefore, was in a position to know all the facts to which he testifies, namely, Francis Asbury. He says:

> When the Methodist preachers came first to this country, one half of the continent was overspread with different names and orders of Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists, English, French, German, Holland, Scotch, and Irish, with many Quakers. In the southern part were Episcopalians. They had but few churches and no bishops. The Methodists were not organized, and had not the ordinances among us. As some in pleasantry said, "We were a Church and no Church." In some places we communed with the Episcopalians. *

two sections came together in Baltimore, in May, 1781, at which session a reconciliation was effected; but we have no account of the appointment of Mr. Asbury by the reunited body to be "General Assistant." It is most likely that it was never done, but that he continued to serve as such "informally."—ED.

* Asbury's Valedictory Address.

In another place the same authority says:

The people of Mr. Wesley's charge in America—many thousands—were under total privation of the ordinances of God, and most of the Episcopalians had deserted their stations and churches from almost every part of the continent. The Presbyterians held no open communion. The Methodists could not become Presbyterians in sentiment—they would not be Baptists, neither Independents. Multitudes came forward as constant hearers and members of the Society, and immediately the tables of the Lord in their former churches were closed against them. When our brethren would say, "O that you had been ordained to administer the ordinances of God to us!" it was of no account to say the Episcopal bishops would not ordain us. "Mr. Wesley should have ordained you." And thus for fourteen or fifteen years hundreds and thousands of preachers and people [were] crying continually for Mr. Wesley to ordain ministers for America.*

In the following passage from his Valedictory Address Asbury outlines the course of events which led to the appointment and ordination of Coke, and his advent here in 1784:

In 1779 some of our brethren in Virginia attempted to organize themselves into a Church; but in 1780 the writer of this address visited them, when they agreed to suspend their administration, and with united voice call upon Mr. Wesley to make some provision for them. Accordingly, in 1784, our faithful father, Mr. Wesley, ordained Thomas Coke Bishop or General Superintendent.

The exigency of the unordained preachers of America, and of their people who demanded the sacraments at their own altars, was so urgent that Mr. Wesley was compelled to provide some way for giving the preachers ordination, or else leave them to solve the difficulty themselves by proceeding to ordain one another—as the preachers in the South had done in 1779—and then to administer the sacraments on the authority of such ordination.

What provision should Wesley make? He was far advanced in years, having passed his eighty-first birthday, and he did not think it best to undertake the long voyage to America. He might have sent for Mr. Asbury to cross the ocean and receive ordination at his hands. He did not, however, choose that method. He resolved to ordain Dr. Coke a General Su-

* Asbury's letter to the Rev. Joseph Benson, in Appendix of Bishop Paine's "Life of Bishop McKendree."

perintendent. He also furnished him with a Liturgy, which in addition to the Sunday service contained a litany for use on Wednesdays and Fridays, and forms for ordinations for superintendents, deacons, and elders, together with the Articles of Religion for the use of the American Methodists; and with these he sent him as his embassador to this country, to ordain preachers according to the requirements of the existing emergency.

It should be observed that Mr. Wesley acted at this juncture solely upon his own authority. He did not, so far as has ever been shown, consult any person or persons in America about the appointment of Dr. Coke as a Superintendent, or about the liturgy, the hymn book, or the Articles of Religion. His course in appointing Mr. Asbury General Assistant in 1783, when he had been already chosen by the preachers to serve in that capacity, and his requirement, in 1784, that the American preachers, in accepting ordination from him through Coke, should proclaim their unqualified submission to him as their ecclesiastical ruler, shows that Mr. Wesley held his personal will in relation to Methodism in this country to be decisive and final. He had been informed that the preachers and people desired Mr. Asbury to continue to act as General Assistant, which, with the exception of the power to ordain, was the same as Superintendent.* He of his own motion appointed Coke, and ordained him. He evidently did not think it wise to supersede Asbury, so he appointed him joint superintendent with Coke. His great object seems to have been to provide for the American Societies an ordained ministry, in order that they might be furnished with the sacraments of the Church. This he had been long and earnestly implored to do, although it does not appear that the Methodists of this country ever asked or desired him to give them a separate Church organization.

In receiving Dr. Coke the Methodists of the United States welcomed him in the name of Wesley. Coke had no authority to speak or act except what he derived from John Wesley. Whatsoever was done by him, therefore, was done in Wesley's

* William Watters, a member of the Christmas Conference, says in his autobiography, pp. 104, 105: "From first to last the business of General Assistant and Superintendent has been the same, only since we have become a distinct Church he has with the assistance of two or three elders ordained our ministers."

name. He was nothing but the agent and instrument of his principal; Wesley under God was all.

As Coke was directed by Mr. Wesley to ordain Asbury as a joint Superintendent, his first business, of course, was to see his designated colleague. While in New York, however, he conversed with John Dickins respecting his embassy. Mr. Dickins was one of the ablest of the preachers, and probably as influential among his brethren as any one except Asbury. According to Coke, Dickins fully accepted Mr. Wesley's authority, and entertained no thought that any one would venture to suggest a revision of the plan. Coke, in his Journal, Nov. 3, 1784, writes in New York:

> I have opened Mr. Wesley's plan to Brother Dickins, the traveling preacher stationed at this place, and he highly approves of it; says that all the preachers most earnestly long for such a regulation, and that Mr. Asbury he is sure will agree to it. He presses me most earnestly to make it public, because, as he most justly argues, Mr. Wesley has determined the point, and, therefore, it is not to be investigated, but complied with.*

According to this view Coke would have fulfilled his mission had he proceeded at once to make proclamation thereof, and to ordain such of the preachers as he saw proper. He, however, chose to see Mr. Asbury before he took any step forward. Asbury, according to the opinion which Coke attributed to Dickins, could only submit to the behest of Mr. Wesley, as conveyed by Coke.

On the 14th of November, 1784, at a quarterly meeting at Barratt's Chapel in the State of Delaware, Dr. Coke for the first time met Francis Asbury. In his Journal he says:

> After dining in company with eleven of our preachers at our Sister Barratt's, about a mile from the chapel, Mr. Asbury and I had a private conversation concerning the future management of our affairs in America. *I privately opened our plan to Mr. Asbury. He expressed considerable doubts concerning it, which I rather applaud than otherwise.* He informed me that he had received some intimations of my arrival on the continent; and as he thought it probable I might meet him that day, and might have something of importance to communicate to him from Mr. Wesley, he had therefore collected a considerable number of the preachers to form a council, and if they were of opinion that it would be expedient

* Coke's Journals, p. 13. London, 1793.

immediately to call a Conference, it should be done. They were accordingly sent for, and after debate were unanimously of opinion *that it would be best immediately to call a Conference of all the traveling preachers on the continent.* We therefore sent off Freeborn Garrettson like an arrow from North to South *the whole length of the continent, or of our work,* directing him to send messengers to the right and left, and to gather all the preachers together at Baltimore on Christmas Eve.*

It is evident from the above, that when Dr. Coke conversed for the first time with Mr. Asbury concerning his mission, new views were suggested by the latter to him. Asbury, unlike Dickins, did not at once approve of all that Mr. Wesley had done in the premises, although it seems certain from his statements which I have already given that he did not object to the purpose Wesley had formed of giving ordination to the preachers, and thereby the sacraments to the people. He had long desired and sought this provision at Mr. Wesley's hands, and surely now that Wesley had granted what he had so earnestly and importunately prayed for, he would not hesitate to receive it. Yet, says Dr. Coke, "he expressed considerable doubts concerning it." Asbury obviously believed that he had rights which he was not required to yield even to the venerated Wesley. And those rights he had the courage to assert.

The question is both interesting and important, inasmuch as it relates to the origin of Methodist Episcopacy in the United States—the question, namely: What were the "considerable doubts" which Mr. Asbury expressed to Dr. Coke respecting the mission upon which the latter had come? Let us see if that question can be answered.

James O'Kelly published a work entitled "The Author's Apology for Protesting Against the Methodist Episcopal Government. Richmond, 1798." As this transcript of its title-page shows, O'Kelly's work was issued in the year 1798. In the year 1800 the General Conference took action concerning it as follows:

Resolved, That Brothers Roberts and Snethen be requested to draw up an answer to James O'Kelly's book, and that Brother Morrell assist them with his judgment in the process of the work.†

* The italicized words in this quotation are not found in the volume of Coke's Journals, but are found in his Journal as printed in the "Arminian Magazine" (American), in 1789.

† General Conference Journal, vol. i, p. 44.

This work was performed by Mr. Snethen, who published his "Reply" to O'Kelly in 1800. The "Reply" was quickly followed by O'Kelly's "Vindication" of the "Apology." In the year 1802 was issued a second pamphlet in defense of Asbury and the Church, entitled "An Answer to James O'Kelly's Vindication of his Apology, and an Explanation of the Reply. By Nicholas Snethen." Before this last work of Snethen was published it passed through Asbury's hands, as he certifies in the following statement in his Journal February 5, 1801: "I received the compilation of N. Snethen, intended as an answer to James O'Kelly. It is well done and very correctly done, except in a few cases." The "Answer," which was not published until more than a year after this attestation to its correctness was given by Asbury, may be regarded, as to its historical facts certainly, as Asbury's utterance, or at least as having his approval.

In this "Answer to James O'Kelly's Vindication," the general correctness of which Mr. Asbury affirmed, the following facts were recorded:

The proposal which was made by Mr. Asbury, and agreed to by the Maniken town Conference* and the process and the termination of the plan of the Fluvanna Conference† was transmitted by Mr. Asbury to Mr. Wesley, when the war ended in the acknowledgment of American Independence.‡ Dr. Coke was dispatched to America with authority to establish an independence

* The Maniken town Conference was that at which the Southern preachers, that is, those in Virginia and North Carolina, agreed with the committee from the North, composed of Asbury, Watters, and Garrettson, to suspend their ordinations and administration of the sacraments pending a reference of the controversy to Wesley.

† The "Fluvanna Conference" was the Conference of 1779 held in Fluvanna County, Virginia, in the absence of Asbury (who was then in retirement on account of the war), at which it was determined to institute ministerial ordination and the administration of the sacraments. For this purpose a committee was formed consisting of Philip Gatch, James Foster, Leroy Cole, and Reuben Ellis, and the Conference agreed "to observe all the resolutions of the committee, so far as the said committee shall adhere to the Scriptures." "The committee invested with the power proceeded to ordain each other and then to ordain those preachers who were desirous of receiving ordination." (Memoirs of Gatch, pp. 68, 71.) This procedure Asbury opposed, and the Northern Conference (Baltimore) stood with him until the Conference at Manlken town in 1780, when the ordinances were suspended and the case referred to Wesley.

‡ In his Journal September 16, 1780, is this record by Asbury: "Wrote to Mr. Wesley at the desire of the Virginia Conference, who had consented to suspend the administration of the ordinances for one year."

of the hierarchy of the Church of England by ordaining the American preachers, etc. Mr. Asbury would accept of no powers from the doctor without the consent and choice of the preachers who were called to meet in Conference. Among the rules offered by the doctor was one designed to preserve the future union between the British and American Methodists.* Mr. Asbury objected to it in the form it was proposed as unreasonable and highly improper. He thought that as the Societies in America had continued for a number of years without any such obligation, to require it immediately after the peace would be attended with unhappy political consequences, as it was well known that Mr. Wesley had written in favor of the British ministry. But the doctor contended for it, and Mr. Asbury agreed to submit if it met with the approbation of the preachers. The obligation being laid before the Conference met with opposition, but it passed in the form in which it was printed in the Minutes. See page 2, question 2. What can be done in order to preserve the future union of the Methodists? Answer. During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready in matters of Church government to obey his commands. And we do engage after his death to do every thing that we judge consistent with the cause of religion in America, and the political interests of these States, to preserve and promote our Union with the Methodists of Europe. †

With the reader's indulgence I will here recall to his recollection two or three facts: 1. For a considerable time the work had gone on in this country without any direction from Mr. Wesley, his General Assistant or deputy, Mr. Rankin, having fled from his post in September, 1777, and entered the British lines, and communication between England and America being interrupted by the war. 2. During that period of non-

* This scheme for "union" seems to show that an "*independent* Church" was not designed by Mr. Wesley.

† With respect to the requirement to accept this rule of Mr. Wesley, Asbury, in his Journal, vol. ii, p. 322, says: "I never approved of that binding minute. I did not think it practical expediency to obey Mr. Wesley at three thousand miles distance in all matters relative to Church government." In a letter to the Rev. Joseph Benson, Asbury says: "He [Wesley] rigidly contended for a special and independent right of governing the chief minister or ministers of our order, which in our judgment went not only to put him out of office, but to remove him from the continent to elsewhere that our father saw fit. . . . After the Revolution we were called upon to give a printed obligation, which here follows, and which could not be dispensed with—it must be: 'During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel; ready in matters relating to Church government to obey his commands," etc. Our people and preachers were coming out of their childhood—they thought for themselves. If this obligation was necessary, why not introduce it in former years?'"

intercourse Asbury, the only preacher sent by Wesley who remained in the country, with the consent of the preachers served as the Overseer, or Bishop, if you please, of American Methodism, stationing the preachers, and otherwise supervising the work. 3. During this period of home government, which extended over several years, the cause was more prosperous than ever before, notwithstanding the tribulations occasioned by the war. No wonder then that Asbury, who was fully identified with the country and with the rising Methodism within its territory, which latter was composed, he tells us, of only about 500 members when he came hither, and which for so long he had successfully governed, objected to surrender all his power to the venerable father of the Methodist people, who was separated from his children in America by three thousand miles of ocean when steam-ships were yet unknown. When Coke met him with authority from Wesley to divide the labors and the responsibility of the superintendency with him, and requiring in Wesley's name absolute submission to the supremacy of the great English apostle in all matters of ecclesiastical government, it is not surprising that Asbury "expressed considerable doubts concerning" such measures and requirements. Asbury was able to so set forth the reasonableness of his "doubts" as to gain Coke's acquiescence, at least in a good degree, for Coke says of them, "I rather applaud than otherwise."

Two or three facts are thus settled beyond all controversy or doubt: 1. That when Dr. Coke explained to Mr. Asbury the mission on which he had come, Asbury expressed his opposition to Mr. Wesley's requirement, that the American Methodists should submit to his absolute personal government. 2. That Mr. Asbury refused to accept the superintendency by the appointment of Mr. Wesley. Respecting this point Asbury in his Journal of November 14, 1784, says:

> I was shocked when first informed of the intention of these my brethren in coming to this country. It may be of God. My answer then was, if the preachers unanimously choose me, I shall not act in the capacity I have hitherto done by Mr. Wesley's appointment.

Had he accepted the office from Wesley he would have been responsible to him as his chief and as the source of his authority. 3. That Mr. Asbury placed the authority of the

American Methodist preachers above that of Mr. Wesley, so far as the government of the Societies in this country was concerned. In this he stood in opposition to Mr. Wesley. And there is scarcely a doubt that his doing so led to the convocation known as the Christmas Conference. Thomas Ware, who as a narrator of events which occurred at that time is in high repute, says that Asbury said to Coke, "Doctor, we will call the preachers together, and the voice of the preachers shall be to me the voice of God. A Conference was accordingly agreed upon." *

Errors sometimes become not only venerable but venerated. Such seems to be the opinion which has so long been cherished by the greater part of the Methodist Episcopal Church, namely, that the Christmas Conference of 1784 was held in accordance with the design of Mr. Wesley, and the supposed provision made by him for organizing an independent Church. Mr. Wesley could hardly have designed that a Conference should be convened for such a purpose. He apparently meant that Coke and Asbury, as his proxies, should hold Conferences, as Rankin and Asbury had done for years, and that they should station and ordain the preachers; but it is doubtful if he meant that the Conferences should legislate or even vote upon any question of ecclesiastical polity whatsoever. In the light of the facts, and of Wesley's known practice in not allowing questions to be determined in Conference by vote, the opinion that he directed Coke to call the preachers together in a General Conference to debate and determine so grave a question as that of organizing an independent Church is highly questionable. Wesley probably no more intended that the preachers should do *that* than that they should vote themselves prelates or papists.

It is a well-established fact that Mr. Wesley never allowed his preachers to vote in Conference. In 1785, soon after the Christmas Conference, he held a Conference in London of which he says: "About seventy preachers were present whom I had invited by name. One consequence of this was, we had no contention or altercation at all." He knew his men and called together only such as he chose to confer with, and thus unanimity prevailed in his councils. To convene all the American preachers in order that they might formally organize the Methodist

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," vol. xiv, p. 97.

Episcopal Church, legislate for it, and elect bishops, could scarcely have been the project of the founder of Methodism. He meant, as his appointment of Dr. Coke shows, to assert and maintain his own authority and supremacy in America as he had done in England from the beginning of the Methodist movement. That supremacy Mr. Asbury refused to acknowledge, and therefore we suspect the Conference was held.

It is likely that the work of the Christmas Conference would not have escaped the disapproval of Mr. Wesley but for the fact that it adopted the minute which he required the American preachers to accept, and which he probably meant should be incorporated into the minutes of the District Conferences,* namely, that "During the life of the Rev. Mr. Wesley we acknowledge ourselves his sons in the Gospel, ready in matters belonging to Church government to obey his commands." As long as the American Methodists were loyally subject to him as their earthly head, it was of little account to Mr. Wesley that they adopted the title Methodist Episcopal Church by the vote of a General Conference. They did not thereby absolve the body from his control, and therefore he probably looked upon the procedure as of little consequence.

One thing, however, he attempted, namely, to prohibit the preachers in Conference from voting. Mr. Snethen says: "Mr. Wesley blamed his General Superintendents for allowing the American preachers to vote. Mr. Asbury was the first to offend, and so procured his own election." Wesley's authority would be more secure if no measure was subjected to a vote. Hence Thomas Ware says:

> As we had pledged ourselves to obey, he instructed the doctor, according to his own usage, to put as few questions to vote as possible, saying, "If you and Brother Asbury and Brother Whatcoat are agreed, it is enough." †

Asbury, who had shrewdly taken the precaution to have a band of about a dozen of his preachers with him when he met Coke, apparently secured a General Conference. The Conference, when it had assembled, declared its prerogatives. Opposition was shown in the Conference to the minute which Coke in Wes-

* A Conference then, as now, included the work and the preachers of a given territory or district, and so was called a District Conference.

† "Life of Ware," p. 130.

ley's name insisted should be accepted, namely, the minute declaring submission to Mr. Wesley's commands. Asbury maintained silence in the Conference respecting it. He says: "I was mute and modest when it passed." Having first of all declared their readiness to obey Mr. Wesley in all matters of Church government, the Conference further declared that "we will form ourselves into an Episcopal Church." It also established an elective Superintendency or Episcopacy, defined its powers, and elected Thomas Coke and Francis Asbury incumbents of the office. As no record of this *election* appeared in the printed Minutes of the Conference the fact of Asbury's election was denied by Mr. O'Kelly in both his "Apology" and his "Vindication." Mr. Snethen, in his "Answer" to O'Kelly's "Vindication," published the following documentary testimony to that fact:

> We whose names are undersigned do testify that we were members of the Conference held in Baltimore in the year of our Lord 1784, and that the method of deciding all questions was by voting, and that Mr. Asbury was elected as is asserted in the "Reply," page 9, by a unanimous vote.
>
> EDWARD DROMGOOLE, IRA ELLIS,
> WILLIAM WATTERS, LE ROY COLE.
> JOHN HAGERTY,

In a recent work,* in which I examined some unfamiliar authorities bearing upon the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I quoted Mr. Wesley's declaration that he did not separate the American Methodists from the English Church. Professor Tigert, of Vanderbilt University, in reviewing a portion of the book in an article in the "Quarterly Review of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South" (July, 1885), makes a very unwarranted statement, as follows:

> On one other point Dr. Atkinson wholly misapprehends the situation. He argues that Mr. Wesley did not intend the American Methodists to be independent of the Church of England. This is puerile. If it were not for the discourtesy implied in it, idiotic would be the best descriptive epithet.

A controversialist gives evidence of being embarrassed when he attempts to vanquish an adversary by calling him hard names rather than by facts or reason. That an intelligent writer, with my volume in his hand, should make such a statement as the

* See the writer's "Centennial History of American Methodism."

above seems almost incredible. I did not "argue" the matter in question at all; I simply quoted Mr. Wesley's own words:

Judging this to be a case of real necessity, I took a step which, for peace and quietness, I had refrained from taking for many years. I exercised that power which I am fully persuaded the great Shepherd and Bishop of the Church has given me: I appointed three of our laborers to go and help them [that is, the Methodists in America], by not only preaching the word of God, but likewise by administering the sacraments in all that vast land. These are the steps which, not of choice, but necessity, I have slowly and deliberately taken. If any one is pleased to call this separating from the Church [of England] he may. But the law of England does not call it so. After Dr. Coke's return from America many of our friends begged I would consider the case of Scotland, where we had been laboring for many years, and had seen so little fruit of our labors. Multitudes, indeed, have set out well, but they were soon turned out of the way; chiefly by their ministers either disputing against the truth, or refusing to admit them to the Lord's Supper, yea, or to baptize their children, unless they would promise to have no fellowship with the Methodists. Many who did so, soon lost all they had gained, and became more the children of hell than before. To prevent this, I at length consented to take *the same step* with regard to Scotland which *I had done with regard to America.* But *this is not a separation from the Church* at all. Whatever then is done, either *in America* or Scotland, *is no separation from the Church of England. I have no thought of this: I have many objections against it.**

John Wesley was not surpassed by any man in his day in the ability to say clearly the thing he had to say. He says with the utmost clearness and positiveness in 1785 that what he did in 1784 for the Methodists in America was "no separation from the Church of England," and furthermore, that he had "no thought" of such a "separation," and further still, that he had "many objections against it." Now Professor Tigert proceeds, though with some hesitancy, which he attributes to courtesy, to pronounce this position of Mr. Wesley quoted before his eyes as "idiotic." All this Professor Tigert affirms is "puerile," or as he would prefer, but for the discourtesy, to say, "idiotic." Well, if so, the puerility and idiocy are Mr. Wesley's. The professor's caustic epithets, however, will scarcely demolish the grave and emphatic declarations of John Wesley.

* This statement appeared in the Wesleyan Minutes, is dated August, 1785, and is found in Wesley's Works, vii, pp. 314, 315. The italics in the quotation are mine.

Mr. Wesley declares, that in sending Coke to this country as his ordained Superintendent, he had no intention of separating the American Methodists from the Church of England. This is clearly expressed in his words written in 1785: "Whatever is done [by Mr. Wesley] in America is no separation from the Church of England."

It is said, however, that Mr. Wesley drew up a plan of Church government for the American Methodists when he commissioned Coke as his embassador. No "plan" has ever been found in Wesley's writings or elsewhere save the "Circular Letter." All that he had to say he seems to have said in that document, and in it he says not a word about any "plan" of Church organization which he had conceived. It is alleged, furthermore, that he indicated the design of a separate Church organization by preparing the Articles of Religion and the Liturgy for the use of the Societies in the United States. His own words in the "Circular Letter," which for some reason have been eliminated from the document as now extant, show what he meant in sending over the liturgy. Wesley says (I quote from the Circular Letter the passage which has been eliminated):

> I have prepared a Liturgy little differing from that of the Church of England (I think the best constituted National Church in the world), which I advise all the traveling preachers to use on the Lord's day in all the congregations, reading the litany only on Wednesdays and Fridays, and praying extempore on all other days. I also advise the elders to administer the supper of the Lord on every Lord's day. *

Now for the Sunday service, for prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and for the sacramental occasions, he prepared the Liturgy, which also included forms for the ordinations at which Dr. Coke was to preside—the ordination, that is to say, of a superintendent, elders, and deacons.

With respect to the Articles of Religion, it may be said that it was apparent to Mr. Wesley that the rising Methodism of the New World required some convenient statement of doctrine, not only for the use of the members themselves, but also that others, and especially inquirers, might know what theological opinions were involved in the new religious movement. The war, which had stopped the intercourse between Wesley

* See Life of Wesley by Coke and Moore, pp. 460, 461. London, 1792.

and his American children, was over. When it began they numbered only about three thousand, with but nineteen preachers; now they were an aggressive and growing body having about fifteen thousand members and above eighty preachers. In communicating with them after so long an interval, during which they had enjoyed such growth, Wesley deemed it wise to furnish them, what they so manifestly needed, an outline of Christian doctrine. This, together with the liturgy, the hymn book, and the ordinations, constituted all that Wesley did or proposed to do respecting the American Methodists, if we may judge from his own declarations in the case.

It may, however, be further alleged that Dr. Coke, in his sermon at the ordination of Asbury as Superintendent, asserted that "after long deliberation he (Wesley) saw it his duty to form his Society in America into an independent Church."

The language of Coke must be taken, then, as he gives it, namely, that Wesley "saw it *his* duty to form an independent Church." But Wesley did not form the Methodist Episcopal Church. That was done by the body of preachers in Conference assembled at Baltimore in 1784. The wish to be absolutely fair compels me to give the following passage from the Rev. Nicholas Snethen's "Answer" to O'Kelly's "Vindication," which probably very few now living have ever seen. This passage reads: "The American preachers in 1784, by Mr. Wesley's advice and consent, agreed by a majority of votes to form themselves into a separate body to be called the Methodist Episcopal Church in America." The fact that Snethen's "Answer" was read in manuscript by Asbury gives great weight to its statements. We would say in reference to this, however, that while there is no doubt that Asbury and the preachers of the Christmas Conference believed that it was in harmony with "the advice and consent of Mr. Wesley" that they should maintain a certain Episcopal Church order, there is not a word of Wesley's to show that the "advice and consent" of which Mr. Snethen speaks was ever definitely expressed by him. It seems rather to have been *inferred* by the preachers at Baltimore from what he did and said.

The history of the origin of the Christmas Conference seems to show that Wesley did not appoint it or propose it, but that Asbury's refusal to accept Wesley's appointment, and to submit

as Wesley required to his personal authority in all things relating to the government of the American Societies, except the preachers agreed to the same, caused that Conference to be convened. All the independent Church which Wesley proposed apparently was, to maintain the same firm grasp upon the Methodism of the United States now that they had achieved political independence which he held while they were a part of the British Empire; and in doing so to furnish them by his own hand, through the medium of Coke, ordination, an outline of doctrine, a liturgy, a hymn book, and a "joint" instead of a single superintendency. In so far as that went, indeed, Wesley formed "his Society into an independent Church," though with no thought, as he declares, of separation from the Church of England, and certainly with no thought of separating "his Society" from his personal and unquestioned control.

After Dr. Coke made the assertion at Asbury's ordination concerning Mr. Wesley having seen it to be "his duty to form his Society into an independent Church," Wesley, who doubtless read Coke's statement in the printed sermon, wrote his declaration which we have quoted already, namely, "Whatever is done in America, *is no separation from the Church of England.* I have no thought of this: I have many objections against it." Thus did Wesley contradict Coke's declaration respecting "an independent Church" several months after Coke uttered it.

Dr. Coke was privileged to enjoy a number of personal interviews with his chief after the Christmas Conference. With the clearer light which those interviews gave him of the views and intentions of Mr. Wesley respecting the "independent Church," Coke, in 1791, said:

> I am not sure but that I went further in the separation of our Church in America than Mr. Wesley, from whom I received my commission, did intend. He did, indeed, solemnly invest me, so far as he had a right so to do, with episcopal authority, but *did not intend*, I think, *that our entire separation should take place.* This I am certain of, that he is now sorry for the separation.*

The most favorable interpretation which can be given of this case is, that Dr. Coke was not clear in his understanding of

* Dr. Coke's letter to Bishop White, dated April 24, 1791.

Wesley's views as to "an independent Church," when, with Asbury, he presided at the Christmas Conference.

Then, furthermore, what did the "independent Church" which originated at the Christmas Conference amount to in Coke's estimate? Evidently but little more than "a rope of sand." In a letter written by Dr. Coke in 1808 to one of the foremost leaders of the Methodist Episcopal Church at that time, he refers to the letter he wrote to Bishop White concerning the union of the Methodist Episcopal Church with the Protestant Episcopal Church, and says:

> As to my letter to Bishop White, most of my brethren who are now members of the General Conference were then children or lads. We had no regular General Conferences. We had had only one.* There were only district meetings. † The little connection was in danger of becoming a mere rope of sand, if the Lord had been pleased to take away Bishop Asbury. As to the repetition of the imposition of hands, I considered it then, as I do now, as a perfectly unessential point. I acted for the best; but with no intention of taking any actual step but by the consent of a General Conference. ‡

At the time Coke wrote the letter to Bishop White to which he refers in the above excerpt, Wesley's authority had been rejected for about four years by the new Church. Asbury administered its affairs, as he had done during the Revolution, when Wesley had little or no communication with the American Methodists. Coke had but little to do with the affairs of the Church, and was not even consulted in reference to stationing the preachers. The Christmas Conference had adjourned without making any provision for future legislation. No General Conference, or other method of ascertaining and giving authoritative expression to the will of the Church on questions of government that might arise in the course of its progress, seems to have been considered. Mr. Wesley was the acknowledged ruler and lawgiver of American Methodism when the Christmas Conference dissolved; and that being the case, it is

* That one was the Christmas Conference. This hitherto unpublished word of Coke settles the query which Stevens in his "History" has discussed at length, whether there was a General Conference between 1784 and 1792.

† The District Conferences Coke here calls "district meetings."

‡ Manuscript letter of Dr. Coke, dated March 1, 1808. This, I presume, is the first time that any part of this letter has been printed.

probable that no arrangement looking to future legislation was deemed necessary. When, however, the preachers in Conference in 1787 determined to be no longer subject to the authority of Wesley, the Methodist Episcopal Church was found to be but a frail ecclesiastical fabric. The government centered chiefly in Asbury; and, should the young Church be subjected to the strain of his removal, Coke thought it would be liable to crumble into fragments like "a mere rope of sand." So thinking, he wrote to Bishop White, with a view to its union with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Even the Episcopal ordination of the new Church did not, in Coke's view, possess such significance as to prevent it from being readily surrendered for the sake of the union he proposed; and as late as 1808, he declares that he still considered it "a perfectly unessential point." Plainly, then, in Dr. Coke's opinion, not very much was achieved in 1784 in the matter of forming "an independent Church." And, as a matter of fact, it must be acknowledged that there was about nothing of Church adjustment in the Methodism of America after the Christmas Conference dissolved which it did not possess before the Conference was convened, except what Wesley himself gave it in his ordinations, liturgy, psalmody, and the abridgment of the Thirty-nine Articles as its theological symbols, together with the assumption by the Conference of a title, and the declaration for an elective superintendency. Had Asbury accepted Coke, and also Wesley's appointment of himself as Superintendent, without question, as he had previously accepted from Wesley the office of Assistant, and the General Conference had not therefore been called, the result, with the exception of title and election, would have been about what it actually was. The liturgy and psalmody would have been the same; the ordained ministry and Articles of Faith would have been the same; and the absolute submission to Mr. Wesley's commands in all matters of government would have been the same. The work of the Methodist Episcopal Church organization was yet to be achieved, with the exception of a bare and fragile frame-work, when the preachers of the historic Conference of 1784 departed from Baltimore. In a future article we propose to review the steps by which a more perfect organization was accomplished.

Art. IV.—BISHOP MARTENSEN.

The Autobiography of Benvenuto Cellini opens with the statement that "all men, of whatever rank, who have done any thing virtuous or virtuous-like, should, providing they be conscious of really good intentions, write down their lives; nevertheless, they should not undertake this worthy enterprise until they have reached the age of forty." Of the many who have since thought it worth while to give the world a picture of their lives, few have perhaps had a better right to do so, and few have better fulfilled the conditions laid down by the shrewd Italian, than the late Bishop Martensen, theologian, preacher, and ecclesiastical organizer. His life, though not so stirring as that of the statesman or the soldier, was greater than that of either, and of more abiding interest, for it was the life of one of the deepest and purest Christian thinkers of our age. His Autobiography—written in his old age, and when, as he himself pathetically tells us, "he spoke with his foot on the very brink of the grave"—will therefore be regarded by many as not the least welcome and valuable of the various thought-legacies which he has left us. It has been to many in his own land and elsewhere not only a guide through the difficulties which beset the pathway of the inquiring spirit, but a help to larger and more hopeful views of life and its possibilities.

Hans Lassen Martensen was born at Flensburg, in South Jutland, on the 19th of April, 1808. His father, like most of the peasant class of the north, was a sailor until he was, during that unsettled time, made a prisoner by the English, when his health gave way, and he had to try a new mode of life as a writer of text-books on Navigation. With this view he removed to Copenhagen, where his writings, which supplied a gap in that kind of literature, brought him some reputation, as well as a scant livelihood. His mother, Anna Maria Truelsen, was the daughter of a second-hand book-seller. Hers was a quiet, contemplative spirit, possessing at all times a contented joy in life, combined with a hopeful outlook into the future. It was she who first taught young Hans to pray; and it was from her, as well as from his father, he early learned to be-

lieve in the government and guidance of God in good as well as evil days.

His home-life, if somewhat lonely, was happy and peaceful. "Elia," in one of his exquisite Essays, says: "Brother or sister I never had any—to know them. A sister, I think that should have been Elizabeth, died in both our infancies. What a comfort, or what a care, may I not have missed in her!" Martensen had a brother, but he died in early childhood; and he deeply regrets, more than once, in his Autobiography, that he never had a sister. "My natural disposition," he tells us, "led me to a quiet, inner life; and while I lived in my inner world, and gave myself undisturbedly to it, the outer world was as indifferent to me as could well be. Had I a sister, this might have been otherwise. All my life long I have felt it as a want that I had no sister." But he tried to make up for the lack in those early years by loving his mother, and his books, and the violin—the use of which he learned from his father—and in whose company he spent many a pleasant hour.

Young Martensen was not very fortunate in his first school at Flensburg. A cold atmosphere of rationalism pervaded it, and the subjects taught, especially the scraps of natural science, were exceedingly distasteful. At Copenhagen matters were slightly better, though even yet classical studies, with the exception of the fables of Phædrus, did not greatly interest him. He did not inherit his father's talent for mathematics; and, as a mental discipline, he neither then nor afterward derived much help from studies of that kind. At this stage his own national literature, and particularly the poems of Oehlenschläger, had the most interest for him.

In 1822 his father died, and left his mother "not only in deep sorrow, but in straitened circumstances." In the following year he was enrolled, through the assistance of friends, in the chief or Metropolitan School in Copenhagen. Here a new world disclosed itself, and he reveled in its treasures. Herodotus, Homer, Ovid, and Cicero filled him with youthful wonderment and delight. He also, at the same period, made the acquaintance of Shakespeare (through Foersom's translation), Schiller, Goethe, Tieck, Novalis, and, above all, he studied anew his old friend Oehlenschläger, of whom he says, "that in richness and fullness of fancy, and in beauty and freshness of

language, he is excelled by none of the world's greatest poets." It was then, too, he fell in with Steffen's "False Theology and True Faith." Though he did not fully understand this work, it made a deep impression on him. From it he received the idea that all that has significance in the sphere of being—nature and spirit; nature and history; poetry, art, and philosophy—forms but one temple of the spirit, in which Christianity is the all-dominating and all-enlightening center.

In this state, with many vistas of knowledge opening before him, and many beautiful ideals of truth dawning upon his spirit, he entered the University in 1827, at the age of nineteen.

At first he studied, with diligence and distinction, philology and philosophy; but his inclinations, as well as the spirit of the age, soon led him to direct his attention to theology. Throughout all Protestant Christendom new ideas were spreading, and the coarse rationalism which had hitherto oppressed the spirits of men like a horrible nightmare was fast beginning to pass away before a more enlightened and scientific presentation of the Christian faith. Schelling, Hegel, and Schleiermacher were then in the ascendant, and their influence gave a fresh impulse to religious life and thought. It was a time of revolution and reconstruction — for theology, perhaps the most momentous through which it has ever passed—and an ardent soul like Martensen could not be insensible to it. In his own land, Grundtvig and Mynster, the representatives of liberal orthodoxy, were the leaders of the opposition against the old rationalistic system; and it was through them he was first led to take a deep and speculative interest in the new movement. But still he did not find in either the satisfaction and guidance he sought. Grundtvig was a great historic and prophetic character, throwing out large thoughts about the world and Christianity, but he was no theologian. He had no solution of the ground problem—the union of faith and knowledge; and though the young scholar learned much from him, possibly more than he knew, he could not follow him as a guide. There was a fascination in the man and his views; but, for as much as he had spoken and written, there was no word which had brought peace and assurance to his spirit.

Of Mynster, too, he could say the same thing. This beautiful soul, alike distinguished as a preacher and a theologian, made

a deep impression upon him; still, he could not say he had reached ground on which he could take his stand, and from which his further development might proceed. His soul, like Noah's dove, saw no place amid the wastes around where it could find rest. There was a kind of dualism in his being; for his religious interests kept pace with his speculative inquiries, and he felt he could only acquiesce in that which brought satisfaction to both. What he sought was the adjustment of the problems of faith and of knowledge, and that he had, as yet, failed to find.

The first who put him on the right track was Sibbern, Professor of Moral Philosophy in his own University. This acute thinker endeavored to combine religion and speculation, and in doing so he arrived at a point at once higher than that attained by either the orthodox or rationalistic methods. In his system Christianity was accepted not simply on the authority of Scripture, or of the Church, or because it speaks to our hearts and consciences, but because we immediately know it to be true in the light and certainty of its own objective reality. He further regarded it as the mightiest power on earth—and that in the sphere of practical life as well as in the world of thought. As such, he maintained, it can answer the deepest questions of the thinking spirit, it can supply the needs and yearnings of the human heart, and it can furnish the mind with an all-embracing conception of the world.

It was while these views of Sibbern were silently growing in the soul of Martensen—like the seed which the man in the parable cast into the ground, and which grew up he knew not how—that he came under the spell of the two greatest thinkers of modern times—Schleiermacher and Hegel.

The "Christian Dogmatics" of the former, which marks an era in theological literature, he found, as most young students at first find, to be very difficult reading. He failed to understand its separation of theology from philosophy; he missed its idea of God; and as to its doctrine of last things, he comprehended almost nothing; yet he assures us he was deeply fascinated by its central thought of sin and redemption, and by its marvelous structural conception, which makes it, next to Calvin's "Institutes," the greatest masterpiece of theological thought. While Martensen was engaged in studying this epochal work, Schleier-

macher paid a visit to Copenhagen, and he had the good fortune to make his acquaintance. "He was," he informs us, "a very little man—or, as Sibbern put it, 'a little spare man'—somewhat deformed, with white hair over his high and beautiful forehead (for he was then sixty-five years of age), and with deep, piercing eyes which, while he spoke, glanced from beneath upward, and overtopped the person with whom he conversed; yet the longer he spoke the more you became impressed you were standing in the presence of a great personality." He took kindly to Martensen, and entered freely into his difficulties. When he understood he was studying his *Christlicher Glaube*, he said, in his own quiet, good-humored way, "*Meine Dogmatik ist nicht leicht!*." (My "Dogmatics" is not the lightest kind of literature.) The chief discussions between the two were based on various points treated in this work. One day Martensen asked him whether he believed a philosophical knowledge of the being of God—of his inner, eternal life-processes—were possible. He answered that he regarded such an effort of the intellect to apprehend the Infinite as a mere illusion and deception. We cannot think otherwise than by contrasts or opposites; but God, according to him, was the absolute, the eternal Ground of our thought, the Being of all beings (*Wesen aller Wesen*), raised above all contrasts or opposites; and to think of him as a personality, or, with Spinoza, as a *natura naturans*, is to think of him by contrast, or in a finite, anthropomorphic, or creaturely fashion. In this view Martensen could not acquiesce. He preferred to follow Hegel, Schelling, Böhme, and those kindred spirits who maintained that God must be thought of antithetically. Without distinction or contrast, he felt that God could not be for him the living, self-revealing Triune God. Hence Schleiermacher, following out his own speculations to their true issues, was a one-sided Unitarian (a Sabellian).

Martensen owed much to this original and strangely mixed genius. What his influence on him might have been, had not the friendship of respect and love which had just been formed between the two been separated by death, it is difficult to say. As it was, in the building up of his character and in the unfolding of his thoughts, the translator of Plato, with his richly endowed Socratic individuality, with his mysticism, his piety,

and philosophy, must be taken into account as not the least important factor.

Hegel, whom he next studied, presented quite a contrast to Schleiermacher. He discarded altogether feeling and the pious disposition, which the other made so much of, and made thought—not simply subjective thought, but divine thought, penetrating the whole universe, and revealing itself in it—the basis of his entire system. In keeping with this conception, he was hopeful that theology, which had become attenuated, shriveled, and barren, might attain new life and honor by being reproduced in such a living and real form as would render it capable of being discerned in its true nature and according to the necessity of the indwelling idea.

While seeking to understand the "secret of Hegel," the idea Martensen at this time formed of his view of the world was, that in which Christ was represented as "the center of being, at the background of the Trinity; and the universe as a system of concentric circles, all pointing to the inner circle in which Christ lives, and all finding in him their explanation and meaning." Still, he is rather inclined to question whether this conception is borne out by his writings, and speaks somewhat hesitatingly of other voices which were raised in condemnation of them as tending directly to sink all individual and personal being into a kind of logical pantheism. But, however this might be, the more he studied this profoundest of modern philosophers the more he accepted his system, and became inclosed in it as in a magical net. It had a special fascination for him, because it proceeded from the unity of thought and being, and because it was destructive of Kant's view of knowledge (that "we can only know a thing as it is for us, and not as it is in itself")—a view he regarded with the strongest antipathy. He felt, with Baader and others, that the dialectic of Hegel had "kindled a fire through which all that shall prove itself valid in science must pass." And, though he ultimately broke with his autonomistic and pantheistic principles, this feeling never left him. To the last he loved Hegelianism, and was a worthy representative of its so-called right wing.

Thus he passed his student days in gleaning knowledge from every field in which he could find it. In 1832, at the close of

his university course, he held the first place, and obtained the gold medal for distinction in theology. Two years later he won a traveling scholarship, which entitled him to study abroad at the expense of the State. This was an honor he greatly coveted, and he did ample credit to it. During the two years he held it he studied in succession at Berlin, Heidelberg, Munich, Vienna, and Paris. At these various seats of learning theology and philosophy chiefly occupied his attention. He read the Church Fathers, especially Athanasius; he made a particular study of the mystics of all ages, with the intention of writing a work on that subject; and, above all, he sought to get a clear understanding of the leading philosophic systems of his day.

It was a time of intense mental activity, and, at one part of it at least, it was a time of utter skepticism. While at Berlin, a bodily illness brought on a state of hypochondria, which, assuming a subtle, psychical character, shook to its base the entire fabric of his thought. What was before for him true and certain as the light was now doubtful and dark as night. But, what was even worse still, his disease filled him with a kind of surfeit of life, in which "every thing was equally indifferent; and all reality, as well in the world of things as of thought, had resolved itself into empty shadows." It was not that he doubted this or that particular truth, such as the doctrine of immortality—the bone of contention between the right and the left wing of Hegelianism; he doubted the whole system of truth. With him the problem to be solved was one which turned upon God, and the idea of God. "Who," he asked his own soul, "is the true God? Is it the living God, the God of revelation? or is it Pantheism, the god of heathenism?"

In seeking to answer these questions he felt there was much in Pantheism which was true as it was beautiful, but it failed to meet his wants. He could not be satisfied with a merely impersonal God; and Pantheism—whether it be thought of as Nature, the logical idea, the logical process, or the logical spirit—could give him no other. And what could such a deity as that care for him? or what interest could he, in his turn, have in a being who only stood related to him as the necessity of his thought and life, in good as in evil? What he yearned for was a God who was really and personally present in his

own world, whose fullness streamed through every sphere of earthly existence, and in whom we all "live, and move, and have our being." But again, in his search for this God who is touched with the weal and woe of humanity, he was met with the fresh difficulty: "How can he be all, and at the same time a real existence, an individual?"

He was thus in a state of complete intellectual bewilderment, and he knew not rightly what to think or to do. Pantheism had its insuperable difficulties, so had Theism; and as for Deism, with what Carlyle calls its "absentee God," he left it out of account altogether. At last he concluded there remained nothing for him, now he had lost faith in all higher ideals of personality, but to render homage to this world, its kingdoms and its glory.

Strange to say, it was while this sad alternative was thrust upon him that the true light began to dawn on his spirit. Hitherto he had been living in a region of pure speculation, in which he expected to attain to a knowledge of God by the sheer force of his own intellect. But, now that he came down to the plane of life, with its facts and realities, he found it was necessary not so much to speculate about the Divine Being, as to learn to *live*. This led him to the truth, which came to him like a revelation, "that our true problem is not, as Hegel thought, a problem of knowledge, but a problem of existence, whose solution is to be sought for in life." Starting from this point, it became ever clearer to him that if God is to be known at all, it cannot be as an impersonal object, like Nature, but as a living and personal God, manifesting himself in human history. As such we can only know him when we are brought into personal contact with him. The element of faith is thus introduced; and, as a consequence, there is true and religious knowledge. Without this, all we can know of God is the mere deceptive play of our own imaginations.

Here, at last, Martensen found a resting-place for his wearied spirit. Henceforth, instead of speculating about faith and knowledge, he sought to bring them into their right place in his life. He was much stronger in health; his hypochondria was passing away; and he was about to leave Berlin, of which he was getting tired, for Heidelberg, with its new scenes and fresh studies. Besides, the time of spring was at hand;

and all combined had awakened strong faith in him—faith in God, and faith in life and its triumphant *on-go*.

But full of mental activity as this period was, it had a special significance for Martensen, as it brought him into friendly relations with men whose fame had spread over continents, and some of whose writings he had learned to know in his own land. The chief of these were Daub and Strauss, Baader and Schelling.

Daub, "the father of speculative theology," then an old but vigorous man, made a pleasant impression upon him. Yet, the more he studied his writings, the more he was convinced that, however much his faith was with revelation, his thought was with Pantheism. In his search after the knowledge of God, he, instead of occupying a position of absolute dependence, took, as his starting-point, pure, impersonal thought; and consequently landed in that pantheistic bog where the ideas of the divine and the human are merged into each other.

It was when on his way to Tübingen he made the acquaintance of David Frederick Strauss. The "Leben Jesu" had appeared a short time before; but, although it created a sort of panic in Christendom, it had no unsettling effect on Martensen. He speaks of it with undisguised contempt, as being founded on dogmatism and hypotheses which cannot bear the test. Still, perhaps, the man himself might be better worth the knowing than the book which made his name immortal; and in this he was not altogether mistaken. "While his outward appearance," he says, "was not what might be called distinguished, still he made an agreeable impression, because his manner bore the stamp of culture, refinement, and, strange as it may seem, of modesty." The two spoke about many things; but naturally the conversation was directed to Hegel, "whose chief merit," Strauss declared, "consisted in the fact that he destroyed the dream of the other world, and made the present all which one need care about, so that what is not here exists nowhere." On Martensen's referring to the doctrine of immortality, he answered, "I had scarcely finished reading the 'Phenomenology of the Spirit' (Hegel's most fertile work) when this belief fell away from me like a withered leaf." So he went on, talking in a calm, direct manner, and answering objections with the greatest courtesy. Only

once, in the course of the interview, did he use the language of the scoffer, when he characterized the ascension of Christ as a kind of aëronautics or balloonry (*eine Lustschiffahrt*).

For Martensen the only significance this Ishmaelite in theology had was his unwillingness to receive half-measures, and his presentation to Christendom of a distinct alternative, an *either—or*. As for his writings, he regarded them as worthless—"the fallen and withered leaves of a decaying and dead faith." But if he had no kind of sympathy with his views, he had pity in his heart for the sad, miserable, suffering man who found neither in domestic life nor in the world the happiness and peace he tried to attain. And, as life had in it no bright spot, so the last act of all was unrelieved by any ray of sunshine or of hope. "On his death-bed," we are told, "he turned over the leaves of Plato's *Phædo* (on immortality); but, laying aside the book, he said, 'This is an old-fashioned stand-point' (*Das ist ein veralteter Standpunkt*). And so he left this world with its many old-fashioned stand-points."

Very different from Daub and Strauss were the other two whom we have mentioned as crossing his path at this time.

Franz Baader, the greatest speculative theologian modern Catholicism has produced, was Professor of Philosophy and Theology in the University of Munich; and it was there Martensen met him, and came under the spell of his rare theosophic mind. This good man was wholly devoid of method; yet there were in him the elements of an all-comprehensive system; and whatever subject he treated, whether it had to do with the heavenly mysteries of love and grace, or the infernal ones of sin and hate, he always spoke from the center, and with the full force of conviction. His theme, *con amore*, was the revelation of God in Christ. But another thought, which he was never tired of repeating, was, that philosophy must, in order to be true, be religious philosophy. In philosophizing about religion, he maintained it is not enough to stand on the outside of it, and make it the object of thought; it is only he who is personally religious who can philosophize about it; all others can only speak about it in the same way as the blind do about color.

Martensen perhaps derived more true spiritual benefit from this too little-known thinker than from any other of his

teachers. Echoes of his views are to be found in all his writings, and especially in his "Dogmatics," and his not less remarkable "Jacob Böhme."

It was also while studying at Munich he got to know Schelling, who was lecturer at the University. He was greatly pleased with his mythical views; but he could not bear his philosophy, because it presumed to measure itself with Christianity, and sought to explain its meaning in the same way as it explained nature, or mythology, or any other great world-phenomenon. In this connection he mentions, and seemingly with approval, Baader's opinion regarding him: "If he was a Christian, he lived with his unchristian philosophy very much as a Christian lives with a heathen wife." Yet notwithstanding his objective system of truth, which owned no authority, and by means of whose underived light he hoped to see into all things, Martensen predicts a great future for this philosopher: "When the materialistic cloud now hanging over the intellectual horizon shall disappear, and allow men once more to occupy themselves with the highest problems of thought and being, he shall then take his rightful place as a guide and a leader with Plato and Aristotle, whose true kinsfellow he is."

In this way Martensen passed his time abroad. Wherever he went he gathered all the light he could on the problems of the divine revelation and the human consciousness. He was a kind of modern Peripatetic, disputing not only in the class-room, but on the street and in the highway, with every one whom he thought could help him.

But, though mention has only been made of these severer studies and pursuits, it is by no means to be supposed he did nothing but engage in them. Indeed, it was quite otherwise. He was fond of poetry, music, and painting; and many of his happiest hours were spent in the company of these sister Muses. He was also a not infrequent visitor at the opera and the theater. These more sublunary recreations not only helped to unbend the mind after the strain to which it was put during the day, but brought before him some phases of foreign life and character which would elsewise have escaped him.

This sojourn abroad constituted the most important era in his mental training. His studies, and interviews with the

great thinkers of his age, gave a new significance to his faith and thought. What of truth there was in them stood out all the clearer after the purgatory of doubt and conflict through which they had passed; and what of real practical worth was in them was indelibly registered on the roll of his experience. He defined his own stand-point at this time in the old scholastic formula, *credo ut intelligam*. With him faith was the *prius*, the basis of all knowledge. This principle, which he first clearly seized and articulated under the teaching and guidance of Baader, is the key to his doctrine of knowledge, and has impressed itself on all his writings. Here, at length, he discovered a foundation on which he could build; and, having found it, doubt seems to have troubled him no more, for he at once set about constructing those monuments of learning and piety which have not only made his name famous, but have brought additional luster to that *scientia scientiarum* he knew and loved so well.

In the harvest of 1836, after two years' absence, he returned to his native land. His student days, the romance-time of young manhood, were now over; and before him lay the prose of life's daily routine. The following winter found him busy preparing his licentiate thesis. The subject he chose was his favorite one, the autonomy of self-consciousness (*De autonomia conscientiæ sui humanæ*). This treatise, the plan of which he conceived while under the influence of Baader, is a most thorough and unsparing criticism of the subjective rationalism of Kant and Schleiermacher. It was published in Latin, and at once placed him in the first rank of theologians. In the course of a few years it was translated into Danish and German, and received a warm welcome at home and abroad.

In 1838 he was appointed lecturer on Moral Philosophy in the University, and two years later he was made Ordinary Professor. His lectures, colored by Hegelianism, and yet proceeding from the old basis of faith, created an immense impression. "A new movement manifested itself among the students of theology," and his class-room was thronged with crowds of eager hearers. In 1840 he got the degree of Doctor of Divinity from Keil, in consideration of his work on the "Autonomy of Consciousness"—a compliment which he so highly appreciated that he dedicated to the faculty of that

University his treatise on Mysticism, called "Meister Eckart," then just finished. Next year he published a selection from his lectures, entitled "Outlines of Moral Philosophy"—a work which gives ethical expression to the fundamental conceptions in his "Christian Dogmatics." Then there followed a course of prolonged study, embracing theology, ethics, symbolics, and theosophy.

He was appointed Court Preacher in 1845; and, though he still continued his lectures, he devoted himself with his usual care and thoroughness to the discharge of his duties. The question how he could best preach lay heavily on him, and he did what he could to answer it. He had discussions about it with every distinguished preacher he knew; and he made a special study of the sermons of Mynster, the greatest of Danish preachers; of Schleiermacher, who is unsurpassed for wealth of ethical ideas; and of Herder, the representative preacher of humanity. But the more he preached and studied, the more he believed, with Grundtvig and our own Martineau, that preaching is no art, but the highest product of the human spirit—higher than poetry or painting—because engaging the whole inner being. That he was himself an eloquent and illustrious preacher we are assured, not only by his published sermons, but by those persons who heard him preach.

In 1849, after being engaged on it for many years, Martensen published the most famous and best known of all his works—his "Christian Dogmatics." He intended this clear and beautifully written compendium of the doctrines of Christianity for the general reader as well as for the student and the theologian. So solicitous was he it should be serviceable in this respect that he submitted its pages, while he was correcting them for the press, to the poetess Frederika Bremer. Her enthusiastic appreciation of it led him to hope it might receive general attention and commendation. Nor was he deceived in this. From the first its popularity was unprecedented. It has been translated into almost every language in Europe. Even the Propaganda at Rome thought it necessary, in order to counteract its influence, to lecture against it. The only detracting voice, in any of the other Churches, whether Lutheran (to which he himself belonged) or Reformed, was that of Rasmus Neilsen, his own countryman and friend. In one of the bit-

terest of polemics he characterized it as a complete failure, misstating and misunderstanding the great problems of faith and knowledge with which it attempts to grapple. But these attacks are now forgotten; and, although thirty-six years have passed since its first appearance, it is still as far from being superseded as ever. For beauty of expression, for suggestiveness of thought, for deep insight into the very heart of truth, and for steady glow of faith and piety, it is, perhaps, unique in the whole range of theological literature.

Such a man, in every way so capable, could not long remain unrecognized. He was first offered the bishopric of Schleswig, which, for political as well as personal reasons, he refused. But on the primacy of Denmark becoming vacant through the death of Mynster, he was named for the high office, and did what he could to obtain it. The king's choice, however, was Clausen, the distinguished and brilliant representative of the rationalistic school; but as the greater part of the clergy and the influential laity were on Martensen's side, he was in the end elected.

It is too long and wearisome a story to enter into the details of his official labors, and his acts of ecclesiastical administration and reform, during the thirty years he was Bishop of Seeland; and, instead, we may content ourselves with a glimpse at the literary work he accomplished during this period.

Shortly after his installation as Bishop he wrote "Reminiscences" of his old friend Mynster. The book is not a biography, in the true sense of the term, but it is something better —a picture of his inner life-movement. In this little memoir the key-note of his ethical system is already indicated. It is, however, in his "Christian Ethics"—begun in 1871 and completed in 1878—that this system finds its perfect expression and development. This popular, yet singularly philosophical, work opens with the conception of the Good, or the kingdom of God, as the absolute aim of man's will and voluntary action. It shows how this ideal—only perfectly attained through the Incarnation—bears on life in its general, individual, and social aspects. In doing so it brings out, with much learning and skill, the relations existing between the human and the divine, the worldly and the spiritual—those contrasts in life which so often perplex and confound us.

There is nothing in the world's great market-place, nothing in commerce, science, art, or æsthetics, which lies essentially outside of Christianity. The opposite view it characterizes as Manichæan, and as affording a distorted representation of religion.

In contradistinction to this caricature of Christianity, which establishes a deep impassable gulf between man's religious life and his earthly sphere of action—between life in God and life in the world—true Christianity requires that all shall be summed up under Christ as Head (Eph. i, 10), which would be an impossibility if Christianity and the world were absolutely opposed in their nature.*

This attempted, and, so far, successful harmony between what is human and divine in the world and in life met a want experienced by thinking men, and had much to do with the favorable reception the work received wherever it became known. It has helped to place ethics on a proper and intelligible basis, and done much to raise it to the same distinct platform as dogmatics. The only other work of importance he wrote was "Jacob Böhme." In this more than in any of his writings he defines his hostile relation to the ruling philosophic systems of his time, especially those that deny the existence of the supernatural world, and acknowledge phenomena, without any inner and abiding reality, to be all. Here, too, he explains, at greater length and with more distinctness than in his "Dogmatics," such ideas as the relation between nature and spirit; the divine immanent life, and the glory of God and of the uncreated heavens. This suggestive and interesting book, though much read in Denmark and in Germany, is scarcely known on this side of the Channel. Its wealth of ideas and its dogmatic and apologetic value make it eminently worthy of being translated into English.† His last literary undertaking was his Autobiography.‡ As a psychological study it is as charming and full of interest as the life of Robertson of Brighton. It guides us through many systems of thought; it brings us into personal communication with those

* "Christian Ethics" (English translation), p. 25.

† It has now been translated, and is published in convenient form by Hodder Stoughton, London.

‡ *Af mit Levnet:* "From my Life," 3 vols., 1882–83, and translated into German in 1883–84 by Michelsen.

whose names stand the highest on the *rôle* of fame; and, above all, it leads us into the clear and bracing atmosphere of faith, where all is seen in the pure light of God, and his revelation in Jesus Christ.

Martensen was singularly happy in his domestic relations. Shortly after his return from his travels he married Matilda Helen Hess, daughter of a ship captain. After nine years of married life, this "pure soul," as he calls her, died, and left him with two children, a son and daughter. In 1848 he married again. His second wife was Virginne Henrietta Constance Bidoulac, who, as far as I can learn, still survives him. This marriage he regarded as the best and greatest blessing of his life. She was his good genius for thirty-six years, helping him with her counsels, and bringing sunshine with her wherever she went.

On Sunday, the 3d of February, 1884, this good man and distinguished theologian fell asleep in peace. All ranks, from the humble student to the king, mourned his loss as a true son of the Fatherland and of the Church; and they laid him with sorrow in his last resting-place, in his own cathedral.

The loss was more than national; every Christian land shared in it. Of the great religious teachers which this century has produced, Martensen will, for many, occupy the foremost place. If he is not so philosophical and far-reaching as Schleiermacher, he is a surer and more decided guide; if he is not such an historical genius as Dorner, he has more grace of style and faculty of method; and if, in some respects, he has not the speculative breadth of Rothe, his spiritual vision is clearer, and he moves through the domains of faith and knowledge with a firmer tread. Some may reproach him for his conservatism and mystical tendencies; but though he resisted, in theology and in politics, the advances of a spurious liberalism, his spirit was not bound by any narrow conventional limits; and though he loved to hold profound communion with God, and to think deeply on the mysteries of his divine self-manifestation, his thought was never one-sided, nor did it lead him into fanciful extravagances of any kind. He was a man of profoundly religious convictions, of strong will, large sympathies, and wide scholarship; and Christendom will not, I am sure, either readily or willingly let his name sink into oblivion.

As we write there are before us two portraits of Dr. Marten-

sen—the one taken in youth, the other in old age. The first bears a finely-chiseled, intellectual countenance, such as Melanchthon might have carried. The forehead is high and broad; the nose is slightly Grecian; the mouth is firm, and barely escapes belonging to the kind known as *os sublime;* the chin is small, though not wanting strength of character; the eyes, the most notable feature in the picture, are large and dreamy, full of thoughts and speculations and far-off visions of truth and beauty.* Altogether, it is a highly cultured, amiable, and pleasant face. The other representation is that of him in old age, and in his Bishop's robes. It is the same face, though the lines of thought are more deeply marked, and the hair is whitened, and the eyelids are half-closed, much in the same way as a weather-beaten sailor's are. Let, however, another, who had the honor of his acquaintance, and contributed an interesting and appreciative account of him to the "Expositor," continue the description, which in all points agrees with the portrait, with the exception of the ears—"those handsome volutes to the human capital," as they have been called—and which are here hidden by luxuriant masses of gray hair: "The man who rose to welcome us was not of imposing stature. I fear to seem irreverent if I confess that my attention was seized by his ears. They were very large, and set at right angles to his head, standing out from his pinched face like wings. The eyes, in fact, were the only feature which, to my mind, answered to the fame and public character of the Bishop; they were full, and deep gray in color, but habitually covered by heavy lids through which there shot a sort of mild, steely light. These lids rose in moments of excitement quite suddenly, and showed that the eyes were of unusual size and beauty. On such occasions the little, almost wizened face seemed to wake up, and become charged with intelligence. I am bound to say that, had I not known of his power in dialectics and his strong hand in administration, I should not have had the wit to guess them from his appearance."

* *Habet profundos oculos et mirabiles speculationes in capite suo*—said of Luther by Cajetan.

Art. V.—EVOLUTION IN RELIGION.

Religion did not spring into being, like Minerva, full-grown, but has come to be what it is by a slow and steady growth. In all vegetable growth the future plant is enfolded in the initial bud, and is developed by successive stages. So, too, religion has had its unfoldings, and in order properly to estimate any one of its phases we must consider it in connection with all the forms through which it has passed. We propose to apply this thought to the idea of Christian evolution in Methodism.

We are accustomed to speak of Methodism as a reformation. But the very term which we use to describe it is a borrowed one, and suggests the fact that there had been similiar religious uprisings before, and that this was only one of a number of reformations. A glance at the history of religion will reveal the fact that these successive reformations were not isolated and independent upheavals in the religious world, but that they have followed a definite order in obedience to eternal law, and are only successive evolutions of Christianity.

A religion in order to be adapted to human needs and capacities must be as expansive as human nature. If individual men and society advance and develop, it must keep pace with them, or it will soon be outgrown and become obsolete. It is manifest, therefore, that the reformations in religion must synchronize with the revolutions in society.

The nature of mind is such that knowledge can be acquired only by successive increments. The temple of knowledge, whether of material or spiritual things, cannot be carved out of a single block, but must be built by adding stone to stone, placing one upon another. The education of an individual is the result of a continuous process, requiring many things to be first learned and afterward to be unlearned in order to the next advance. But as the education of a nation or race of men requires not simply the mental and moral development of the individuals composing it, but also the co-ordinating of all its various members, its progress will be slow in proportion to the complexity of society.

The world moves slowly, but it moves. It has taken six

thousand years (perhaps much more) for man to reach his present eminence in politics, in arts, in science, in literature, and in civilization; and the same law which made his progress so slow in those departments of knowledge has also fettered his feet in the march of religion, and determined the nineteenth century of the Christian era as the age when religious thought and feeling should blossom out in their present form.

Bagehot, in his "Physics and Politics," regarding primitive man as a savage, has undertaken to show the stages in human government which were necessary in order to lift him from his brutal, lawless state to civilization and self-government. He tells us, that the first thing for the savage to learn is law and authority, and hence despotism was necessarily the first form of government. It took long ages under an iron scepter to crush the outlaw in savage man, and break the spirit of rebellion. To discipline human nature, to act from principle instead of impulse, to recognize and respect the rights of others, and to submit to the decision of authority, was the slow and painful schooling of centuries. When at last the savage was subdued, and tyranny had taught the lessons of law and authority with terrible effect, the next phase in the political development of the race was to unlearn despotism. Men must learn law and authority by bowing unquestioningly before them; but the next step to be taken is to inquire concerning their true source. This saps at once the foundation of the throne, uncrowns the tyrant, and reveals the people themselves as the fountain of all law and authority. You must first press men together into a mass, and rule them by a single will and hand, until each man's individuality is somewhat merged in the nation, so that all shall feel a community of interest. Then the mass must be partially disintegrated, and individual rights must be taught and demanded, and individual manhood asserted. It may have required centuries to so unfold human nature that it shall be capable of obeying and governing at the same time. But until this stage has been reached, self-government is impossible. The true conception of individual manhood and personal rights is a lesson which does not burst suddenly upon a people, but which must be learned a little at a time. After the divine right of kings to rule has been denied and the power of despotism broken, self-government

will pass through many stages in the process of evolution before it reaches pure democracy—that is, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. Greece, Carthage, Rome, Venice, the Dutch Republic, and Switzerland, were all successive evolutions of the republican idea, and each was an advance upon all former attempts, yet each retained more or less of the old idea of privileged classes, and none of them realized the perfect idea of popular government. God works in the realm of mind as he does in that of matter. Constant forces, acting steadily, produce sudden catastrophies and overwhelming cataclysms. Dam up a stream and the waters will steadily rise without producing any appreciable result until sufficient power has been accumulated, and then in an instant the dam is swept away and the whole valley is flooded with the surging waters. The fires are burning and seething in the heart of the earth for ages, while the olive and vine grow green on the surface. Men dwell in fancied security in their cities with no indication of approaching calamity. But at last these pent-up fires become resistless, and suddenly nature shudders in an earthquake, toppling the cities to the ground, and the volcano bursts forth in floods of lava, spreading death and destruction on every hand. The forces were constant, but the results were sudden and violent.

So in the march of thought the idea of popular government has been advancing steadily and almost imperceptibly all through the ages; but ever and anon, as it gathered sufficient strength, it has burst forth in political revolutions, shaking the whole surface of society and sweeping away the obstacles that stood in its path. Thus through successive upheavals of society and revolutions of government has God lifted man from the plastic subject of an irresponsible monarch to be at once himself both subject and monarch.

The religious unfolding of the race has followed the same law, and is strikingly analogous to it in its progress. The law was our school-master to bring us to Christ, and a terribly severe master it has been. Whether primitive man was a savage, regarded from a political stand-point, or not, is a question which we care not at present to discuss; but that the fall left him a savage morally is unquestionable. The first religious system granted to man regarded and treated him as parents do

their children, or as the savage is treated by his chief. It was a religious despotism in which authority and law flashed before the eye of the Israelite like the fiery swords of the cherubim at Eden before that of Adam. "Thou shalt" and "Thou shalt not" thundered in the ear of the people at every step in life. Human reason was not appealed to, conscience had scarcely any function to perform, and liberty was a thing unknown under the old covenant. Through outward forms and ceremonies man was taught reverence for divine authority and obedience to divine law. The rebel in man was thus to be subdued and the outlaw crushed. First of all, man must be made to bow before the authority of the great King and recognize God's will as the law of his life. The Jewish race was welded into a Church by being forced together in the vise of an iron law.

Judaism was a religion of external forms and ceremonies. It was a treadmill of outward duties, and under it man was a pupil or a machine. That the design of the system went deeper than words and acts we do not deny, but the fact still remains that the phase of religious development under the system was one of outward obedience to positive command, and consisted chiefly in a round of external observances. The letter rather than the spirit—the form of godliness without the power—were the manifested characteristics of the religion of Moses. As the slavery in Egypt compacted Israel into a nation capable of being governed, so the Jewish religion, by its very oppression, prepared the way for Christianity. The hecatombs of sacrifices and the blood-streaming altars were the necessary foundation on which to rear the cross and elevate the Lamb of God, slain from the foundation of the world. Men must learn the majesty of the divine government and the sacredness of law before they can be trusted with the guidance of principles in matters of religion. They must first bow in blind obedience and reverence to divine authority, before they can be admitted into the secret of the Most High and made co-workers with God. Beneath this hard and inflexible shell God was unfolding and maturing, during all the older dispensation, the petals of a spiritual growth which would one day burst into a flower of rarest beauty and sweetest bloom. The years of preparation were long and tedious, but when the fullness of time had come, suddenly Jesus burst

upon the world already prepared for his advent. The incoming of Christianity was a gigantic religious revolution, and before it Judaism vanished like a dream, the temple crumbled to dust, the altars of sacrifice were deserted, and the Jewish nation became extinct.

The Jews were a prepared people, and, in consequence, Christianity assumed at once among them a highly spiritual and glorious form. The apostolic Church was a spiritual brotherhood in which there was no distinction of class, but in which all stood equally related to God as his children. The long schooling of the law had lifted Israel into a capacity for enjoying the fullness of the blessings of the Gospel. Peter, addressing them, exclaimed, "But ye are a chosen generation, a royal priesthood, a holy nation, a peculiar people; that ye should show forth the praises of Him who hath called you out of darkness into his marvelous light."

But the Christian religion was soon to be carried into races and nations which had received no such previous training, and consequently had no such preparation. Grafted upon this new wild stock, Christianity will bloom in very different colors and will produce very different fruit. The law must here go with the Gospel, and Moses and Christ must teach side by side. Sinai and Calvary must be twin mountains, and the lightnings which play around the peak of the one must throw their red glare upon the cross which rises above the other. It may yet take ages of schooling and training before the nations can be elevated to a level with the apostolic Church, and during this long period Christianity will pass through many stages of its evolution and assume many different forms.

Transplanted from the land of the Jews, the religion of Jesus grew and spread mightily in other countries, and took deep root in the heart of Greek and Roman, Goth and Gaul, Vandal and Celt. But it could not be that from this common seed the same harvests should grow on all these different soils. The cultured Greek and barbaric Goth, though they bowed before the same cross, could not be Christians of the same type. The sunlight is pure white, but it always take the color of the glass through which it shines; and so the Christian religion is the same for all races and ages, but each race and age will give to it its specific tint and shadings.

Rome had held the world together with her linked legions for a thousand years, and when at last her power crumbled to pieces there was but one common bond left by which to unite the various races of the empire; and that was the clamp of a common religious faith. The ascendency of the Church soon consolidated the diverse Christian races into one stupendous hierarchy, and thus gave to the world the great mediæval phase of Christianity.

For more than a thousand years Catholicism (and in this term is included both the Eastern and Western branches of the Church) was the embodiment of Christianity. It differed widely from the apostolic Church. It was the embodiment, not of the Gospel only, but of law and Gospel united. It was Judaized Christianity, with a strong element of paganism also. In it the high-priest still stood at the sacrificial altar, offering afresh the Lamb of God slain from the foundation of the world. The veil of the temple, rent from top to bottom at the crucifixion, re-appeared with the rent fully repaired, separating again the people from the holy of holies. Oblations and incense, new moons and feast-days, rites and ceremonies, held the same place as under the old dispensation, while spiritual worship and personal piety were only secondary and subordinate. The Pantheon at Rome to-day fitly symbolizes the Roman Catholic phase of Christianity. It is a heathen temple, and in the olden times the gods of ancient Rome were ensconced in niches all along its walls and had their shrines. Now it is a Christian Church, no further transformed than by simply the taking down of the old heathen statues and replacing them with statues of virgin and saint, or perhaps calling the heathen statues by Christian names. Roman arms destroyed the temple at Jerusalem, but Roman Catholicism rebuilt it in a thousand places, simply taking out of it patriarch and prophet and high-priest, and substituting martyr and saint and pope.

This first general unfolding of the Christian religion was its legal phase, and it naturally took the form of a spiritual despotism. Denying to men the right of private judgment, silencing every monition of conscience, and ruling them with the pains of penance and the terrors of excommunication, it fashioned them into a common vassalage and taught them unquestioning obedience to law and reverence for authority.

But the same foot which bruises the flower liberates its perfume; and the press which crushes the olive forces out its oil; and the flail whose blows fall heavily upon the threshing-floor beats out the wheat. And so a thousand years of grinding between the upper and nether millstones of Roman Catholicism prepared the fine flour of the Reformation. God had said, "If any man will do my will he shall know of the doctrine." Through obedience men shall rise to clearer views and broader visions of God and religion. The road to freedom runs through bondage, and the path to liberty leads through law. The Church had been in the school of DUTY for more than a thousand years, and at last in due time came her graduation to the school of doctrine.

On the Scala Santa at Rome a hooded monk who had in his cell thoroughly learned the lessons of obedience climbed step by step upon his knees into a new dispensation. While performing a duty imposed upon him by the Church, Luther heard ringing in his soul "The just shall live by faith;" and there half-way up the Scala Santa, amid the throes of penance, was the Reformation born—itself a new evolution of Christianity. It was the transition from *duty* to *doctrine*—from the law to the Gospel—from ethics to faith. At once the authority of the priesthood was denied and defied, the old chained Bible was released from its captivity, and the right of private judgment in the interpretation of the Scriptures was proclaimed. The priest was no longer a conscience for the people, but each man was declared to be a law unto himself. The uniform mass into which the Church had been compressed and compacted had crystallized and was ready for disintegration; and the moment the right of private judgment was proclaimed every man asserted and exercised it for himself. In this uprising of spiritual manhood the old robes of ecclesiasticism, spangled all over with forms, ceremonies, and penances, fell off, and the Church stood before the world having her loins girt with truth, and having on the breastplate of righteousness, her feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel, on her head the helmet of salvation, in her left hand the shield of faith, and in her right the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God. The battle of truth was now to be fought, and every Christian was to be a hero in the fight. For two hundred years there-

after the champions of the Church met and contended in the arena of debate. Luther, Melanchthon, Calvin, Beza, Knox, Cranmer, are tall figures who stride like giants across the plains of the Reformation. In the conflict of truth where each man exercised his own judgment unterrified by authority it could not be otherwise than that different conclusions would be reached and different schools formed. Error clings tenaciously wherever it has been allowed to fasten its roots, and it was not easy therefore for the Reformers to shake it off at once. Luther tore loose from "Transubstantiation," but went down to his grave in the grip of "Consubstantiation." Little by little, and through many successive struggles, did the Church rise above superstition and error to a clear apprehension of the truth as it is in Jesus. As the result of this conflict the Reformation period was an age of creeds and sects. Nearly all the present forms of faith in Protestantism were born during that period; and they all rested, not upon different forms of government or polity, nor upon different bases of morality, but upon different interpretations of the Bible. Admission to the Church was through the Catechism. A man's belief counted for more than the purity of his life. The fight of faith was a conflict of doctrines, and every arrow must be feathered with a proof-text. Intellect was emancipated; thought ransacked God's word; the human mind, fed thus with divine food, developed giant strength; and during this period flourished the theologians of all later times. The Church had been schooled under Roman Catholicism to obey law and respect authority. Under the Reformation she interpreted the divine law and traced all authority in religion up to the Eternal Throne.

But the Reformation scarcely realized the lofty type of Christianity exhibited in miniature in the apostolic Church. It was a great advance upon Roman Catholicism in the right direction, but it stopped short of the New Testament goal. Duty comes first, doctrine next, and experience last. Do God's will and you shall know of the doctrine. Believe the doctrine and you shall have the experience.

The third and last great evolution of Christianity is a little less than a hundred and fifty years old. John Wesley, though he had learned all that the theologians could teach him of doc-

trine, yet pined and prayed to know more of God and salvation. He had passed through the schools and had developed a mental vigor and penetration second to none, yet in conversation with the Moravians at Savannah and in London he discovered himself to be utterly ignorant of the experience which they possessed and enjoyed. This higher phase of Christianity—this experimental religion—he sought in almost all possible ways. He sought it under the law in self-sacrificing labors for humanity. He sought it in doctrine, in intensest study and investigation, but failed to find it. At last in a small company met in a private room, in Aldersgate Street, London, while one was reading Luther's preface to the Epistle to the Romans, he tells us: "I felt my heart strangely warmed. I felt I did trust in Christ—Christ alone—for salvation; and an assurance was given me that he had taken away my sins, even mine, and saved me from the law of sin and death."

Thus, while Luther's doctrine was being read, he was lifted above doctrine and was carried beyond the Reformation into soul-experience of divine things. That moment Methodism was born, and from that hour Christianity has been unfolding into new beauty and presenting a new phase to the world. Individuals and little societies, here and there through all the ages, had known what the witness of the Spirit meant, and had thus kept alive in the minds of men the memory of the apostolic Church; but never until the days of the Wesleys did the modern Church rise into the realm of experimental religion and make it the one thing needful. Methodism is nothing but experimental religion. It is not any form of Church government, for we recognize it alike in all the forms of Methodism, notwithstanding the great difference in their forms of government. It is not in any creed, nor in any form of orthodoxy. Wesley was Arminian, and Whitefield was Calvinistic, but both were Methodists. It cannot be confined within any Church organization, but is overflowing constantly into all the Churches. Men who sing and get happy in religion are recognized as Methodists, no matter to what communion they belong, and are called by that name, sometimes in derision, but not so much as formerly, to distinguish them as experimental Christians. The organic Methodist Churches have no monopoly of Methodism. It has found its way into the Protestant Episco-

pal Church and put new life into it. It has entered the Presbyterian Church and made men forget "fore-ordination" and "predestination" and the "final perseverance of the saints" in the rapturous joy of a present salvation. It has gone and stood beside the pool in the Baptist Church, covered so unmistakably with the baptism of the Holy Ghost that the baptizers, like their great prototype, have been compelled to exclaim, "I have need to be baptized of thee, and comest thou to me?" It is spreading in the Lutheran Church and covering the German's Fatherland, and under its inspiration men do not now stop with the sentence, "The just shall live by faith;" but, lifting their voice to a higher key, they are now shouting, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself." Methodism does not mean simply a new Church organization—it means a new evolution in religion which is lifting the whole Christian Church into the "full assurance of faith." It is primitive Christianity resuscitated, and is destined to bring back the apostolic Church and plant it afresh over all Christendom. It does not bind Christians together by the force of law and authority; it does not unite them by subscription to a common creed; it makes them one by a common experience, and unites them in a great brotherhood by conscious vital union with the Lord Jesus Christ.

Methodism does not occupy the position of an antagonist to any former religious development. Like her Master, she comes "not to destroy, but to fulfill." She teaches no less reverence for divine authority and obedience to divine law than does Roman Catholicism. She insists no less upon a knowledge of the Scriptures and acceptance by faith of their doctrines than the Churches of the Reformation. But in addition to and beyond all these she teaches with unmistakable emphasis that "if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things have passed away; behold, all things are become new." She does not stand as a rival to any other denomination, seeking to proselyte the members of other communions to her altars. Her great mission is to spread scriptural holiness over all lands and to bless all the Churches by lifting them out of the bondage of servants into the glorious liberty of the sons of God. Methodism is not so much a denomination as it is an inspiration and a life for all the denominations. Chris-

tianity had before taken hold of human hands and heads—in Methodism it lays hold also of human hearts. Methodism is the last of a long series of religious unfoldings and is the outgrowth of all that had gone before. She does not stand related as a sister denomination to the Churches of the Reformation, or to the Greek and Latin Churches which preceded them. She is the daughter of the Reformation and the granddaughter of Catholicism. It sometimes happens that family resemblances will skip over one or more generations, and then the features of a long-buried ancestor re-appear in the child. So Methodism, skipping over her immediate ancestors, is a reproduction of the apostolic Church. The resemblance is so great that no one can mistake their relationship. Her lineage is the secret of her history and of her destiny. She is the latest born daughter of Zion and is heir to the throne.

ART. VI.—THE BOOK CONCERN OF THE METHODIST EPISCOPAL CHURCH.

THE article in "Simpson's Cyclopedia of Methodism" entitled "Book Concern" is both able and generally correct so far as it goes, but it is deficient in some early historical particulars. These are valuable; and the writer, having them in his hands, proposes in this sketch to give to the readers of the "Methodist Review" an authentic account of the early history of that great institution.

The circulation of religious books by the preachers in America, under the Rev. John Wesley, began with the introduction of Methodism, and proved to be so profitable that the sales made were reported to the Annual Conference, and the proceeds thrown into a general fund for distribution among the preachers, to help in their maintenance. This will be seen by reference to the "Minutes of a Conference held at Ellis's Preach^{g} House in Sussex Cot^{y}, Virginia, April 17, 1782, and adjourned to Balt. Town May 21, inclusive."

The copy from which the quotation is made is in manuscript, no printed copies having yet been issued. In these Minutes is the following:

Q. 10. What shall be done to get a regular and impartial supply for the maintenance of the preachers?

*Ans*r. Let every thing they receive either in money or cloth[s] be valued by the stewards at Quarter-meet[s] and an acc[t] of the preachers' deficiencies given in to bring to Conference, that they may be supplied by the profits aris[s] from the Books and the Conference Collection.

The book business, after the organization of the Church, was for a few years conducted by the whole body of "assistants" to the Bishop, and there is no evidence that any particular person was designated or employed specially to conduct this work. Two items taken from an old copy of the Minutes of the Christmas Conference held in Baltimore, Md., beginning December 27, 1784, will show this. On page 19, in answer to question 51, "Why are we not more knowing?" is the following: "But I have no Books."—"We desire the Assistants will take care that all the large Societies provide Mr. Wesley's Works for the use of the Preachers." And on page 31, in answer to question 73: "What can be done in order to revive the work of God where it is decayed?" we have, "5. Be active in dispersing Mr. Wesley's Books. Every Assistant may beg money of the rich to buy books for the poor."

The depositories were probably in the principal cities and towns under Methodist influence, and whatever publishing was done was sometimes at one place and sometimes at another. In the "Cyclopedia" article above referred to, the impression is made that the Rev. John Dickins, who served the Methodist Societies and Church in New York from 1783, with the exception of 1785 to 1789, was appointed to that charge "for the purpose of superintending our book business." Yet, if that was the case, it is matter of surprise that so important a tract as that of the Annual Minutes of Conference should be issued in places so remote from him. The Minutes of the Christmas Conference (see above) were issued from the press in Philadelphia, as the following will show, namely: "Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, in Arch Street, the corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV." * The Minutes of the Annual

* The title of the Minutes above referred to is: "Minutes of Several Conversations between the Rev. Thomas Coke, LL.D., the Rev. Francis Asbury, and others, at a Conference, begun in Baltimore, in the State of Maryland, on Monday, the 27th of December, in the Year 1784. Composing a Form of Discipline,

Conferences of 1785, 1786, 1787, were printed in Baltimore, Md., the first and last by John Hayes, in Light Street, and that of 1786 by William Goddard, in Market Street. In 1789—the year when John Dickins was stationed in Philadelphia, having the twofold charge of pastor of the church in that city and of book steward for the general connection—the Minutes were printed in New York, "by William Ross, in Broad Street;" and the Minutes of the sessions of the "Council" of 1789 and 1790 were published by William Goddard and James Angell, in Baltimore. In the Constitution of the Council of 1789, while under the third rule it was resolved that the Council "should direct and manage all the Printing which may be done, from Time to Time for the Use and Benefit of the Methodist Church in America," it was determined under Rule 6 that

> In the Intervals of the Council, the Bishop shall have power to act in all contingent Occurrences relative to the Printing Business, or the Education and Economy of the College.

Having incorporated these items in the Constitution, the Council adopted among other resolutions, the closing, No. 9, namely:

> Considering the Weight of the Connection, the Concerns of the College, and the *Printing Business* [the italics are ours], it is resolved that another Council shall be convened at *Baltimore*, on the first day of December, 1790.

John Dickins was a member of that Council, as elder from the district of Pennsylvania.

In 1790 the Annual Minutes report that Philip Cox was appointed traveling book steward for Virginia, William Thomas for the Peninsula (East Maryland, Delaware, and the Eastern Shore of Virginia), and John Dickins as "Superintendent of the Printing and Book-business." These appointments were confirmed by the Council in its ensuing session; but the appointment of traveling book stewards was restricted to the Council when in session, upon the recommendation of "the Presiding Elder and Conference of a District, and, in the intervals of Council, by the Bishops;" and the publication of any matter outside of the books ordered to be issued by the Council

for the Ministers, Preachers, and other Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church in America. Philadelphia: Printed by Charles Cist, in Arch Street, the corner of Fourth Street. M,DCC,LXXXV."

was to be submitted to a publishing committee, which was intrusted with "full power to publish or suppress, as thought most proper." Richard Whatcoat, Henry Willis, Thomas Haskins, and John Dickins, "or any two of them," were the committee.

It will be seen, further, that the Methodist Book Concern, which in our day is a giant, was growing into existence; but its full development was to come thereafter. The Council continued:

Quest. What books shall be published in the course of the two following years?

Ans. The Arminian Magazine; the Rev. Mr. Fletcher's Works; Hymn Books; the Saint's Rest; the Christian's Pattern; the Primitive Physic; the Form of Discipline; Instructions for Children; and the Pamphlet on Baptism. But the Bishops shall have a discretionary power of preparing the controversy for the Magazine, and publishing such tracts as *they* may think necessary for the benefit of the connection: and John Dickins shall have a discretionary power of limiting the publications, according to the state of the finances.

Quest. Shall we publish Mr. Wesley's four volumes of Sermons before the sitting of the next Council?

Ans. If our finances will admit of it, and a sufficient number of subscribers can be obtained.

Quest. Shall the Bishop have power to draw any money out of the book-profits, for the *partial* supply of any Church or Preacher that may be in pressing need?

Ans. By the recommendation of the Elder of a district, the Bishop may draw as far as *Three Pounds* per month [Bishop Simpson has it three pounds per annum], but no farther.

It is to be inferred that, prior to the session of the Council of 1790, a book fund had been duly organized and was in active operation. On page 7 of the Minutes of the Council is the following:

Quest. What money is now in hand belonging to the Preachers' Fund?

Ans. One Hundred and Sixty-eight Pounds One Shilling and Four Pence.

Quest. What can be done to secure money, that may be collected for this purpose, in the *future?*

Ans. Let it be deposited in the Book-Fund, and draw lawful interest.

Quest. How shall money be drawn, from time to time, out of this Fund, for the relief of distressed Preachers?

Ans. When *such* a Preacher is recommended by a Conference,

the Bishop shall immediately draw an order for books, or money, to be obtained in any circuit or district.

The deposit of the Preachers' Fund with the Book Fund Committee began at once, as may be seen by referring to the Annual Conference Minutes. In 1792 question numbered 16 was:

Quest. What is the sum total for which the Book Concern is now accountable to the Preachers' Fund?
Ans. £182 16*s.* 3*d.*

In 1793 the same question was asked, and the answer was, "£301 17*s.* 6*d.*;" in 1794 it was, £415 7*s.* 8*d.* In 1795 the question was:

Quest. 14. For what sum is the Book Fund now responsible to the Preachers' Fund?
Ans. £400 17*s.* 9*d.*

The answer to this question in 1796 was £419 0*s.* 1½*d.* This important matter is here given in order that we may account to some extent for the embarrassment of the Book Concern, as will be seen below. From 1796 the whole matter was left out of the Annual Conference Minutes.

After the close of the Council of 1790, the publishing interests of the Church were mainly carried forward in Philadelphia. Mr. Dickins had not, however, secured a department for printing in the same building where he was located—it was but an office for his work of superintendency, and a room for the deposit and sale of books. This room was changed three times while he had charge of the Book Concern. The first room was No. 182 Race Street; in 1794 it was No. 44 North Second Street, near Arch; then it was changed to No. 50 on the same street. The printing was done by Parry Hall, 149 Chestnut Street; and by Henry Tuckniss, No. 25 Church Alley.

Of the books published by the Concern from its beginning to the year 1796, inclusive, the following is a catalogue:

Wesley's "Notes on the New Testament," 3 vols.; the "Arminian Magazine," 2 vols.; Thomas à Kempis; the "Form of Discipline for the Methodist Church, as revised at the General Conference, 1792," with Treatises on Predestination, Perseverance, Christian Perfection, Baptism, etc., all bound together; "The Experience of Mr. Freeborn Garrettson;" a pocket hymn book, containing three hundred hymns; an abridgment of Mrs.

Rowe's "Devout Exercises of the Heart;" "The Saint's Everlasting Rest;" Mr. John Fletcher's Works, 6 vols.; the first volume of Mr. Francis Asbury's Journal; the Rev. John Wesley's Journal, vol. i; the Rev. John Wesley's Life; Extract from Law's "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life;" Spiritual Letters, etc., by the Rev. John Fletcher; "Appeal to Matter of Fact and Common Sense," by the same; Sermons by the Rev. John Wesley, published one volume at a time—the first and second volumes published; Doddridge's "Sermons to Young People;" Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, from the year 1773 to 1794, inclusive.

These were all bound volumes; besides these were the following, stitched:

"An Extract on Infant Baptism;" a "Funeral Discourse on the Death of the Rev. John Wesley;" a tract on Slavery; a Scriptural Catechism; Minutes of the Methodist Conferences annually held in America, for several late years, separately; the "Life of Monsieur de Renty;" the "Manners of the Ancient Christians;" "A Defense of Methodism;" "Nicodemus; or, a Treatise on the Fear of Man;" and Letters by Jane Cooper.

Thus we find that after six years from the beginning the Book Concern had issued twenty-seven bound volumes, and about fifteen tracts, the same being multiplied by hundreds and thousands, and scattered by the preachers throughout the bounds of American Methodism.

By reason of the loss of the Minutes of the General Conference of 1792, and also, according to Dr. Bangs's statement (see his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," vol. ii), of 1796, the full proceedings of those sessions cannot be given; but it is evident from facts furnished in the Annual Conference Minutes that the interests of the Book Concern were closely guarded.

To add to the valuable material furnished by Drs. Nathan Bangs and Abel Stevens in their Church histories, the following is taken from the manuscript Journal of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper concerning the General Conference of 1792. He says:

Thursday, Nov. 1. General Conference sat at 9 o'clock A. M. We had a large concourse of preachers from throughout the United States, and two from Nova Scotia. In all we had in this Conference a hundred and fourteen regular members, besides a number who were not regular members. Our business began in great love and unity. We took up all this day in preparing our rules and regulations for proceeding through the Conference:

the Bishop (Coke) to preside in the business; a Moderator was appointed daily to keep order; a committee of eight, two Bishops and six Elders, was appointed to prepare the business for the Conference. We formed ourselves in regular legislative order: motions made, seconded, debated, called for, put, voted, and carried. We appointed for preaching to be every night and morning while Conference should hold, by the preachers in order—a new preacher every time.

During Conference we had much debating upon various subjects; but still love continued. We spoke plainly and freely what was in our minds; made several alterations and improvements in our form of discipline. I believe great good will result from this Conference, though there are four or five preachers much dissatisfied at some things that were done. Several were ordained; a few missionaries were sent to different parts—one to [New] Grenada; one to Newfoundland; two to Nova Scotia, etc.

Thursday, Nov. 15. We this day finished our business in Conference about 5 o'clock in the afternoon. We returned our unanimous thanks to Dr. Coke for his labors in serving the Conference.

The appointment of John Dickins as Superintendent of the Book Concern was continued, as also that of book stewards, whose duty it was chiefly to circulate the books sold by the Church. Their number increased, from year to year, until after the General Conference of 1796, when the system of appointing book agents other than the General Superintendent gradually died out.

The General Conference of 1796 did not, as in the previous session of that body, also of the Council, appoint special persons to act as a committee to regulate the publications from the Book Concern, but intrusted that matter to the Philadelphia Annual Conference; but not having time for such work, a new regulation was provided, as is shown in the Minutes for 1797. On pages 19, 20, appears the following Minutes:

Quest. 14. What regulations have been made in respect to the Printing business and the publication of books?

Ans. The Philadelphia Conference, in whom the management of these affairs was invested by the General Conference, and who have not time during their annual sittings to complete this business, have, by the advice and consent of Bishop Asbury, unanimously appointed the following persons to be a standing committee, namely:

Ezekiel Cooper, *Chairman.*

Thomas Ware, John M'Claskey, Christopher Spry, Presiding Elders; William McLenahan, Richard Swain, Solomon Sharp,

Charles Cavender, Elders. The above committee are to meet in Philadelphia, on the 2nd of January, 1798, and once a quarter afterward, or oftener if necessary, to consider and determine what manuscripts, books, or pamphlets shall be printed.

Four of the said committee, when met as above, shall proceed to business, provided that the chairman and one of the presiding elders be present. And the general book steward shall lay before the committee all manuscripts, books, and pamphlets which are designed for publication, except such as the General Conference has authorized him to publish.

This was done at the Conference held in Smyrna, Del., then known as Duck Creek Cross-Roads, begun October 10, 1797. It was to have met in Philadelphia, but the prevalence of the yellow fever in that city caused the change.

The Book Committee was called together nearly two weeks earlier than the time designed by the Conference, probably because Dr. Coke could be with them to counsel and aid them. Mr. Cooper has left the following account:

Philadelphia, Wed., 20th *Dec.*, 1797. We sat on the business committed to us by the Conference. We had Dr. Coke, Bro' Spry, M'Claskey, Swain, Sharp, Cavender, and myself. We sat eight days closely on the business: fixing and preparing different books for the press, particularly the Form of Discipline with Explanatory Notes; four Sermons on the Duty of the Gospel Ministry, by Doctor Coke—and resolved on sundry other publications; and made a few regulations respecting the Book Concern.

In 1784, at the Christmas Conference, the Preachers' Fund was organized, which, in 1796, was changed in its title to the Chartered Fund; and, 1797, this organization was incorporated by the Legislature of Pennsylvania. Into this establishment, as Simpson's Cyclopedia says, the General Conference of 1796 ordered that "the proceeds of the sales of our books, after authorship debts are paid, and a sufficient capital is provided for carrying on the business," should be deposited.

The affairs of the Book Concern were thrown into much confusion by the death of John Dickins, the superintendent, in September, 1798. A week after that sad event Bishop Asbury wrote to Ezekiel Cooper, then stationed in Wilmington, Del., the following letter:

GERMANTOWN, *Oct.* 4, 1798.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: What I have greatly feared for years hath now taken place: Dickins the generous, the just, the

faithful, skillful Dickins is dead! I have had but one day to deliberate—duty, necessity calleth me to be precipitant. You will anticipate what I am going to write. It is to you, and you only, I can look at present, in the recess of the Philadelphia Conference, to assist Asbury Dickins in the conducting our work as heretofore. You will correct the press? You will superintend the state and entries of the various accounts, that the Connection and the family suffer no material injury? The Magazine must be continued; 5 or 10,000 Hymn Books will be wanting immediately, and sundry other books. Brother Lee will, if he is furnished with the proper papers, collect what money can be obtained southward; we have done what we could eastward. My dear brother, I need say but little; you will have it in your power to render the Connection and family such extensive service as your heart, I hope, desires.

I can only appoint at present, that the cause and family may not suffer. What the Philadelphia Conference will do is with them. You know my ideas of the business. I hope to be at Isaac Hersey's on Friday evening, at North East on Sabbath.

My health is greatly repaired, but O, what is life? We have had great prospects eastward. As soon as the city is accessible you will go in. We shall send the Minutes for the present year. My long-lost manuscript Journal I left with Betsy Dickins. [She had died on the same day her father was called.] I must read it over before any thing can be done. I am afraid to have it sent but by a sure hand, by land. I feel resolved, if the Conference pleaseth, to publish my scraps of Journals as my all to the Connection, and answer to those that trouble me. In this sickly state of things I must make haste. I am as ever, thine,

FRANCIS ASBURY.

Some letters written by Mr. O'Kelly, now in Philadelphia, to Mr. Wesley and the Doctor, I wanted to confront that wonderful man. Brother Lee, and some others, with myself, premeditate to attend the Republican Conference to demand the author of the book entitled Christicola, and combat the charges as false.

This letter was received by Mr. Cooper twenty days after it was written, and, reluctantly, he took charge of the place made vacant by the death of Mr. Dickins, arriving at Philadelphia on the 1st of December, the fever having somewhat abated. Upon looking into the affairs of the Book Concern, after two weeks' careful investigation, he was not inclined to engage in the work as Agent during that winter. He says:

There is a considerable incumbrance on it, which I am not willing to take upon myself; and the executors of Mr. Dickins's estate will not give me the property on hand unless I will first

assume the debt due from the Concern, which is more than four thousand five hundred dollars. I proposed that I would be accountable for as much as the amount of property put into my hand, or, that I would be accountable for all the property which I received either in books or money, in the payments made by the different preachers in debt to the Concern; but that I should not engage to pay a large debt upon the credit of debts due to the Concern scattered abroad from New Hampshire to Georgia, and some of it in very doubtful hands, and of many years' standing. So I, of course, do not engage in the business till further instructions, and a suitable stipulation between me and the Conference, or between the Bishop and me.

Mr. Cooper's conclusion was communicated to Bishop Asbury, and drew from him the following letter, which, like the one previously given, appears for the first time in print. It is written on a broken sheet of paper, and has also, on the same sheet, a letter from Rev. Jesse Lee, who was Mr. Asbury's traveling companion:

January 8, 1799.

MY VERY DEAR FRIEND: I anticipated the difficulties that would come in your way of conducting the Book Concern. It was not in my power to stipulate with you for what sum and for what time you should have the management. We feel ourselves under doubts with respect to remitting money without special assurances of the application, and proper security for our property. We cannot desire any person to do our work for nothing; yet we want it punctually done. Brother Haskins's and Asbury Dickins's letters came while the Conference was sitting in this city. Conference voted, hit or miss, to carry on the work forthwith; and nominated several Books to be printed immediately. Conference agreed that a committee should consider the contents of your letter received this day.

We feel our doubts concerning the printing more books at present. We have some scruples upon our minds, if it will be possible to carry on the work in Philadelphia in future. The collecting of money will be attended to by Brother Lee with the greatest activity and punctuality. If you stay in town I wish you would see books sent to orders, that we may sell off with great speed. I judge it will not be improper for you, upon the side and safety of the Connection, to keep a list of money paid to the executors, and how it is applied; and you may keep an account of all the books you send out, and receive the cash for them; and what you shall have for your service you must leave to the Conference. How to talk at the distance of 700 miles is not easy; my infirmity, and the general abuse I have had from men that have risen up against us, and the great suspicions raised in the minds of [some of] the ministry still with us, make me

very cautious in my movements. I am with respect and heartfelt concern thy Brother in Jesus, FRANCIS ASBURY.

If I should not write to Brother Haskins you may show him this letter and welcome.

Mr. Lee's letter was:

CHARLESTON, *January* 9, 1799.

DEAR BROTHER: I have liberty, from Mr. Asbury, to write to you and request you to have the Minutes of the last year's Conferences printed—from one to two thousand copies, or any number you please not exceeding 2,000. And if the Philadelphia Conference should disapprove of it, I will engage to pay you the money that shall be expended, and take the whole concern on myself. If you are unwilling to have them printed, please let me know of it against I get to Baltimore, and I expect I shall have them printed at Baltimore. I think it is quite likely the Book business will be removed to Baltimore. Asbury Dickins had the copy of the Minutes. I remain, yours in love, JESSE LEE.

P. S. I expect to collect a good deal of Book Money, but shall feel unwilling to send it forward till I can hear that some Methodist *man* is willing to receive it and answer for it. If you undertake that part of the business, I will gladly remit the money to you as soon as possible. I expect to be in Newburn by the middle of February, and in Norfolk the last of March.

I expect to have $400 or $500 in my hands for the Book Concern in a few days. J. L.

The course taken by Mr. Cooper met with general approval, and, as we see from the foregoing letter of Bishop Asbury, plainly indicated an extraordinary embarrassment of the Book Concern. He received also a letter from Richard Bassett, Esq., Governor of Delaware, dated February 26, 1799, in which are these words:

I think you are perfectly right in not entangling yourself with the Book business until you can see your way clear, but should suppose you will be entirely able so to do after the Conference.

Mr. Cooper, though declining the superintendency of the Book Concern, consented to remain in the city through the winter, and to serve the Church in the line of the ministry; and it is to be inferred that he acceded to the request of Mr. Lee in regard to the publication of the Minutes of the Conferences of 1798. They were printed in Philadelphia "by William W. Woodward, No. 17 Chestnut, near Front Street." There was no statement, as before and afterward, of their having been published for and sold by the General Superintend-

ent of the Book Concern. It is also to be inferred that, as he was always obedient to the instructions of his Bishop, he attended to the sending of books ordered, and received the cash for them.

The Philadelphia Annual Conference met in Philadelphia June 6, 1799, and during its session elected Ezekiel Cooper, by ballot, as "Editor and General Book Steward." About a month thereafter he issued and printed in the Annual Minutes for that year an address "To the Preachers and Friends of the Methodist Episcopal Church:"

DEAR BRETHREN: Whereas Bishop Asbury and the Philadelphia Conference have made choice of me as *Agent* for the Connection, to superintend our Book Concern as Editor and General Book Steward, and as I have been prevailed upon, though with reluctance, to accept the appointment, I consider it my duty to address you upon the subject.

It is well understood that the book business among us is designed for the excellent purpose of spreading and cultivating moral and religious knowledge; hence, we confine ourselves to the publication of books and pamphlets upon subjects of morality and divinity; more especially such as treat on experimental and practical religion. It is also known that the pecuniary profits arising from the business are appropriated to the exclusive benefit of the Connection, as an auxiliary to us in the important work of spreading the Gospel of our salvation the more extensively through the world. From these considerations it must appear to be the duty of all our friends to promote the Book Concern by all convenient means and religious endeavors. What can an Agent do in this business without the mutual endeavors of preachers and members in selling, buying, and circulating the books? Also it is indispensably necessary that punctuality be observed in making remittances; that the Agent may be able to make his payments to the paper-makers, printers, book-binders, etc. Every one who has money in hand, due to the Connection, should forward it without delay. And I hope that orders for books will be sent on; which I will endeavor to answer as soon, and so far, as the returns I receive will enable me to do.

In consequence of numerous drafts formerly made upon the Concern for different purposes, and the great neglect in making remittances, the business is considerably in debt and somewhat embarrassed. When I engaged in the business I had not one dollar of cash in hand belonging to the Concern, and have received but few remittances since. There are large sums due, and I most earnestly solicit the brethren to diligence and punctuality. The business may answer a noble purpose to the Connection, provided the brethren are spirited and industrious in promoting it.

Some of our brethren have acted laudably and praiseworthily in this business. I wish the same could be said of them all.

It is my deliberate opinion that no other drafts whatever should be made on the Concern until its debts are paid and the capital be sufficient to carry on the business without further embarrassments. O, brethren, help in this important work! I also advise, in all cases of transfer of books, debts, etc., from one to another, that the brethren be regular and particular in the same; and that they give correct advice thereof to the Agent here, with a receipt or certificate from the person to whom a transfer may be made. If a transfer be made at any time to an improper person, it ought to be considered that the Agent here may refuse releasing the one and taking the other. In cases where it can be done, the brethren, in all exchanges of books or transfers, should settle them among themselves, and not trouble the Agent with them. There have been inconveniences arising from want of attention in this matter. If a preacher leave a circuit with books in it [unsold], he should have them collected at one place and make out an exact inventory of them; and the preacher who succeeds him should, in duty, take charge of the books as per inventory, and advise the Agent accordingly.

I have opened my accounts, and expect to make out bills, etc., in dollars and cents. This will be easier to the brethren throughout the United States; for dollars and cents are everywhere the same, but pounds, shillings, and pence vary in the different States.

In brotherly love, dear brethren, I am yours, affectionately,

EZEKIEL COOPER.

PHILADELPHIA, *July* 10, 1799.

For six months the Book Concern was without a General Agent, and the property was left in the hands of Asbury Dickins, son of the late Superintendent, and John Haskins, a layman in the Church in Philadelphia, who, as executors of the late Rev. John Dickins, continued the sale of the books; but it was of the nature of a clearing-out sale. A few days after his election Mr. Cooper "took a Book Room," and entered upon the business of the Concern. Such were the embarrassments around him that he was led to say, in his Journal:

Ah! the trouble I have of it in closing up and settling the old Concern and commencing the new! Were the fatigue and labor to continue as it now is, I would not carry it on for any consideration.

A further embarrassment awaited him. In about a month he found that the former tenant of the house he had rented had not paid his rent, and that the Connection's property was in

danger of being seized for back rent. "The law is such," says he, "that any person's property found in the house is liable for rent. Hence I at 1 o'clock called a cart, and got a few friends to assist me, and we moved all the books and papers to another place, to secure them from being taken to pay another person's rent." The new office and Book Room was No. 47 North Fourth Street. These premises were held for about a year, when the Book Concern was moved to No. 118 North Fourth Street, and there the business was conducted until it was moved to New York.

By the action of the General Conference of 1800 the editor and book steward was left without any pastoral charge. His attention being wholly given to the interests of the book business, it began at once to develop greater vital energy, and light began to dawn on the still beclouded pathway. The following invaluable letter of Bishop Asbury will give the searcher after historic truth much aid:

MY DEAR COOPER: Grace and peace be with thy spirit. I have premeditated a letter to you for some months. We have had a gracious season in Conference for five days. Brother Blanton is located. Stith Mead is to preside in the State of Georgia, James Jenkins in South Carolina. Brother Blanton showed me an answer of $1,000 by John Harper. William McKendree, you perhaps know by this, commands in the West. John Kobler was appointed to the Richmond District, but I fear he hath failed. I heard that P. Bruce was at his father's in North Carolina; I desired him upon his return to see if J. Kobler was upon his station; if not, to take it himself; if Kobler was in place I desired Brother Bruce to go to Norfolk.

We will do what little we can to collect for you, but we might as well climb up to the moon as attempt to get some of those debts. I thank you for the advice given of the middle ground; we have some time to consider upon it between this and the Yearly Conference, when it will probably be brought before the Yearly Conference—at least we may suppose the Presiding Elder and Elder will implead each other in the presence of Conference.

I had no doubt but you would feel like wishing to be out of the business of Book making. But, my dear, it is not so easily done. You will have many a shot. I say in all company, when I speak, that you are deeply concerned for the interests of the Connection, and go very near the wind in all your movements for good.

You are easy of access I have found, readily pacified by a word or a line; you are not a man of intrigue, but open and therefore I love you. The very thought that I gave a nomination to your appointment is enough: those that dislike me will disapprove you.

I advise you, as a friend, to retire into your own business as much as possible. I only wish that those that think hardly of you or me could, if it was right, be only punished with our places they so much envy; but many would: God forbid! and we will also oppose it.

I think our Scripture Catechism is one of the best in the world; but it could be amended by you, and laid before the next Conference in the amendment. I gave the outlines to John Dickins. I think now, if you propose, in your own language, questions such as these, and answer them wholly in Scripture, thus: What is the duty of parents? What is the duty of husbands—wives; children; ministers; rulers; subjects; masters; servants? What is the duty of Christians, one to another? and so on, it would in my view be most excellent. We could enforce catechizing if we had a complete guide. Thine, F. ASBURY.

CAMDEN [S. C.], *Jan.* 7, 1801.

The same letter contains a note from Bishop Whatcoat which indicates the closeness with which Mr. Cooper pressed his business. It is as follows:

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: We spoke to the Conference about the $10 you reminded us of, but cannot get it; you must set it down to the Sinking Fund. The Books were spoiled and scattered. We are concerned for the peace of your Church, but much prayer, patience, and forbearance, with great moderation, appears to be needful at this time. What need we have to stand, like an iron pillar, strong! May the good Lord bless you, and all the Lord's people! Thine in love, R. WHATCOAT.

In both of these letters reference is made to an unpleasant condition of affairs in the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church in Philadelphia, and as it led to disagreeable relations between the editor and superintendent of the Book Concern, and was one of the causes, probably the chief cause, of its removal to another city, a statement thereof is here given. The facts are drawn from the manuscript journal of Rev. Ezekiel Cooper.

During the summer of 1800 a disagreeable variance occurred in the society at St. George's, in which the so called "wealthy and respectable" members took issue with "the poor and ignorant." The majority was of the latter; but the minister stationed among them opposed them, and favored the rich minority. Seeing that in some particulars both parties were blameworthy, Mr. Cooper maintained for some time a neutral position, hoping thereby to contribute to a spirit of compro-

mise; but as the dispute was of long continuance, and involved measures of the greatest practical importance, he was censured in turn by each, for he could not agree wholly with either side. In his own language, he says:

> But ah! at length many of the warm, fiery, and intemperate minds, who had more zeal and prejudice than wisdom and prudence—more of self-will and passion than brotherly kindness and Christian moderation—more of self-importance than self-knowledge—became extremely offended with me, for no other cause that I know of than because I ventured to oppose them wherein I believed them to be wrong. They were astonished at me. The "wealthy and respectable" were surprised at me, to take part with what they called "the poor and ignorant part of the society" against them; and the others lamented and were surprised that I did not give them a more decided support in opposition to what they considered "the overbearing measures of the great men."

The dissension increased, and the stationed preacher, Mr. McCombs, added to the confusion by displacing several class-leaders who differed from him in opinion, which action his presiding elder, Mr. Everett, declared to be a stretch of power. Thereupon a difference arose between them, and the pastor having refused to yield to the presiding elder, the latter resolved to move him to another place in his district, and placed Richard Sneath in charge of the church in the city. Mr. McCombs declined to go to the circuit to which he was appointed. On Mr. Sneath's coming to the charge agreeable to appointment, matters grew worse: some of the local preachers of "the respectable" party refused to take appointments from or to preach under the administration of Mr. Sneath, and, with a number of other members, declined to attend services in the church; some went not at all, others very seldom. Mr. Cooper then made a proposition: that a committee, composed of an equal number from both sides, should be appointed to devise a plan for the restoration of peace and unity; that the conditions and terms agreed upon should in nowise be contrary to the Discipline of the Church; and that when agreed upon they should be laid before the presiding elder for his approval. The proposition was not agreed to, being particularly opposed by Mr. McCombs and his party. Thereafter Mr. Cooper was regarded as identified with the "poor and ignorant" party; the opposition calling him the leader, the counselor,

and the main-spring of their enemies. Having now for the most part withdrawn from the regular church services, meetings were held by them in private houses, in the jail, etc., and a work of revival having broken out among the church attendants, they opposed it with much severity, characterizing it as a delusion. In this spirit they grew more and more violent, and finding that they could not prevail, "having," as Mr. Cooper tells us, "the presiding elder, Mr. Sneath, myself, the Quarterly Conference, and the majority of the society against them, they resolved to carry their measures to the next Annual Conference, by way of protest against the presiding elder and the Quarterly Conference. They accordingly wrote off to the Bishops who were in the South—the others wrote also—and the business laid in an unsettled way till Conference."

The Philadelphia Annual Conference held in the spring of 1801 revoked nothing that had been done, and the presiding elder, Mr. Everett, and Mr. McCombs having become reconciled with each other, the Bishops were requested to write a letter to the members advising them on all sides to drop every point in dispute, and to return to peace and quietude. The decision of the Conference, and the letter of the Bishops, gave additional offense to the dissatisfied party, and they all withdrew—about sixty in number—from the Methodist Church, and set up their worship in the old City Academy, having separate preachers and members. This body afterward constituted the Union Church in Philadelphia. At the time of their withdrawal the St. George's Church was involved in a debt of more than $3,000, contracted mainly by them, for they had the management of the temporal affairs of the church, and it was intimated by them that the members adhering to the church would never be able to pay the debt; that the church would be sold by its creditors; that they would buy it. In less than a year, however, all the debts against the church were paid, an insurance against fire was secured to the amount of six thousand dollars, the Ebenezer Church was finished, a most remarkable revival of religion had taken place among them, and about four hundred members were added to the church from which the sixty had withdrawn.

The Annual Conference of 1802 agreed to give the separatists a preacher upon such honorable terms as they and the

Bishops should agree upon, and within a few years peace and harmony were restored.

These historic facts are thus given in detail not only to explain statements made in the letters of the Bishops above given, but also to throw light upon points in the valuable letters now to follow.

Bishop Asbury wrote to Mr. Cooper on the 27th of March, 1801, from Portsmouth, Virginia, a letter in which he shows again his interest in the affairs of the Book Concern, and states that though he and his colleague, Bishop Whatcoat, had received but little money for the books sold by members of the Conferences attended, it was deemed best to forward it to him at once. In December, also, the following letter was written:

CAMDEN, SOUTH CAROLINA, *December* 31, 1801.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: I have received your letters, for which I thank you, and for other attentions. When we were told the debt * was paid, I wondered by what mint or magic you had collected $4,000 in four months; but when we had chapter and verse the wonder ceased. O zeal! zeal! what will it not do when made elastic by opposition! I hope the next thing will be to purchase, as perhaps you may at a low price, or build, a house for the preachers, after more than thirty years.

I find that the book market is good in the South, and the Presiding Elders and preachers are very diligent. I believe *we* need say but little. As to Bowen and Weeks, I doubt if any settlement to purpose will ever be made. I do not wish to meddle much in the Book Concern; we have so many cooks, and some very unskillful. I pushed three books into the press, and I shall expect reflections as long as they are in circulation—if I am in circulation. As a friend I would advise you (as I am one that hath eyes and ears every-where) to keep close to Fletcher's and Wesley's most excellent parts. As to my Journals, I feel my delicacies about having them printed at all in my life-time; it may only put it in the power of my enemies to abuse me as Mr. O'Kelly has in the second part of the same tune; and my hands will be bound by inability, or some local influences. I am sorry to be a burden to my friends, or the Connection; I do not wish to crowd myself, or the Connection, with more services than they call for. I was willing, at the request of some of my special friends, to submit an impression of the Journal to the press; 'tis true the General Conference approved it, and it was my wish that it should go out in numbers, but it appeared to me that the general mind of the General Conference was that it should come out in a volume. I have been taught to understand that a printer

* Debt of the St. George's Society in Philadelphia.

should point, and if he could not point he could not print. I do not choose to print any man's Journal but my own; my language in preaching and writing is my own, good or bad. If you choose to send out the number upon good paper, I shall submit; but I have been making up my mind closely to inspect and strike out what, upon close thinking, I shall disapprove, and lay them by to be printed after my death, or to let them die with me. About twenty pages in four months' traveling will not be a great burden to the press. My first part was transcribed by one that did not understand my writing.

As to the Hymn Book, I can only say we have such a republic of critics and printers they will do as they please; but I presume if you had a thousand more to send into every district than you have sent they would soon be sold. Only let the work be done well, and there is no doubt of the sale of our books; the Presbyterians, and others, will purchase our books.

To the Trustees (of the St. George's Methodist Episcopal Church, P.):

Respected Brethren: I thank you for the attention you have manifested to me in your address, and accounts of payments. I rejoice exceedingly that we are just, and may be generous, and do nothing through strife and vainglory. I hope your zeal and charity will provide a house for your preacher, and prevent a moth-eating rent. Let us pray much and love the more; then we shall live holy and die happy. Farewell.

Yours for Christ's sake, FRANCIS ASBURY.

Since I began this letter Brother Whatcoat arrived with your letter—an apology for paper. Your pardon is granted. See, *thou art made whole.* 'Tis generally granted our books are the best, intrinsically and extrinsically; only let us keep them so.

In 1802 the Philadelphia Annual Conference appointed a Book Committee composed of Thomas Ware, presiding elder of Philadelphia District; John McClaskey, George Roberts, stationed preachers in the city; and Ezekiel Cooper. The Minutes of the Conferences for that year also contained an address to the preachers and members of the Church, prepared, doubtless, by Mr. Cooper, wherein it is stated that the Book Concern "is in a prosperous way at present;" that the agent in that business "has paid better than $2,000 of the old debts since last General Conference;" that "our Hymn Book has been revised and improved, and the copyright secured, agreeably to the concurrent resolve of the Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York Conferences;" and "it has been in contemplation to publish a Methodist Repository, consisting of experiences, accounts of revivals of religion, remarkable deaths, etc."

In 1803 the Philadelphia Annual Conference voted, almost unanimously, that the Book Concern should be removed from Philadelphia to Baltimore. The Agent was not disposed to favor the change, and by reason thereof the following letter was written to him by Bishop Asbury:

My DEAR BROTHER: As the executive of the Conference, and your friend, I think it my duty to tell you that I think it your duty, in obedience to the Conference, to move to Baltimore about the first of October. You know there have been many changes among your brethren; I hope that you also will bear a part; it is my wish, if I cannot keep the people out of contention, to save the preachers. As to any reports that are false and groundless, you can as easily combat them at Baltimore, as in Philadelphia, by word or letter. I think any preacher that has been stationed in Philadelphia for six or seven years, should be removed if he was not local, and altogether out of my power. I wish every person to be moved that can be moved, and every thing that can be done, for peace and union, to be done. You are not ignorant that other preachers have been called, suspended, and some removed at a word, to serve the wishes of some dissatisfied minds; you will take your turn with others, and as there was such a unanimity in the vote of the Conference it ought to have weight with you. As an individual, it is nothing to me, your going or staying. I have no spleen against you; I only want peace in the societies by any good means. I wonder why you should wish to stay where you must have had great distress of mind; and I have thought it must cause your ill health.

I am most sincerely your friend, F. ASBURY.

SOUDERSBURG, *July* 24, 1803.

Bishop Asbury had spent three days in Philadelphia before going to Soudersburg; had preached once at the Academy, and was well acquainted with the condition of affairs in the Methodist societies; for their divisions were not yet healed. Hence the above pointed letter written nearly three months after the adjournment of the Philadelphia Conference. Mr. Cooper, however, did not remove the Book Concern to Baltimore,* but

* Mr. Cooper's reasons for not moving the Book Concern to Baltimore are set forth in the following, as stated by himself:

"Why not remove to Baltimore, etc.

"1. Because, not for the interest of the Book Concern to move. (Paper, printing, binding, expense and risk of moving.)

"2. The General Conference has fixed it in Philadelphia, and given no power to Philadelphia Conference to remove it. (G. R., though for removal, agreed against the Philadelphia Conference taking power on them as in case of C. F. Trustees, etc., etc.)

continued its management in Philadelphia until the latter part of the year 1804, when it was removed to New York. This was done, we think, by order of the General Conference of 1804, which also elected Rev. John Wilson Assistant Editor and Book Steward. At that Conference, also, the pastoral term of office in any particular charge was limited to two years, and the Book Agent and his Assistant were stationed each over a church under said rule. In the Minutes of the Annual Conferences from 1805 to 1808, these officers of the Book Concern are not set forth as book stewards, but as pastors; thus, in 1805 and 1806 Ezekiel Cooper was stationed in Brooklyn, and John Wilson in New York, and in 1807 and 1808 John Wilson was stationed in Brooklyn, and Ezekiel Cooper in New York. The General Conference of 1808 removed the additional burden of the regular pastorate from the shoulders of the editors

"3. The Baltimore Conference has not been consulted, etc. (Why send it out of one district to another without Discipline for it?)

"4. I purposed giving up the business, and concluded to leave it where I found it.

"5. My workmen were engaged and under way. They would have removed if I could have engaged to have kept the business, and given or engaged them the work—neither of which I could engage. I did not know who would succeed me, and I could make no engagement for them.

"6. It would have been difficult to engage workmen at Baltimore to have entered our business, and put off their former customers unless they could have had assurances of a continuation of the work, which I could not give them under the purpose of giving up the business, and I could not give assurances for what my successor would do. Hence it would have been difficult to have got the work done fast enough.

"7. The removal at all events would cause a great stoppage and delay in the work. And as I apprehended another stoppage at and about Conference, which would have made two stoppages, etc., instead of one, so I concluded it would be better to let the work go on, and have but one stoppage, and that at and about Conference.

"8. After the vote of Conference for removal, certain persons began to boast how they had prevailed in having the business removed, etc. *They!* was it *they* that did it; and were all these difficulties, risks, expenses, and stoppages merely to please and oblige them? I concluded this must not be. I spoke to G. R. about their triumph, and told him I would not go if this was the case, and if they continued their triumphant boast. What did Cavender say to Sharp? *They*, to get *me* out of town, had got the business fixed, etc. *They*, indeed! this, as evidence of boasting, etc.

"9. Some one intimated the vote was in consequence of my statement to Conference (informant, Sargent). This appeared calculated to fix it on me, if any blame; and to take it on themselves, if it suited their purpose."

and superintendents of the Book Concern; and thereafter their names do not appear as connected with any separate charge while incumbents of that office.

In addition to the labors of the Book Concern and the pastorate, an additional care was undertaken by the General Agent and his Assistant: that of a yearly visit to the Conferences, in the interests of the book business. It was assumed by the recommendation of Bishop Asbury, and has from the beginning been continued, and has been a great source of benefit to the Church in her publishing interests. The following letter, in which it is suggested, is here presented:

NEW ROCHELLE, *July* 26, 1805.

MY VERY DEAR BROTHER: I have rode rapidly two hundred and thirty miles in six days to redeem a day to write. I think that you might, with the assistance of Brother Wilson, attend five Conferences out of the seven every year. You could take Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania. The critical state of the bills and banks [demands this]; the preachers will be brought to a settlement better at Conference than [at] any other time. Brother Crawford is appointed to ride with me: if he can render you any service at the Western or Southern Conference, you will give orders. I should be exceedingly glad to see Mr. Wesley's Sermons published, up to the ninth and last volume, this year. Then I should be pleased to see one complete set of his journals taken in America; and a set of his Appeals. It's time, after thirty-six years, these were done.

I have had a thought of buying a light Jersey wagon, that I may go at the rate of the mail stage, and visit all the towns and cities in the winter, and go to the westward in the fall; but the greatness of the expense is one difficulty: the badness of the roads another. . . . I have no more to do with the Book Concern than another preacher, nor so much. If I were to keep a little stage the person in company, Brother Crawford or some other, would carry a selection of the books of the Connection.

I am, as ever, thy friend, F. ASBURY.

Rev. EZEKIEL COOPER, Elder of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Brooklyn.

In closing this historical sketch it affords great pleasure to the writer to add this simple sentence: the thirst for Christian knowledge in the Methodist Episcopal Church in America has, notwithstanding its early embarrassments, created the most extensive, thorough, comprehensive, and accurate Christian book establishment in the world.

Art. VII. — PRESENT NECESSITY FOR A RESTATEMENT OF CHRISTIAN BELIEFS.*

The religious system called Christianity, after the name of its author—who is also its prophet and high-priest—is sometimes more definitely, though less comprehensively, styled the faith. Sometimes the two designations are used together as mutually explanatory, as when the Augsburg Confession speaks of "our holy faith and Christian religion." In thus designating the Christian system by a term whose first sense is simply belief or credence, there is the implication that it is built upon and also embodies certain objective truths—facts and principles—which are of its substance, and through which its character is expressed. These truths are, indeed, in themselves always the same, because they are the manifestations of the unchangeable purposes of the divine wisdom and goodness; but because men's conceptions of them are mutable, the formularies in which they may be expressed in certain conditions will in other conditions appear quite inadequate, perhaps misleading. And, as a matter of fact, it may be asserted that the terms in which religious beliefs are expressed can never be fixed beyond the need of occasional changes and restatements.

The present age is confessedly a time of change in the forms of Christian thought, and of modifications of doctrinal conceptions. The formularies of doctrine which have come down to us from the past, although they were so precious to those by whom they were once cherished, no longer satisfactorily express the theological conceptions of the best minds of Christendom. We venture the opinion, also, that the changed method of viewing Christian doctrines is better than that which it replaces, being broader, more rational, less artificial, and truer to the teachings of the word of God. And although it has become fashionable in certain circles to speak lightly of theology, and to prefer the sentimental and practical in religion to the speculative and intellectual, it is still very certain that Christianity, as manifested in its human subjects, must be, first of all, a system of truths to be accepted respecting God's purposes toward men and his methods for working out his designs in

* A paper read before the Cleveland Church Congress, by Daniel Curry, D.D.

and among them. These purposes and his methods for their practical development he has revealed in his word; and now he commends them to our acceptance, both as truths to be intellectually believed and as spiritual manifestations of transforming power to be accepted and experienced.

The changes that are so strongly marked in the religious thought of the age, however, affect only remotely and but slightly the substance of Christian truth, and are confined almost entirely to forms of expression called for by fuller and clearer appreciations of its nature and relations. God's revelations of himself and of his dispensations, though always substantially the same, have been all along becoming fuller and clearer. The opening sentence of the Epistle to the Hebrews indicates the divine method in this work: "God, having of old time spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and divers manners, hath in the end of these days spoken to us in his Son." Of the revelation there indicated, no doubt, the Scriptures of the two Testaments include the substance; they also contain all that a Christian needs to know or believe for his soul's profit. There is, however, reason to believe that there has been, and will continue to be, a steady advance in the mind and thoughts of the Church toward clearer, broader, and more adequate conceptions of what is declared in the Bible. Here, certainly, the theory of evolution has a manifest basis of fact,—and these things make it necessary that the accepted symbols of Christian belief should be, from time to time, reexamined, and the whole substance of doctrine restated. This duty rests upon the living Church at every stage, as the custodian and interpreter of the divine word.

A very high and sacred office is, by the Head of the Church, assigned to his truth, the belief of which is said to be the condition and effectual agency of sanctification, and of the attainment of eternal life. We are therefore warranted in assuming that a basis of theological opinions, made up of the great fundamental truths and doctrines of the Bible, unmixed with fatal misbeliefs, set forth in plain and comprehensive truths, is necessary to the best interests of the Church, and, to a not inconsiderable extent, to the religious life of the individual. And since religion, as embodied in Church life, is largely communistic, having very large interests common to the whole body, a recog-

nized *consensus* of beliefs is a condition requisite to the unity and the welfare of the whole body.

The Church has never been without its accepted confession of faith. This was, in the beginning, embodied in the living words of the apostles, who taught what they had received from the lips of the Divine Teacher himself. Soon after the times of the apostles, men began to formulate the lessons taught them by their inspired instructors, very briefly in most cases, and in only fragmentary summaries. Of this kind, the recently rediscovered "Didache" is a specimen, and the so-called "Apostles' Creed" is a later and fuller and more nearly complete summary of doctrines. A little later, under the united influences of freer thinking and the ever-increasing remoteness of the authority of the apostles, came the age of heresies, which in turn necessitated more definite and comprehensive statements of Christian doctrines, so bringing in an era of creed-making, with the development in definite symbols of the principal doctrines of the Church. The thousand years of the enslavement of Christian thought—from the fifth to the fifteenth century—though but little agitated by heretical manifestations, nevertheless had its time of earnest inquiry, at each of which it usually happened that some great point of Christian doctrine would be placed in a focal light and subjected to earnest scrutiny; and in most cases these were productive of profitable results. Church history presents the names of certain great leaders of the thinking of Christendom, which stand out like mountain peaks in a landscape, each of whom impressed his own mental and spiritual image upon the living forms of Christian thought. At our distance their views may appear fragmentary and unsymmetrical, and their arguments in some cases unsatisfactory; but they were—each in his place—the men for their times, and by their labors they contributed liberally to the stores of corrected doctrinal ideas—though often one-sided and over-philosophical.

Protestantism set out with a creed of positive doctrines, including the best parts of the traditional orthodoxy, but with a large share of the "convenient indefiniteness" recommended by Melanchthon, and not well guarded against possible and dangerous implications. It included the Athanasian doctrine of the person of Christ, which carried with it that of the

Trinity, but left the subject open to the implication of tritheism, and of conditioning the Godhead. It accepted the Augustinian conception of sin, without guarding it against the fatalistic suggestions of that system. The declaration recently made by a venerable ex-professor of theology, that "Augustine paganized Christianity," may be taken as an exaggerated statement of a pregnant truth. It also embodied in its creed Anselm's soteriology, but failed to guard it against its liability to make the Atonement appear as simply a commercial transaction, so necessitating either limited atonement or else universal salvation. And even its own central and distinctive doctrine of justification by faith was not sufficiently guarded against its liability to become constructively Antinomian. It is not at all surprising, therefore, that the years succeeding the Reformation constituted an era of earnest polemical discussions, with varying schools of doctrine, extending all the way from Lutheran consubstantiation and Anglican high-churchism downward to Zwinglian laxity and Anabaptist fanaticism. The creed and confessions of which the times became so fruitful were nevertheless the purposed remedies provided by the wisest and best men of the age for the maladies from which Protestantism was suffering.

The student of Church history is well aware that large and influential portions of the Churches of the Reformation were but partially emancipated from the traditions of Romanism, especially in respect to the character and design of the sacraments, the nature of the Church, and its power of "binding and loosing," and as to the right of personal free thought in all religious matters. It is also known that at the present time not a few who bear the name of Protestants are still held in that form of bondage. But with all such we are not now directly concerned; the "Christian beliefs" of whose "restatement" we are speaking, do not include that form of persuasion. They who adhere to such views, with logical propriety, hesitate to call themselves Protestants, or else they claim that from an early date most of the Reformed Churches very far transcended the boundaries of legitimate Protestantism. The typical Protestant of our times, however, discards all magical and mystical efficacy of the sacraments; denies all priestly functions to the Christian ministry; and looks upon the visible

Church of Christ as only a "congregation of faithful men, in which the pure word of God is preached and the sacraments duly administered." Their doctrinal differences with their Romanizing opponents are defined, with all needed fullness, in the works of the early Reformers, and there is no need that they should be restated at the present time. The questions with which we are concerned lie in quite another direction.

The high place given to the written word by the leaders of the Reformation did not incline them to make either a god or a pope of the Bible; but instead, they claimed for every man the right to read and interpret it with proper intellectual and spiritual freedom. Luther himself boldly reconstructed the canon, and excluded some of the books because of what they contained; and the more reverent and conservative English Reformers spoke of the Bible, not as itself the divine word, but rather as containing "God's true word;" and they were much more careful to guard against supplementing its lessons by any thing of merely human authority than to claim for it any mystical inspiration. And all their intelligent followers in our day readily submit the written word to the findings of a reverent criticism and the decisions of rational common sense. The teachings of science and the results of critical inquiry, and, most of all, the leadings of men's religious intuitions, are, each in its way, and all unitedly, bringing the conceptions of evangelical Christendom respecting the Bible back to those of the early Reformers. There is no need for us, therefore, to rewrite the revived convictions of the Church on the subject, but only to return to the teachings of the fathers of the Reformation, and, with our better facilities, following their methods, to seek to know what is indeed written in the book.

The "Christian beliefs," the needed "restatements" of which we are now called to consider, are those not of all Christendom, but rather of a school of thought which has become very widely intrenched in the Christian consciousness of the times. The Eastern Church has preserved, without any considerable modifications, the orthodoxy of the ante-Nicene fathers. The Western Church, on the contrary, continued to take on new forms of thought, until its course was arrested by the growing authority of the hierarchy, when the discipline of Jerome, the ecclesiasticism of Cyprian, and the anthropology of Augustine

became fixed and guarded as the only allowable forms of belief. The Reformation was essentially a revolt against the spiritual tyranny of the Western Church, and the assertion of the rights of free thought in all matters of religion; but it began its course with the tacit acceptance of most of the principal doctrines of Roman Catholicism.

With a set of doctrines at once so incomplete in their conceptions and so unguarded in their statement, there was large room for varying interpretations, and with the conceded right of free thinking and of private judgment as to the sense of the written word—its recognized and only sufficient rule of faith and practice—Protestantism assumed from the beginning a position of "unstable equilibrium," by reason of which future modifications of its doctrinal statements were assured, and stability as to the details of beliefs made impossible, except by occasional re-examinations and the elimination of every thing not essential to the Christian system, with the rejection of all philosophical theories of doctrine. This last cautionary provision, however, was largely neglected.

By virtue of their newly acquired freedom of thought the more advanced of the Reformers, not content with finding out whatever the Bible explicitly declares, proceeded further to deduce still other points of doctrine as logical implications and inferences. Because the Bible teaches the federal relations of Adam to his posterity, through which every man partakes of the evil consequences of the transgression of his progenitor, it was inferred that all men are for that offense condemned to eternal death; and because salvation is wholly through grace in Christ, it was inferred that men are powerless alike to help or hinder its completed results. The doctrine of justification by faith is inseparably connected with that of the reality and the intense turpitude of sin in man—entailing guilt and helplessness; and over against this the Scriptures set the work of Christ in saving men; and from this would come quite naturally the inference, that as all died in Adam, so are all made alive in Christ. But since it is certain that some are not so saved, it was further inferred that only a part of the human race are redeemed by Christ. Luther refused to follow out his own doctrinal postulates to their possible, but not necessary, logical implications, and so he left his theological system the-

oretically incomplete; and some of those who were nearest to him earnestly repudiated the inferences made by others. But Calvin, with less of sentiment than of hard logic, detected the possible implications, and accepted the fearful conclusion, and, rising to a lofty and sublime conception of the Divine Sovereignty, he contemplated the processes of the events of time as simply a predestinated order, in which all that occurs is but the unfolding of God's eternal decrees. This system has the advantage of unity and completeness, and, after granting its premises, its logical self-consistency is unassailable. But even its chief promulgator pronounced it "horrible," and the Christian consciousness of the whole Church rejects it.

It is the fashion of the times to denounce Calvinism, and especially so in places where it was formerly held in the highest honor. It has almost entirely disappeared from the pulpit and from popular religious literature. It is still to be found in theological treatises, but usually marred and emasculated, and perhaps it may be discussed and presented with variations in some of our schools of theology. But it is evidently a vanishing quantity in the Christian beliefs of our times; for any doctrine, whether false or true, that ceases to be heard from the pulpit will certainly fade out of the minds of the people in the course of one or two generations. But before that process shall be completed it may be well to pause and consider what has been the history, and what is the record, of the Calvinistic type of Protestantism.

It was the Reformed Churches of the Continent, as contradistinguished from the Lutheran, that carried forward the Reformation to a stage of completeness that made both its suppression and its reconciliation with Rome impossible, even when Luther and some of his associates appeared to be more than half inclined to accept terms of accommodation. It was the progressive element among the English Reformers which compelled the entire separation from Rome, and wrought into the substance of the Church of England those living evangelical doctrines which still stand as a breakwater against the incoming of the flood-tide of Romanism, and which also act as a life-giving, spiritual energy. It was the source of power which in Scotland nourished successive generations of martyrs and heroes whose spirits, passing beyond the Border, achieved the

liberties of England, and delivered the land from civil and ecclesiastical despotism. Its history in this country has been equally honorable. The Presbyterian, the Congregational, the Reformed (German and Dutch), and the Baptist Churches have together constituted a large and very wholesome contingent of the evangelical forces of the American Church. These facts would seem to indicate that in the doctrinal system held in common by all these bodies are found the vital principles of spiritual and aggressive Christianity. And now that the specific and distinctive features of Calvinism are manifestly fading away from the thoughts of the evangelical Churches, it may not be an uncalled-for service to raise the note of warning, lest in casting off the non-scriptural elements of the system some of its precious Christian truths may also be discarded, and so the wheat suffer in the removal of the tares. The changes have, no doubt, come about by a regular and not violent course of natural selection; and, as usual in such transformations, the changes are, no doubt, for the better.

The implication of our theme, namely, that there is a necessity for a "restatement of the Christian beliefs"—applies especially to the doctrines of sin and salvation, as taught in the formularies of the Calvinistic Churches. No such necessity is felt by the Roman Catholics, nor by the Anglicans (on either side of the ocean), nor by the Lutherans, nor by the Methodists—though all of these bodies are somewhat affected by the movements about them. But that there have been among the former class very wide changes in doctrinal expression, and equally marked replacements in doctrinal conceptions, is every-where manifest; nor is that fact at all an occasion of reproach to those among whom these things have occurred. But this unloosing of the bonds of prescriptive authority leaves the theological belongings of a large body of advanced Christian thinkers in an unformulated, not to say chaotic, condition; and as theological convictions naturally tend to assume a systematical order, these now unsettled opinions will certainly very soon become organized. Nor can there be any doubt in respect to the point toward which opinions are tending. Perhaps it may be said that the nucleus about which the "Christian beliefs" of the near future will crystallize is already ascertained and pretty closely defined. It may be further presumed, that

when so organized the new creed will not be the same in all things with any of the older and historical systems of faith.

It will accept the Apostles' Creed, with historic emendations and independent interpretations. It will rehearse the Nicene and Athanasian Creeds, but as assenting to their substance rather than to their form of words. It will be Augustinian just as far as Augustine is Pauline, with even Paul's statements elucidated and guarded by the wholesome lessons of Peter, and James, and John.

The body of divinity that shall respond to the requirements of our age will be neither Calvinistic nor Pelagian; but it will embody the distinctive elements of both those systems. It will assert and emphasize the spiritual doctrines of grace; and it will also insist upon man's free agency effectually conditioning personal salvation. If these two seem to be logically incompatible, so much the worse for the logic. It will also earnestly hold to and emphasize the doctrine of the Atonement, the expiation of man's guilt by the shedding of the blood of the Son of God; but it will enunciate no theory or phillosophic scheme by which to expound the mystery of redemption—the substitution of the innocent for the guilty in suffering—nor attempt accurately to define

"How guiltless blood for guilty man was shed."

It will declare the sovereignty of the grace that brings salvation, and couple with it man's free agency in accepting and using that grace, without attempting to explain how these two things can be reconciled. It will insist upon the very wholesome and comforting doctrine "that we are justified by faith alone," and "without the deeds of the law," and it will not fail to emphasize the truth that the faith which justifies also works by love and purifies the heart. It will teach that the life of the believer subsists by virtue of his mystical union with Christ—itself Christ in him—and is perpetuated by his own ever-active faith. It will glorify the Father's love manifested in the gift of his Son, and, while not forgetful of his exalted majesty, will especially delight to speak of him as the God and Father of all men. It will glorify Christ, the Son of the Father, but will especially emphasize his human sympathies and delight in his condescending self-devotion in our behalf,

constrained thereto by sovereign love. It will, more than ever before has been the case, bring the Holy Spirit into conspicuous recognition as the giver and sustainer of the life of God in the soul, the teacher and guide, the sanctifier, and the God of all consolation. These are not new, or hitherto unrecognized, doctrines, but instead they have all along been in the hearts and on the lips of God's people. The atmosphere of the Christian world is full of them. They have to a large extent replaced the dogmatizings of the schools in the Christian literature of the age, and in the teachings of the pulpit, and best of all in Christian communion. None of the creeds of Christendom adequately express these things, while in proportion to the exactness and fullness of these symbols they cumber the spirit and circumscribe the soul's vision of faith.

But ours is not an age of creed-making. It is clearly impossible at this time to produce new formularies of doctrine, like the Augsburg Confession, or that of Dort or Westminster. The respect demanded for free thought in the individual precludes the possibility that any one shall be required to shape his conceptions of religious truth according to any detailed scheme formed to his hand by some council or synod, and especially do the creeds of past centuries fail to answer to present demands. Nor is this freedom of thinking either the creature or the cause of any want of theological opinions. It has been demonstrated that creeds and confessions can neither ward off heresies nor shape the dogmatic conceptions of those who nominally accept them; and also, that theological opinions are stable in proportion as they are free.

The only practically available system of doctrines in any ecclesiastical body is and must be its unformulated *consensus;* the teachings of its pulpits and Sunday-schools and families, of which its unofficial utterances, through the press or by other means, become its effective, but not arbitrarily authoritative, statements and expositions. Probably no ecclesiastical body in the land would account a candidate for its ministry disqualified by reason of his unwillingness to accept, in their primary implications, certain portions of almost any one of the historical creeds of Protestantism; and it is quite certain that a rigid enforcement of such an acceptance would make sad havoc among the best taught and most conscientious ministers

of nearly all of the Churches. The numerically largest Protestant denomination in this country has no closely defined formulary of doctrines, nor any set of documents which are assumed to embody all its articles of faith, so that so much and no more must be accepted as true. And yet it may be asserted that no other body is less affected by the erratic thinking of its ministers and its members, and no others are better able to detect dangerous aberrations and to visit with the requisite corrections any who may err from the truth. The restatement, then, of Christian beliefs called for in our times is a declaration of independence of the enslaving formularies of former times—most of which were designed to meet certain local and temporary exigencies—and a return to the simpler forms of biblical teachings as interpreted by the concurrent Christian consciousness. Still another department of the Christian belief of our age is especially in an unsettled and unsatisfactory state—but of that we can now speak only very briefly and generally. It is that of Eschatology, sometimes called "The Doctrine of the Last Things." The historical creeds are all of them materialistic, often grossly so, in their forms of language and manifest conceptions respecting the future life. The popular notions respecting the resurrection of the dead and the character of "the life everlasting," which those creeds manifestly teach, have ceased to command the assent of the great body of intelligent believers. The Second Advent, and the Millennium, and the Reign of Christ on the earth in human form, are among the materialistic conditions permeating the traditional religious thought of Protestant Christendom; but very few sober and well taught Christian scholars can accept these things unless so modified as to change their identity. And yet these things are closely implicated with the primary principles of the current religious anthropology, and with the popular conception of the nature of the kingdom of Christ, present and prospective, and consequently with the hopes of the Gospel in respect to both the individual and the Church. It is conceded by our ablest Christian scholars that our Eschatology needs to be restated, because it now fails to voice the Christian consciousness of the age. But who shall undertake the work, and what shall be the form and contents of the reconstructed faith of the Church concerning these things. Evangelical Christendom waits the outcome.

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

UNIFICATION OF METHODISM.

It is among the infelicities of social life that good neighborhood among families of diverse social ranks, and still more so when the differences are religious or racial, is liable to tend toward matrimonial affinities. The parent who, though socially of a higher grade, would nevertheless teach his children to avoid all pretenses of superiority, knows very well that in so doing he incurs the danger of undesirable matrimonial alliance in his family, and therefore he finds it necessary to observe and enforce some degree of exclusiveness in the social relations of his children. If, however, for any reason the formation of such alliances is quite out of the question, then the intercourse of the parties may be correspondingly freer. Like considerations will apply to the relations of churches of diverse orders and of different denominations, with which Christian recognition is often forced forward, and made to suggest the inquiry why the two bodies should not become one. There seems to be in some minds a lack of ability to discriminate between the appreciation of the unity of the Christian life among fellow-believers of different names and the unity of ecclesiastical organization; and with not a few the external unity seems to be more fully emphasized than the internal and spiritual. Among the things to be learned in this our age of broadened Christian charity is, that true liberality is best shown by the recognition of excellences that are not now, nor likely to become, an integral part of one's own ecclesiastical organism, and that Christian unity need not to be shut in by denominational delimitations. This remark, which applies primarily to all Christian bodies, we would also apply with equal emphasis to the diverse organisms among which the Methodism of our age and country is divided.

Methodist "fraternity" has become a conspicuous fact, so far as its ostensible manifestations go, within the past few years. There have been exchanges of delegations till the affair has largely broken down under the burden of its physical conditions, and conference platforms have overflowed with honeyed words of brotherhood which it was well known expressed but half of the truth; and "ecumenicals" and "centennials" have celebrated the unity of Methodism, while each division, as was fitting, stood firmly, and often jealously, by its own standards. And all this is well enough, provided the differences that separate these various bodies are duly recognized and respected; for we hold that no body of Christians should abandon its own organization until satisfied that its distinctive features are relatively unimportant. At the same time, because the spirit of Christ should be recognized, wherever found, as of vastly greater value than any ecclesiastical system, so genuine Christian

unity will readily overstep, and indeed ignore, the fences that shut in our denominational preserves. The family has its own unity, which should be sacredly protected; but devotion to one's family is altogether compatible with the most earnest patriotism and the broadest philanthropy.

In the proceedings referred to there have been only slight references to the organic union of some of the bodies thus brought together; but in the "aside" utterances the subject has been not unfrequently suggested—less often of late, however, than a few years earlier. These suggestions have assumed, rather than asserted—and no attempts have been made to prove it—that the separated existence of these various bodies is a very great evil that ought to be speedily remedied; perhaps, indeed, a great *sin*, unless quickly repented of and given up, and atoned for by organic unification. It is tacitly claimed that any possible divisions into separate bodies of the Christians of any locality is somehow wrong, and ought not to be, which, as a proposition for an ideally perfect Christian community, may be correct. But such ideal communities are not very numerous; and the actual ordering of things must be adapted to the existing imperfections of men individually, and of society in its ruling characteristics. Nor are the causes of the separate existence of the various Christian bodies existing among us to be found in the perverse self-will of those who maintain them. Even in Methodism each dissentient body had what seemed to be a sufficient justification for the dissatisfaction which led at length to separation. It is also worthy of notice that the things complained of in the parent body, and which became at length the occasion of disruption, have since, in many cases, been largely mitigated or entirely removed. The Protestant Methodist Church grew out of the attempt of certain persons, both ministers and laymen, to liberalize the government, both legislative and administrative, of the Methodist Episcopal Church. Their methods may have been in some cases disorderly and factious, and yet we suspect that just such proceedings, if taken at this time, would not be treated with the same severity; and greater constitutional modifications and administrative mitigations than were then asked for have since been granted. But while the original causes of complaint have been removed, the body that grew up by reason of them has come to have an entity and status of its own, of whose perpetuation those to whom it has descended are the custodians and the competent and only rightful judges. When they may conclude that the mission of their separation is sufficiently accomplished they are at liberty to seek to be united with the older and more numerous organization. But of that matter they only are to be the judges. Their right to be is not to be challenged by any others.

Nearly the same considerations will apply to those who, soon after 1840, chiefly in the Eastern States, seceded from the parent body and formed the "Wesleyan Methodist Church of America." They were wholly dissatisfied with the attitude of the Church toward slavery, as they had good cause to be; and they found also, that, under the rulings of the Bishops, the rights of the Annual Conferences as free synods were completely set aside; and despairing of their cause within the Church, they withdrew

and set up an independent body, which still maintains a feeble and moribund existence. That movement, no doubt, had a purpose, though the wisdom of its course was not approved by many who fully sympathized with those who engaged in it; and as a protest against not only the dominant *quasi* pro-slaveryism of the Church, but equally so against the unwarrantable stretching of episcopal authority over the Annual Conferences, it no doubt effected very great and valuable results. The General Conference of 1844 was held in the presence of that secession, then rapidly coming to threatening proportions, and standing as a menace over the entire Methodism of the Eastern and Middle States. The vote in the case of Bishop Andrew applied equally to the question of the Church's relations to slavery and that of the character, and consequently the power, of the episcopacy, which together constituted the grievance which had brought about the secession, and both of which suffered alike in that vote. It is said that when the vote in the case of Bishop Andrew was taken, in the Greene Street Church in New York, Orange Scott was sitting in the gallery, an intensely interested observer of the proceedings; and when the result was reached, he remarked to a friend, "That will make an end of our organization." But for the dread inspired by the secession of which Scott was the recognized leader, no such vote as that could have been reached; but this casting down of the two pillars of pro-slaveryism and prelacy in Methodism, as with those which Samson threw down in the temple of Dagon, at once saved the Church and destroyed its deliverer. Both these results might, perhaps, have been reached by other means, and at less disastrous costs, but for the good actually accomplished let the credit be awarded as it was deserved.

The Wesleyan Methodist Church of America, by virtue of its influence, seconding the tendency of public sentiment in all of the Methodist Episcopal Church after the separation of the Southern Conferences, caused the latter body to advance very far toward the ground held by the former, and so robbed it of its distinctive occupation as a protesting body, and deprived it of its sole claim to a continued existence. It has accordingly been almost entirely re-absorbed, without the formality of an organic unification.

Respecting another separated body of Methodists, we cannot better express our present convictions than in language which we wrote and published twenty-one years ago:

> The various "African" Methodist Churches have grown out of the joint action of the white Methodists' determination to allow to their colored brethren nothing approaching to freedom in the Church, and the Negro's determination not to occupy the lower position assigned him. Perhaps, too, there was not wanting among the colored people a desire to be first in their own little spheres rather than to receive even their full share of privileges among those of another and relatively more elevated class; and so the whites got rid of a perplexity and a burden, and the Negroes gained ecclesiastical freedom and eligibility to place, with the loss of almost every other religious and intellectual advantage. The course taken in these things is doubtless a very natural one; but that fact is but a poor apology for its permission by those whose business it is to counterwork the evil tendencies of what is natural to fallen humanity.

It has long been our settled conviction that the separation of the colored Methodists of the free States from the Methodist Episcopal Church has been a serious and unmixed evil to both parties. To the colored people it has been the privation of the aid, both pecuniary and intellectual, which would have accrued to them from their union with the whites; and to the whites it has been the serious disadvantage of the loss of ready access to the "poor among us," in which the Church finds her richest opportunities to enrich herself by benefiting others. With the colored Methodists of the free States in cherished communion with her, our Church would never have lapsed into the strange and reprehensible posit on of a quarter of a century ago, which we now look back upon with mingled emotions of surprise and shame. In Church connection with the whites those colored Methodists would not have remained at the low level of intelligence and efficiency in which we now see them. In placing the two races in the same localities, the divine purpose that they should be united in Church fellowship is sufficiently indicated. But what God had joined together men put asunder; and the result of the sad divorce has of course been only evil to both parties.—*The Christian Advocate*, July 20, 1865.

But the work of separation was effected, and nobody can blame the free blacks for leaving associations in which they received scant welcome. And now that they are separated, it is for themselves alone to settle the conditions of their return to the "mother Church," which owes them, at least, a parent's kindness.

There are two ecclesiastical bodies in this country which, without the family name of Methodists, nor ecclesiastically derived from any Methodist ancestry, are still Methodists in fact, by virtue of both the character of their religious life and their methods of ecclesiastical organization and of Christian activity—the "Evangelical Association," whose head-quarters are Cleveland, O., and of which Albright was the originator, and after whose name the body is sometimes called, and the "United Brethren in Christ," with head-quarters at Dayton, the ecclesiastical progeny of Otterbein and Boehm. Between both of these and ourselves there has been some recognition of kinship, both official and also informal; and perhaps there has been some little coquetting on both sides, and with both of these, in respect to union. They are both doing a good work, and effecting valuable results by agencies that we have largely ceased to use, and among peoples to whom our access is not so ready as is theirs. It has therefore seemed to us that in their own place they are doing good work for the Master, and therefore that it may be for the best that they abide apart. But it is found that, living among our churches, they are continually subject to being depleted by the greater attractions of the larger and more advanced body, and both their abler ministers and many of their well-to-do families are drawn into our communion. This form of unification may do well enough for the gaining party, but it is death to the body out of which the life-blood is thus drawn. But it is not for us to suggest what course should be pursued. The records of these bodies are highly honorable, and they are doing a good work. Respecting their future we have nothing to predict. If, however, any steps shall be taken looking to a closer affiliation with the Methodist Episcopal Church, they and not we must take the initiative.

Respecting the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and our relations to

it, and the desirableness of union with it, some of our people seem to feel an earnest and never-ceasing concern. A great deal is heard from our side about "organic union," and of the great *shame* and *sin* of separation, but very little from theirs that points in that direction. Ever since the close of the war there has been an incessant process of wooing in behalf of the Church "North," which has been about as steadily repelled by the other party. A long time ago, at a time the Southern Bishops were holding a meeting at St. Louis, two of our Bishops sought them out unasked, and proposed some kind of a negotiation with them; but when inquired of in respect to their errand and their authority, they had nothing to offer, and so were formally rather than politely "bowed out." Some years later, a commission having been appointed by the General Conference of 1868 to receive and consider any proposition that might be made to them respecting union by certain designated ecclesiastical bodies—to which list the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was added at the last moment—although it had no authority to make proposals, but only to receive and consider them when made by some other body, yet two members of that commission (one then a Bishop, and the other since made one) in 1870 hied away to the Southern General Conference at Memphis, and were politely reminded that said commissioners had power only to consider propositions made to them, and were further assured that the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had nothing to submit on that subject. They were told the commission of which they were a part—

> Cannot, in our judgment, without great violence in construing the language of said resolution, be reported as having been constituted by that General Conference a commission to make proposals of union to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South. Moreover, that if this distinguished commission were fully clothed with authority to treat with us for union, it is the judgment of this Conference that the true interests of the Church of Christ require and demand the maintenance of our separate distinct organizations.

And after this, with expressions in regular diplomatic style of distinguished *personal* considerations, and with a manifest touch of sarcasm, they were permitted to depart in peace.

At the General Conference of 1872, held in Brooklyn, the subject of our relations with the Southern Church was brought into notice by "sundry petitions, memorials, and resolutions," all of which were referred to the "Committee on the State of the Church," which body in due time reported in substance—and their report was adopted—that the Methodist Episcopal Church having entered the parts of the country in which the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, has most of its members and churches, and having there received many members and established numerous local churches and all proper ecclesiastical institutions, it is neither at liberty nor disposed to abandon that part of its work; but because it is deemed very desirable that the two Methodisms should co-exist in harmony, and in order that their good fellowship should be the more clearly indicated, it was declared that—

To place ourselves in the truly fraternal relations toward our Southern brethren which the sentiments of our people demand, and to prepare the way for the opening of formal fraternity with them, be it hereby

Resolved, That this General Conference will appoint a delegation, consisting of two ministers and one layman, to convey our fraternal greetings to the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, at its next ensuing session.

In the debates on this occasion the action of the General Conference of 1848 was justified, and every possible modification of it definitely refused, and also distinct notice was given that there existed no purpose on our part of abandoning our work in the Southern States.

The delegation so provided for accordingly appeared at the General Conference of the Southern Church in 1874, at Louisville, but somehow their credentials were so far defective that they contained nothing of the declaration of our purpose to continue in the South, which had been made as a condition preliminary to the action providing for a fraternal delegation. The omission was unfortunate, as it might seem to imply a willingness on the part of somebody to ignore the attitude of those who had ordered the delegation toward those to whom they were accredited, and the omission and its apparent intention were noticed and commented upon by one of the Southern delegates, since chosen and ordained a Bishop. But our delegates were at length received on their credentials, their addresses heard, and so fraternal relations between the "two Methodisms" were formally inaugurated.

It is noteworthy that in every instance the overtures in favor of closer relations between the two bodies have come from our side, and that while the proposals in favor of "fraternity" have been entertained by our Southern brethren, all such concessions have been accompanied with the declaration that no proposition in favor of "organic union" could be entertained. All the wooing and coquetting has been made from the Northern side, but not by any properly official action, although certain of our "officials" have occasionally become a little superserviceable on that line.

In these attempted negotiations the South appears usually to have had the better side of the game, the reasons for which are quite obvious, and they are such as to cast no discredit upon the winning party. They evidently see, what some among us appear to be unwilling to recognize, that there are such considerable and deep-seated differences between the two bodies, in their substance and spirit, that their incorporation into a single organization would result only in discord and confusion. The rupture in 1844–45 was the result of causes that lay deeper than the accidents of civil institutions or ecclesiastical theories. "They went out from us because they were not of us," nor need we decide whose was the fault, nor whether it may not have been for the better rather than the worse that there was a separation between inharmonious elements. Slavery may have been the occasion which precipitated the disruption; but the originating cause lay deeper, in the differences of mental habits and in the diverse civilizations of the people of the two regions. And these

causes survive the extinction of slavery as a legalized institution, and therefore the influences that precipitated the separation still live and operate to make its continuance a necessity. There come times "in the course of human events," when separations are needed for the peace and prosperity of both sides. So for the sake of peace Abraham and Lot departed from each other; and so in Methodism, for the better prosecution of its mission, the American scion separated from the parent stock beyond the sea; and later the Canadian branch was cut off from the American trunk; and later still the south side of American Methodism was separated into a distinct ecclesiastical organization. If it is said that man may not put asunder what God has joined together, so also we learn that the divine wisdom has fixed the bounds of the habitations of the nations, and the latter process is as really of God, and as profitable to men, as the former, and each is best in its time and place. We see therefore no good reason for desiring the reuniting of the two great divisions of American Methodism, believing still, as was said in the Report of 1872, that "there is abundant room for both us and them, and God may use both of these Churches for the promotion of his cause." And though there will necessarily be occasional cases of friction where the two touch upon each other, these need not be either frequent nor greatly disastrous; and in any case they would be incomparably less troublesome than the deeper internal disorders sure to arise from the commingling of uncongenial elements in the same body.

The magnitude to which the Methodist Episcopal Church has grown, with its promise of almost unlimited increase in the near future, should suggest to its ruling minds the need for devising and executing measures to guard against the dangers of such an overgrowth. There is much greater call for *distribution* of governmental administration than of *concentration* and *centralization*. Christian freedom and ecclesiastical "home rule" are conditions requisite to evangelistic effectiveness. We want no Ecumenical Methodism.

While not doubting that the continued maintenance of some of our minor denominations is neither called for nor susceptible of justification, we are still very well satisfied that a multiplicity of "sects" is by no means an unmixed evil. Their existence is not only not incompatible with Christian union, but is rather promotive of it, on the same principle that small proprietors favor good neighborhood. Local and traditional preferences and personal tastes all enter largely into church life, and their gratification tends to liberty, which is inferior only to the influences of the word and the Spirit as a condition of Christian development. The waste of power caused by too much distribution of the religious forces in small denominational sections is largely compensated for by the absence of internal disorders, and by the activities necessarily awakened, and therefore, while representing the most numerous religious body in the land, we are quite willing, with the generosity of Uncle Toby, to say to even the least of the sisterhood of the Churches, "The world is wide enough for all of us."

CHRISTIANITY'S NEXT PROBLEM.

[SECOND PAPER.]

There are special reasons, aside from its moral and religious considerations, which give importance to the social and industrial problem of the present time. Great changes have occurred within two generations in the relations of capital and labor as instruments of production, and in the relative importance of the two classes represented by them. There has never been such opportunity as this century affords for the legitimate accumulation of property. There has never before been such security for the most unlimited fortunes, whether acquired by productive industry, commerce, or speculation. There has never been greater temptation to greed of gain, by grasping vast landed estates, the control of the highways of commerce, or the lotteries of mining and speculation. There has never been a time, certainly in modern history, when wealth could exert greater influence upon government. A thoughtful merchant in one of our large cities, writing on this subject, suggests the resemblance of this age in America to that of the Roman Cæsars, as described by Froude, when

> the offices were confined, in fact, to those who had the longest purses or the most ready use of the tongue on the popular platform. Distinctions of birth had been exchanged for distinctions of wealth. The struggles between plebeian and patrician for equality of privilege were over, and a new division had been formed between the party of property and a party who desired a change in the structure of society.—*Thurber, in Homiletic Monthly*, April, 1884, p. 412.

The sudden and vast increase of private fortunes in this country within the last half-century—since 1850, in fact—is one of the most remarkable facts of history. Forty years ago the millionaires of America could be counted on a man's fingers. Then a man worth a hundred thousand dollars was very rich. Now a hundred thousand is but the moderate beginning of a fortune. With this increase of individual wealth are two or three other facts which serve at once to increase accumulation and to multiply the power of money. One of these is, that our legislators are more generally rich men, and are chosen because they are rich. The ways of politics are such now that it is coming to be felt that a poor man can neither afford to be a candidate for Congress, nor (if honest) to be a member if elected. On the other hand, political parties seek for rich men as candidates for office, and the millionaire seeks or buys office as a badge of nobility, or a means of protecting or advancing his financial interests. Another fact, partly the outgrowth of the first, is, that legislation so jealously guards property, giving it better protection than is afforded to virtue or human life. The gains of the rum-seller are better cared for than the morality of the drinker—the profits of the coal company more than the safety of the miner.

Still another fact is, the facilities which legislation affords for the amassing of wealth. The whole drift of legislation is to aid in the accumulation of large fortunes rather than the equalization of property. So, also, it

favors the massing of many fortunes under one control. The great Mogul of this country to-day is the CORPORATION. Itself an innocent institution, and if legitimately used profitable to society, it becomes in the hands of unscrupulous managers the instrument of oppression and robbery. By it a few men control the trans-continental highways of traffic, as once Algerine pirates controlled the commerce of the Mediterranean. By it the various manufactures of the country are massed and governed. By it useful inventions become at once monopolies and means of extortion and accumulation. Steam and electricity are slaves of Cœsus. The little telephone instrument, which costs three or four dollars, pays to capital an annual rental of thirty to one hundred dollars.

As the result of inventions and the application of natural forces not only are manufactures vastly increased and improved, but it comes about that the single laborer can no longer be the independent manufacturer; much less can the same mechanic, however skilled, carry on by himself a series of successive operations. Once the farmer's wife could take the wool from the fleece and transform it into the gown for her daughter. Not unfrequently the tanner could take the hide from the slaughter and put it through all the successive processes till it was fashioned into a finished boot. Now it takes scores of men and women, and thousands of dollars and untold mechanical and chemical forces, with intricate machinery, to make a yard of cloth or a single shoe. And by this change labor has become a subordinate factor in the process. Especially has skilled labor lost its relative importance, since so much of manufacture requires not mechanical skill and dexterity, but merely the watching and feeding of self-acting machines. In effect, what was and could be only the possession and property of the mechanic by years of practice has now become through inventions and mechanical forces the instrument of capital. It is estimated that, in the modern system of manufactures, one thousand dollars of capital must be invested for every worker employed. But it is to be remembered that in most employments the single thousand and the one laborer cannot set up business. The operatives must work in gangs, and the capital must be massed.

The methods of trade have changed not less than those of manufactures, and much in the same way. Even retailing is now, so to speak, done by wholesale. Immense stocks and stores and combinations have taken the place of retail shops. The milkman of the city is only the delivery clerk for the milk association monopoly, which buys of the farmer and sells to the consumer, dictating the prices to both.

We are not to assume that these changes are wholly bad. They may result in temporary or individual loss or inconvenience, and yet be, when completed, for the general good. They are here presented only as complications of the social-financial problem.

Certain social results from these changes must also be noted, and not least the change in the relation of employer and employed. Once in this country their relation was that of associates and friends. The apprentice lived in his master's family, was the equal of his sons, married his daugh-

ter, and succeeded to his business. The same thing was true in trade. The clerk was apprenticed to the merchant to learn his business, and lived in his family on terms of social equality. He was in most intimate social relations with his employer, and public opinion and law alike made the master responsible for the moral and social standing of his apprentice. Through these the master had means to powerfully influence the habits and character of his employees, and the apprentice was appealed to by strong motives to win the good opinion of his master.

How different are the relations of employer and employed now! The two classes are distinct, and almost wholly ignorant of each other. The owner of the factory knows nothing of the people in his employ, as he knows nothing of their toil or skill. He does not understand their wants nor enter into their sympathies, and the workman hardly feels that the capitalist belongs to his race. The heads of vast mercantile houses do not know their clerks and salesmen, except in a sort of mechanical way, as certain forces or machines for disposing of goods. Cash boys and bobbin-boys are, like money-tills or spinning-jennies, instruments for bringing in money, and the capitalist may discharge the one or throw aside the other with equal indifference to any consideration but gain.

The effect of all this is to separate the capitalist and laborer into two classes, ignorant of, and often hostile to, each other. Capital becomes to labor a heartless tyrant; labor to capital an ignorant, brutal mob. Each feels obliged to combine against the other—capital against the aggressive demands of labor, and labor to force something more from capital. All the more completely are these results brought about when capital is represented by the impersonal corporation, and the workman comes in contact with none but agents and overseers.

This increasing separation of classes, and their consequent mutual ignorance of each other, is an increasing danger to society. The old baronial times and the relations of feudalism had this mitigation, that while each was born into the class in which he lived, and while the lower classes were dependent largely on the lord, he, in turn, was helpless without the labor and martial strength of his people; and more than this, that the retainer and serf, even, were personally known to the chief. They met together in martial and athletic festivals, and at all the great feasts of the lord of the manor the yeoman sat at the table of his lord, though it was "below the salt." These were times when

> "opened wide the baron's hall
> To vassal, tenant, serf, and all;
> Power laid his rod of rule aside,
> And Ceremony doffed his pride.
> The heir, with roses in his shoes,
> That night might village partner choose;
> The lord, underogating, share
> The vulgar game of post and pair."

Moreover, there was often, as in the Scottish clans, the bond of kinship between the chief and the lowest clansman, and the pride of blood was in the lowest as well as in the highest. Here in the United States there

are no such mitigations of birth or associations. And, paradoxical as it may seem, the class feeling is embittered by the fact that often the very rich and the very poor began as school-mates and playfellows—the silver-king was a hod-carrier, and the cattle-king a stable boy, and neither has quite outgrown his early tastes and limitations. There is no reason apparent on the surface why one of these school-boys should be a millionaire and another a laborer. This separation of the American people into classes, ignorant of and growingly hostile to each other, is already a source of danger to the order and peace of society, before which capital has more than once had occasion to tremble. It becomes subversive of liberty just so far as the poverty of one class and the immorality of the other makes the ballot a marketable commodity. It is anti-Christian so far as it forgets the second great commandment.

The Christian mastery of wealth must include the mastery of the whole range of business. It must incorporate into the laws of trade that divine statute, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It must forbid the obtaining of excessive prices by means of false reports or artificial scarcity, as well as by false representations of quality or quantity. Short weight, poor material, corners in the market, and artificial panics are, according to the Christian standard, forms of robbery. It does not change the principle that the mechanic, who complains of oppression in his wages, is just as eager to buy his clothing at prices which mean starvation to the needle-woman, or that the lady who is noted for her Christian charity boasts of her wonderful bargains—goods purchased at less than cost of material. That these methods of unjust gain run through all branches of trade does not affect the Christian principle, though it may show how wide is the field yet to be subdued by Christian cultivation. The purpose to get something for nothing is the unchristian principle permeating alike the stock and wheat gambling, shoddy manufacture, adulteration of foods, and chaffering in trade.

Undoubtedly Christianity must require the exercise of the virtues of industry, frugality, and temperance, but not, as has been too often perversely taught, for the sake of accumulation. It requires that industry be not only productive, but beneficially productive. Society claims the right to say that a man shall not give his labor to injurious industry, such as the burglar's toil, the counterfeiter's skill, the manufacture of certain poisons or explosives, except under rigid supervision. Christianity will forbid any, however profitable, industry, whose product is useless or injurious to man. The manufacture of that which ruins health, dethrones reason, or corrupts morals, is worse than idleness. Trade which involves only the exchange of the valueless or the injurious, can have no Christian justification in the fact that it serves as a means to accumulate wealth in the hands of the trader.*

* The acceptance of this principle removes all foundation for the claim of the liquor interest to legal sanction and protection. The claim of the distiller is, that he is engaged in a great productive industry, employing immense capital and large forces of labor, while the liquor traffic employs large capital and many men in the

The Christian solution of the financial problem must include the wide distribution of property. Undoubtedly the equalization of wealth is for the welfare of the State, promotive alike of political purity, social morality, industry, intelligence, and material comfort. An aristocracy of wealth tends to become a political oligarchy, and the people, without material interest in the welfare of the State, tend to become the tools of demagogues. Under a government of the people, by the people, for the people, legislation must reverse the traditions and practices of the past, and favor the distribution of property rather than its accumulation and transmission in masses from generation to generation. Legislation must emphasize that survival of the earlier communism, and especially emphasize its moral side, that property rights are subordinate to the welfare of the State, and so that personal wealth is less important than the general good. Christianity must go further, and declare that the individual welfare is the important thing, and that the gaining and retaining of wealth is comparatively unimportant. The first effect of Christianity was to dethrone wealth. It did not deny property rights, but it did subordinate those rights to the higher claims of brotherhood. "Neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own," as against the common needs of the Church, "but they had all things common," and they distributed as each had need. Wealth, like other talent of apostle or believer, became an instrument of Christian service. If there have been changes in the condition of society, Christian principles have not changed since Pentecost. Wealth is still subordinate to human need.

The accumulation of wealth, whether regarded as a right, or power, or privilege, must be regulated by the law, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself." The aggregate wealth of society, however vast and however it may be gradually increased by the surplus products of labor or the discovery of new values and new forces, is yet limited. Individual wealth, however small, is a portion of the aggregate wealth of society. In this country the millions of single individuals bear some appreciable proportion to the total wealth of the nation. What one man holds, therefore, whether by inheritance or as the accumulated products of industry, by so much limits the possible possessions of others. If one man inherits one half the wealth of the preceding generation, there remains but one half to be distributed among the rest of society. If a few become possessed of large portions of land, that necessitates a great multitude of landless people. The rapid and large accumulation of wealth by the few, in any community, has its counterpart in a great multitude of people who are simply getting a living. The men with ten or a hundred millions are balanced

various departments of purchase and distribution. Let it rather be stated that it is the employment of capital and labor in the destruction of so much food, and the production of that which, in the aggregate, is worse than useless to mankind; that its fruits are destructive to health, reason, and morals, so that society would be benefited by the idleness of all the laborers and the destruction of all the capital employed in the business.

by tens of thousands in poverty. If one man has accumulated the surplus profits of the labor of a thousand men—that is, the product of their labor above what has been consumed in their support—and thereby made himself a millionaire, he has by that fact made accumulation of surplus impossible for nine hundred and ninety-nine others. If through the avenues of trade the surplus products of a province become the property of one man, then nobody else can acquire wealth from that province. It may be a question whether any man has a Christian right to unlimited inheritance, or whether any man can righteously accumulate millions of dollars in a lifetime. That is to say, it may be doubtful whether a man employing the labor of others has the right to pay so small wages and to reserve to himself so large a share of the products of labor as to accumulate his millions of dollars; or whether, buying in one market and selling in another, he has the right to make profits which will aggregate millions. But there can be no question that the Christian law requires that whatever the man possesses shall be used for the good of humanity. Equally certain is it that this requirement, fairly met, would cut off entirely many of the methods of rapid accumulation of property, and would greatly modify the methods of gain by the employment of productive industry. It would relieve the laborer from oppression, and secure the harmonious co-operation of capital and labor. The law of love would counterbalance the greed of gain, and secure the constant distribution of wealth among the many rather than its accumulation in the hands of the few, and its transmission in great fortunes from generation to generation.

Such application of Christian principle there must be in order to the progress of society. Wealth must not be the measure of worth or of honor. Mammon must not dominate the Church. The way must be opened for righteous legislation and honest execution of the laws; for the benefit of humanity rather than for the feeding of avarice.

D. H. Ela.

THE LABOR TROUBLES AND THE SABBATH LAW.

So many impertinent and nonsensical things have been said and written on the Sunday question, that not a few intelligent people are tired of it and turn away from its study. So, likewise, has the Sabbath Question been so generally discussed from the religious side as to divert attention from its scientific importance. Let us, then, examine briefly the scientific aspects of the case, and the connection of the fundamental law, known from earliest times, with the Labor Question of the present times.

First of all, it must be observed, that if we had no inspired books and no religious teaching in regard to the Sabbath, it is plain that our scientific investigation would lead us to the detection of the fundamental law in the case. Thus it is observed, in regard to the toughest materials which can be manufactured into utensils of civilization, that there is in them the equivalent of a seventh-day law. A rail-car or private carriage, a vehicle made of wood and iron, will last longer in its separate parts and

in their combination provided perfect rest be given them every seventh day. A steam-boiler will do its work longer and better if cooled every seventh day. It is found that more can be got out of an estate descending in a family if its fields be left fallow every seventh year. Now these fields are made up of a soil combining several elements. It does not seem to have been determined whether this requisition for the seventh-day rest be in the elements or in the atoms thereof, or in the combination of the elements into what we call soil. As yet that has eluded scientific investigation; but the fact remains, that acres of soil contain in themselves this virtual sabbatic requisition.

Repeated experiments have shown that the same thing is true of animals. A draft-horse will pull as much on the seventh day as on the first if he have good stabling, good grooming, and good food. The same may be said of his capabilities on the fourteenth day and on the twenty-first day under similar favorable conditions; but in the long run of five years he shows the effect of the neglect of the observance of a law written in every fiber of his body. A railway company using two hundred horses, as near the same age as they can be procured, and running one hundred of them continuously and resting the other hundred each seventh day, will soon begin to discover the difference, and the tables of the broken-down and prematurely superannuated horses will begin to tell their story.

The same holds good in regard to men, whether considered as to their physical labor or their mental exertions. Two lawyers of equal physique and brain power, as nearly as can be determined at the beginning of their course, may go on working; one devoting himself to his profession three hundred and sixty-five days in the year, and the other carefully abstaining on every seventh day from all thought in regard to questions connected with either the theory or the practice of his profession, will not require a score of years to show the difference of the two treatments. Religion does not seem to have any thing to do with it. A clergyman may be a saintly man, as saints are counted, and yet if he do not set apart one day in each week of seven days in which he will persistently abstain from all theologic study and all pastoral work, he will by and by begin to endure the penalties of a violated law. This is one reason why there are so many and such early breakdowns among Christian ministers. There is, perhaps, no body of men so largely Sabbath-breakers as is the Christian ministry. The regulations of society compel other men, in some degree, to abstain from work one day in the seven. The banks and exchanges are closed one day in the seven; so are the courts. There are many other brakes put upon human activities; but the clergyman may begin on Monday morning, and work every day and night of the week, sitting up late on Saturday night to finish his sermon, and then attending to his Sunday, school and preaching, and administering the sacraments, and, perhaps, officiating at a funeral on Sunday, and the next morning commence the same round again for another week. And he may do all this without ever attracting any attention to himself as a Sabbath-breaker. But the law of his physical and mental constitution is all the same. Bodily health, pro-

longed capability to work and to enjoy life, and long life itself, are three things dependent upon having the equivalent of a seventh-day rest. The bishop and the atheist are equally amenable to this law. The time of rest may or may not be employed in religious exercises; but the demand for abstinence on the seventh day from the courses of activity of the other six days is imperative. The observance of this law is indispensable for the enjoyment of the life that now is, whether or not there be any life hereafter.

No law has been more plainly found imbedded in the fibers and nerves of animals, and in the brains of the highest animals, than this Sabbath law. There seems to be none other that has been longer known to the human race. There are intimations of it in the oldest literature extant. There is no ascertaining when it was first known, because in the oldest writings in possession of the race it is assumed as already well known, being at that time presented to human thought in its religious connections, apparently without the slightest suspicion of its having what we are accustomed to consider a scientific foundation, as in these latter days we have discovered it to possess. In the oldest of the sacred books it is utilized for religious purposes. The God of the Hebrews, through the first ministers of his religion, in nationalizing a people on the basis of a theocracy, appointed for them one day in the seven, one year in the seven, and one year at the close of the seven times seven years for certain religious observances, to be connected with certain civil arrangements; and God made these the vertebrated column of the whole anatomy of that theocracy.

It would seem that no religion, published under any sanctions, human or divine, could maintain itself among any people for any considerable series of years which had not in nature the foundation on which to build. The Israelitish system had that foundation. The beats of all the pulses of the universe are in octaves, marking the closes of the series of seven. It is not difficult to see that if a religious man observe this, and then be asked why the God of the Israelites should have promulgated the system he is reported to have done in the old Hebrew books, he would say something like this: All religion is based upon a recognition of God, of God's proprietorship of the universe. The seventh-day law is God's assertion of his ownership of time; that is to say, of human life. The sabbatic year is the assertion of God's ownership in the land. The year of jubilee, in which real estate reverted, debt was canceled, and slaves liberated, is God's assertion of his ownership of every thing which can be considered property. The difference between religion and non-religion would seem to lie in the difference between acknowledging God's universal proprietorship and the claiming of that proprietorship for human beings.

The scientific question whether religion or non-religion is better, may be determined by an investigation of the results on a large scale of an acknowledgment of God's proprietorship in every thing, or in the contrary, practically living upon the supposition that land and time and all the products of industry belong absolutely to the race. Could we have a large territory inhabited only by people who in every thought and act of their lives acknowledge the proprietorship of God, whose religious exercises

perpetually remind them of that truth and kindle in them emotions appropriate to the reception of such a truth—and then could we have another territory of equal size, and equally populated, but by people who thoroughly reject God's proprietorship, and never allow in an individual case any religious service which acknowledges that truth—and could we then compare the result upon the physical, intellectual, moral, and social condition of the two peoples at the close of a sufficiently long season of trial, we should have a very full, clear, and sufficient evidence to settle this question forever. But as things are, we have to take the peoples in which one or the other of these theories dominates. Take, then, a community in which there is a rational observance of the Sabbath law—I do not say of the rabbinical Sabbath, nor of puritanical Sunday regulations, but a rational keeping to what is scientifically provable to be the law in the case—and compare that community with another in which, so far as it ever has been done, the Sabbath idea is, not to say rejected, but simply ignored, we shall begin to have much light on this subject.

We come now to look at the connection of this law with the present labor troubles.

These troubles seem to arise from the strained relations of capital and labor, and they come to a head where large capital and many hands are employed. It is charged upon the part of labor that it is not sufficiently remunerated; it is charged upon the part of capital that it cannot make out of the labor it employs enough to justify an increase of remuneration. Going behind these two statements, we find that ordinarily the trouble bursts out where there is a large amount of capital brought together, and employed by a corporation using a great number of hands to carry on this work. On the side of capital it will be observed that there is usually a violation of the Sabbath law, so far as both the corporation and the laborers are concerned. The corporation does not take pains to rest its men and its machinery one day in every week. Now, according to the Sabbath law, that machinery must deteriorate and those men must do their work badly; so that on both sides the income of a corporation is annually diminished by the neglect to observe a law as fixed as the law of gravitation. A railway whose trains should stop at twelve o'clock some night, and lie still for twenty-four hours, while all its employees are perfectly at rest from their labors, whether in worship or whatever else may be necessary for recuperation, would in the course of the year, no doubt, largely increase its net profits by diminishing its expenses. Then there would be a further increase from the great diminution of injury done to the machinery by accidents. The accidents must be much greater where physical laws are not observed than where they are. Switchmen, brakemen, and engineers working on, seven days in each week, by and by come to such a state of brain, nerve, and muscle as to increase their liability to accidents which destroy property.

Then, too, the corporation injures itself by paying men six days' wages for a week's work, whereas men should always be paid a full week's wages for six days' work, so that the pot may be kept boiling while the men are

observing the law of recuperation. If it be said that this is a Utopian idea, the reply is, that such a statement implies that it is impracticable for rational beings to devise reasonable ways of keeping well-known physical laws. If that be true, then there can be no reform of any kind, and no place for any discussion. But on what ground can it be established that such a thing is impracticable? Suppose it were admitted that the public weal demanded the running of all the cars, on both passenger and freight lines, on a certain railway, day and night continuously, through consecutive years. Even that would not necessarily render the observance of the Sabbath law impracticable. We do let our men off for purposes of sleep. Neglect of sleep tells so quickly disastrously, that we are compelled to listen to the imperative demand; and so men work through a limited portion of the twenty-four hours, and it is called a week's work, whether it be six, eight, ten, or fifteen hours a day. Twenty-four hours make a day, but we never demand twenty-four hours for a day's work, and we should not demand seven days for a week's work. It would be quite practicable to make such relays of men in every department as we do of engines, even if the work of the road, in all its parts, went on continuously; and then each man would be able to observe the Sabbath law.

Moreover, the corporation does itself the injury of deteriorating the quality of all its workmen. If, for the sake of wages needed by wife and child at home, a workman can be induced to go forward, week in and week out, the man's moral sense, as well as his brain power, becomes deteriorated. Laying aside all religion, on any other ground on which the necessity of telling the truth or abstaining from stealing can be placed, on that same ground rests the Sabbath law. If I am the employer of five hundred men, they know that if I induce them, by hope of reward or fear of loss, to work on against the law of their nature in respect to rest, I would, for the same consideration, have them work on in violation of veracity or of right in property. Apart from religious considerations, if there be any obligation on earth it is equal in all these three departments; and if I become party to the violation of the Sabbath law by my employees, I become party to a lessening in them of a high regard for the right of property; if, then, they abstract what belongs to me, I have simply myself taught them to do so. A man cannot long violate the Sabbath law without becoming untruthful and dishonest, any more than a man can injure his brain without injuring his stomach, or *vice versa*.

Now let us turn to the laborer's side. The violation of a law of nature in his person brings on an abnormal sanitary condition, one which ordinarily shows itself in a demand for some artificial stimulant to make up for the lost rest. In vast numbers of cases, intemperance is a natural physical result of a violation of the Sabbath law. Intemperance is costly in three ways. In the first place it causes the laborer to lose a portion of his time, and so reduces his wages. In the second place it causes him to do his work in an inferior manner, and thus lessens his stipulated wages. In the third place, in addition to the prime cost, it involves expenditures not otherwise required. So we see that, from whatever

motive the laborer may set at defiance the Sabbath law, he will find his penalty.

Let us now reverse the picture. Suppose every capitalist, in employing laborers, paid each man seven days' wages for six days' work, so that he should have no disquietude on the seventh day in taking the demanded and absolutely indispensable rest. Suppose he gave repose to all his machinery during a seventh day, and suppose, at the same time, every laborer absolutely abstained from all the usual employments and every other kind of wearing and physical labor, and rested the seventh day; would there not begin immediately to ensue a relaxation of the strained relations of capital and labor? If any dependence is to be placed upon the results of scientific investigation of the laws of labor, such a relaxation *would* take place, at least to such a degree as to make the relations approximately harmonious. There would thus be an immense relief, and thereafter all discussions between the two parties would be less nervous, passionate, and spasmodic, and every question could be examined in a light which would show its relations to the interests of both parties.

It has not been our purpose to make this paper a comprehensive discussion of the labor troubles in all their aspects, but to confine it very strictly to the examination of the relations of capital and labor to one single, settled law of nature and of human society. CHARLES F. DEEMS.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

FROM THE DARK CONTINENT.—The Apostolic Vicar for Catholic Missions in Soudan has just returned from Assouan, whither he had gone in order to obtain exact information concerning the condition of the priests and nuns who are still captives of the Mahdists. His efforts to see them were unsuccessful, although the mission station in Assouan still maintains pleasant relations with the natives. The followers of the Mahdi were too strong for him. From the territory beyond Dongola no information can be obtained.

The latest tidings from Shoa, in Abyssinia, come to us from Aden through the caravan of a French trader. Under the protection of this escort, two Germans and two Swedish missionaries had reached the coast. Of the Germans, Mayer had been there thirty years, and Greiner, fourteen; but they were expelled at the express command of King John, who will no longer permit missionaries of any faith to remain in his land. King Menelik, of Shoa, would gladly have retained them, but even he was powerless to protect them from expulsion.

With the same French caravan there arrived also a great caravan of seven hundred slaves from Galla Land, which left the usual route between Assab and Obok in order to send these slaves to southern Arabia. The facts thus disclosed concerning the extent of the slave-trade from Soudan are heart-rending, and there is now no doubt that in these Negro

lands, formerly under the supervision of the Egyptian government, the slave-trade is being carried on to an extent that in a few years will depopulate them.

The Italian consul in Aden lately sent a dispatch to Rome announcing the total destruction of Porro's expedition. This enterprise was undertaken by the Geographical Society of Milan, and was equipped in the most perfect manner. Its object was to establish commercial relations between Abyssinia and the Nile, and to explore the unknown regions between these points. Despite the warnings of the English authorities, Porro set out with a suite of distinguished savants and experts, and safely reached Galdezza, where after a desperate resistance all of the members of the expedition were murdered. It is now said that the Italians are determined to send a large military expedition that will annihilate Hawa, the hostile chief, and all his followers.

Abyssinia seems to be the slaughter-house and grave-yard of explorers and missionaries. Barral, a French explorer, who was nearly at the end of his journey, and separated from his main body in order to reach Shoa more expeditiously, was attacked by a division of Danakils, and murdered with all his suite. The German missionaries who five days later passed the same spot found unmistakable evidences of the massacre in the bones of the victims scattered around by the hyenas and vultures. The news from Dahomey, now under the protectorate of Portugal, seems somewhat more favorable. Prisoners of war are kept as slaves—not murdered.

THE HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION is now receiving unusual attention throughout Germany. An association was formed in 1883 for the thorough investigation of all sources that might yield information on this point. It has had annual gatherings without much eclat until the last one, recently convened in Frankfort-on-the-Main. This was a grand success, and showed that much useful investigation is being instituted to this end. The "evangelical consciousness" is clearly on the rise in the German heart, when seven thousand members can be obtained for this object.

At this general meeting there were present historians and theologians from nearly all the German Universities, under the lead of the famous Professor Köstlin, of Halle. At the initial service of the occasion Dr. Baur, of Coblentz, the chief Protestant of his district, preached the sermon. The principal meeting was attended by a large concourse from the city, among which were the mayor and magistracy and all the Protestant clergy. Köstlin, as presiding officer on the occasion, gave a clear insight into the aims and labors of the association, emphasizing the fact that these were to seek after the truth and not to cultivate any special line of church policy.

Dr. Schott, of Stuttgart, delivered an address marked by great intellectuality, on Frankfort as the refuge of persecuted Protestants. This was so acceptable that it is shortly to appear in print. Pastor Meille, of

Catania, then depicted the condition of the Waldensian congregations and Protestantism at large in Italy. Professor Kolde, of Erlangen, gave a general review of the work of the association and the publications that had already signalized its labors. The convention closed its sessions, as always in Germany, with a banquet after a business meeting. The "Germania," the ultramontane organ of Germany, will now need to cease its sneers regarding this movement.

NORWAY is now greatly agitated over certain reforms advanced in the pretended interest of the Church, but more than likely, in the opinion of many of the Christian people of the land, to do it on the whole great harm. The present ministerial president—Johann Svendrup—has acquired great power over the masses of the radical party, and figures, in the eyes of some, more as demagogue than as reformer. He and the king are at swords' points, and the monarch finds him a formidable antagonist.

Under the form of radical bills, many propositions are laid before the Chambers that look very threatening for the cause of religion. The minister considers that the time has come to attempt an onslaught on the Lutheran Church of Norway, which doubtless has allowed many abuses to grow gray in its administration, but which is very dear to the great body of the Norwegians. The Lutheran circles have therefore not delayed to express their dissatisfaction at these measures, and have united in a strong and unmistakable protest regarding them. As soon as the contents of these proposed laws were known, the theological faculty of the University and the clergy of Christiania placed themselves at the head of a movement to send an address to the king and the Chambers in regard to the "dangers that threaten the Church."

In this appeal the king is earnestly requested to call, in the near future, a Church Convention for the consideration of the proposed measures of the government, so far as they affect the life of the Church, which have as yet been subjected to no ecclesiastical investigation. In the words of the address: "For centuries no reforms have been proposed that cut so deeply into the church-life of Norway. The organization of congregations is to be changed, and the mode of filling the parochial offices is to be radically altered. Free congregations are to rise in the midst of the State Church, the mode of marriage contracts is to be altered, and, in a word, the entire *modus operandi* of the Church is to undergo a very radical change."

At the conclusion of this address, the signers express their deepest conviction that many of these reform laws will work far more mischief than good, and that they contain the germs of dissolution for the Lutheran Church of Norway. It is affirmed that the great majority of the clergy of the country will sign this address, and in the meanwhile the Chambers have adjourned without taking any action in regard to the proposed reform laws of the Church. Now it is doubtless true that the Lutheran Church of Norway needs a grand overhauling for the purpose of weeding out abuses; but the fear in the minds of many is, that the main

object is destruction rather than reformation. If this threat can stir up the church circles to necessary measures on their own part it will be of great value to spiritual religion.

THE GERMAN EMPIRE, among other good movements regarding Christian life, is endeavoring to reach some kind of uniformity and unity concerning "Sabbath Observance;" and a recent publication, entitled "A Systematic View of the Police Regulations regarding Manual Labor on the Sabbath and Church Holidays," has given the authorities a substantial basis for practical measures regarding the same. From this it appears that the laws and regulations are so various and so vague that there is among them no consistency and no harmony. With a view to effect more of these qualities the measures have been divided into three main groups.

The first group aims mainly at the protection of public divine service; the second, not only at the divine service, but also the public observance of the entire day; and the third, in addition to divine service and Sabbath observance, also at the rest from labor and trade. The investigations of these Sunday laws in Germany is something quite curious. Many of these regulations proscribe work in factories; some of them forbid labor on the part of artisans generally; and others, the ordinary methods of trade and commerce. But nearly all of them permit exceptions, and thereby the inequality of their operation becomes still greater. Of these laws but very few seek the protection of divine service; in nearly the half of Germany the object of the ordinances is simply rest from labor.

There is still greater want of uniformity in regard to commercial activity on the Sabbath; for on this point there are no less than four divisions or modes of prohibition: business is prohibited only during morning service on the Sabbath, or the prohibition extends to all of the time or period of service, or it is from day-break until service is ended, or it does not begin until nine o'clock in the morning. The strictest ordinances—those proscribing trade during the entire day—are found in Hesse, Fulda, and Frankfort; the weaker ones in Bavaria and Baden, affecting only certain days.

Prussia is clearly leading off in the move to make all laws extend to the entire day, and to make them alike in all the realm of the empire; her example will, it is hoped, be contagious in the German Parliament. The railroad corporations in several government districts have closed their car-shops on the Sabbath; and such a measure cannot fail to extend itself to other great industrial works. In case certain work is very pressing the men are allowed to work overtime on working days, and receive therefor enhanced pay. The district of Düsseldorf, many years ago, interdicted all work on the Sabbath and the Church festivals in the printing offices. This example is now quoted, and an effort is being made to extend it to the entire Prussian monarchy, for in Berlin and Cologne several of the daily journals are issued also on the Sabbath. A cry is also

becoming loud for an interdict on Sunday morning public concerts and popular assemblies. Shall we let the Germans shame us in this important matter?

SWITZERLAND, in its religious life, is still in a state of great unrest, especially in the French districts of that little land. The Methodist advance keeps up considerable agitation; and this, with the aggressive movements of the Salvation Army and the Adventists, is quite a thorn in the side of staid and conservative Churchmen. And, to make the matter still more uncomfortable for the religious conservatives, a certain Pastor Wood has recently arrived from Australia to teach a doctrine of faith and personal purity far beyond that of Pearsall Smith, who found there quite a following.

The editor of the "Chrêtien Evangelique" visited one of these holiness meetings of Mr. Wood, and was moved to speak about it in no measured terms; it was a new feature to him "that men who had faithfully served their God for years should acknowledge their sinful lives in the past and declare themselves renewed and reconsecrated to Christian work." And said editor, while acknowledging that it is ever necessary to appeal for mercy and pardon to a higher power, felt annoyed at being told that his past had not been up to the real Christian standard of purity and devotion. The doctrine of the "higher life," and that of the immediate conscious conversion of the soul by the visitation of the Divine Spirit, are not readily comprehended by the ordinary believer in the continental Churches.

In Neufchâtel the Salvationists have recently lost some of their influence; a portion of the "Free Church" there seemed inclined to leave their own connection and follow the agitators, but they have now returned to the bosom of the Church. Mr. Wood had by no means the success there that he obtained in Geneva, as he did not report a single case of faith-cure. The Free Church of this canton, which has made so many sacrifices for its cause, succeeded last year in obtaining the necessary funds to meet its expenses and show a small surplus at the end of the year. The lectures of the theological faculty were attended by twenty-two students, and thirty-five in all are under the guidance of the institution.

In the canton of St. Gall a very salutary law was recently passed in regard to Sabbath observance. Sundays, as well as certain holy days, are made legal holidays; during the morning service all stores and drinking places are to be closed, and neither gymnastic nor shooting festivals are allowed during this period. There has been, of course, a good deal of opposition to the law, but to the honor of the canton be it said, that in spite of all the activity of the inn-keepers they were not able to find the six thousand votes necessary to repeal it. In the canton of Herisau there has been quite a conflict regarding a preacher of a positivist tendency, but he was retained in his congregation by a goodly majority, to the sorrow of the more fervent Christians.

THE PROTESTANT SPANISH CHURCH has at last succeeded in gaining a status in Spain, as is announced with great joy from Madrid by the indefatigable Pastor Fliedner, who has greatly distinguished himself as a Christian pioneer in that country. Since 1871 there has been a certain union between the churches of the north and those of the south of Spain, in which Cabrera took a prominent position. But he was at first quite exclusively Presbyterian in his tendency, and then went suddenly into the Episcopalian Church and mission and caused himself to be elected bishop, although he has not yet received the Episcopal ordination.

On the other hand, the growing missions of the Americans in the north of Spain formed, in the summer of 1885, an "Iberian Protestant Union." On the occasion of the recent Synod of the Spanish Christian Church, to which Fliedner belongs, an effort was made to form a confederation with the above churches, and therefore the representatives of the Iberian Union were invited as guests. But even in this Synod there was a small party that could hardly consent to extend their creed broadly enough to render easy the access of the other churches.

But when, contrary to expectation, the accession of Pastor Empaytaz from Barcelona was effected, there grew for the Synod the hope not only of a confederation, but of a large congregational union. This was the aim for which Fliedner had worked for twelve years, and in which he had been supported by Carrasco of Malaga. It was therefore so much the more gratifying that through the efforts of Empaytaz, shortly before the close of the Synod, the union was effected. Abandoning the name of the "Spanish Christian Church," they joined under the general name of "Protestant Spanish Church." This does not yet include all the Protestant workers in Spain, but it is said to comprise the preponderating number of the congregations of the country from the north and the south who join in the common work. "This," says Fliedner, "is a blessing from the Lord, and a wonder before our eyes."

THE VATICAN AND CHINA is still the question among the diplomatic quidnuncs of the Old World. An authority from the Vatican declares that the initiative for diplomatic representation of the Curia in China came from the latter power. If this is the case, the French certainly have no claims to a protectorate in the matter; there will simply be a relation between China and papal Rome as between the latter and the Sublime Porte. In Constantinople the Curia is simply represented by a delegate who is under the protection of France. The Holy See, it is said, would be quite inclined to grant the wish of France; but since China would resent this as an interference in its internal affairs, the French proposition has not much prospect of success.

Latest reports declare that negotiations are still pending between France and the Vatican in regard to the matter. The "Temps" of Paris asserts that the authorizations lie wholly within the domain of the Church, and therefore the protectorate of France must be maintained. But reports from Rome announce that the efforts of the French embas-

sador in this matter have remained futile. So much is clear, namely, that the pope has sent his accord to China, and will soon dispatch thither a delegate as embassador extraordinary with a diplomatic character. China will accredit to the Vatican one of her diplomats now at some European court.

In the Baltic Provinces matters are in no better shape between them and Russia. In the government circles of St. Petersburg it is said the Baltic Consistories will treat with leniency the Protestant preachers accused of having performed certain divine offices on persons of the Greek faith. The emperor has commanded that in future all such cases must be settled before legal bodies, and the decision sent to him for final adjudication.

A St. Petersburg journal receives information from Dorpat that the Curator Kapustin, of the schools in that city, has received official notice that his office and administration must be removed to Riga by the beginning of the next school year. At the same time it is ordered that the highest institutions, as the University and the Polytechnic School, must be molded into the Russian spirit; that is, that those professors who are Russian subjects, and are familiar with the language of the empire, are obliged to deliver their lectures in the Russian tongue.

From a creditable source it is also affirmed that the Curator above mentioned, during his recent stay in St. Petersburg, recommended to the authorities not to change the language of the University of Dorpat into the Russian from the German, but to close the whole establishment with the exception of the theological faculty, and to make this simply a Theological Seminary. But this proposition seems not to have been accepted, though it is true that certain funds destined to aid German professors in removing to Dorpat have been absorbed. This means that the German tongue in the Dorpat schools is to die a slow death.

The French Chambers, as seen by one of its most thoughtful and liberal members, E. de Pressensé, are thus nervously and thrillingly depicted in his latest "Revue du Mois:"

"The parliamentary session has recommenced under sad auspices in the incoherence and cross-purposes of the interpellations with Jacobinic projects, such as the law for the expulsion of the princes, which radical folly proposes without winking, and which government weakness accepts in principle. In this steeple-chase of dangerous insanities the members of the Budget Commission of the Chamber of Deputies have desired to be the first to arrive at the goal in deciding that they would make no report on the budget of public worship. They thus struck it out with a dash of the pen, imagining by a single blow to cut the inextricable knot of claims and interests which are bound up in such a problem, without speaking of the political gravity of so rash a solution. The transitions to be arranged, the new legislation to be regulated, nothing of all these was worthy of an hour of examination. They made of these a clean sweep. Never did radicalism push its break-neck policy so far!

"M. Clemenceau, who before being the premier of to-morrow is the sovereign of to-day, conducted in person this beautiful freak. Thus to act is to give points to the Municipal Council of Paris, even after the recent insanities on the religious question in the scholastic point of view. We have exalted this momentary decision of the Budget Commission only in its character of a symptom. Moreover, the Chamber having taken into consideration the proposition of Michelet on the separation of the Church from the State, the question will be approached in a great debate. We could wish that our radicals of all shades might obtain a glance of the German press of these later days. They would see to what extent our conquerors of yesterday follow with an attentive eye our sterile combats and the strife of our parties; with what satisfaction they note our most perilous faults, and how they forget not for an hour the fearful shock of the two races which these announce and prepare. The sinister bird of prey is hovering over us with open eye and extended talons."

FATHER HYACINTHE is battling away in Paris on the socialistic question. He recently announced in the Winter Circus a discourse on the labor troubles of the day, and was favored with an audience that scarcely paid the expenses for the rent. His opponents interrupted him with stormy outbreaks, and finally absolutely prevented him by noise from proceeding with his speech. He denounced, as the danger of the period, materialism, unbelief, and the abnegation of the spirit, as leading back to barbarism and weakening all the feelings of life. His remedy for the improvement of society was to bring back God again into souls and into families. True liberalism lies in that direction, and property, in his opinion, is not a robbery nor a disgrace, but the reward of virtue as well as of work. After the orator had left the platform amid the wildest outcries of his hearers, he suddenly returned and exclaimed: "You are Germans, disciples of Büchner, but I belong to a nobler race. I feel within me the spirit of immortality; I am a pupil of Cartesius and the Druids!"

A COLONY FOR EPILEPTICS is the latest benevolent movement in Germany. And the founders of the enterprise appeal to the public for means to show love and sympathy for these poor outcasts, and give them a home where their souls and their bodies may find what little comfort is possible on earth to these pitiful creatures.

The number of epileptic wards from all parts of the land amounts to 795, and to these may be added 250 others suffering with the plague, especially some poor abandoned children. And even with these great numbers others stand waiting at the doors with pitiful appeals to be taken in as soon as these can again be opened. All this work has run up an unavoidable debt of 500,000 marks. This fact explains why the authorities of the institution are again counting on the loyalty of old friends to come forward in the hour of need. The representative man of this grand work is the well-known Pastor Bodelschwingh, whose name is a symbol of popular benevolence in the Fatherland.

And still another biblical commentary is soon to appear in German as an addition to Zöckler's "Manual of Theological Sciences." This latter bears the name, "Concise Commentary on the Sacred Writings of the Old and New Testaments, as well as the Apocryphas." Professor Strock is to take general charge of the Old Testament, and Dr. Zöckler of the New. The necessity of this undertaking is based on the fact that the present commentaries are overloaded with learned material, wading through which is a task that retards rather than advances the practical study of the Bible. The issues are to appear in alternate sections from the two Testaments. We perceive among the names of the workers that of Luthardt on the Gospel of John, and the Acts of the Apostles by Zöckler. Dr. Rosgen leads off with the New Testament series. We can simply add that a plain, direct, and practical commentary for German students will doubtless be regarded by them as a boon and a blessing.

The famous African explorer Lieutenant Wissmann has just returned from Madeira to the Congo, where in Vivi he organized a caravan for Leopoldville, hoping to arrive in time to catch the mission steamer *Peace* for the upper waters and an expedition to Kassai. If he failed in this he would await the arrival of Stanley, who at latest accounts was soon expected at Stanley Pool. On the journey up the stream he will be accompanied by two Belgian officers who will take command of the *Luluaburg*. There, supported by his faithful Ba-luaba, he will organize a caravan to return to the east, but in a direction south of his great journey of 1881, which led him to Nyangwe. This region is of great interest in hydrographical matters, and here he expects, according to the accounts of the natives, to find Landschi Lake, in which the three upper arms of the Congo unite. As soon as he reaches this river he will descend it to Stanley Falls and thence to Stanley Pool.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

The Four Leading English Societies. — The four leading Foreign Mission Societies of England are, of course, the Baptist, the London, the Church, and the Wesleyan, arranging them in the order of time. The Baptist has entered upon its ninety-fifth year of organized usefulness; the London (Congregational), upon its ninety-third; the Church (representing the Evangelicals of the Church of England), upon its eighty-eighth; and the Wesleyan upon its seventieth, counting from the actual organization in 1817. Arranged in the order of income, the Church Society comes first, with its million and more of dollars; the Wesleyan second, with $690,825; the London third, with $620,390; and the Baptist fourth, with $308,000. The grand total is $2,780,200—a very handsome sum, indeed. Two of the societies, the Church and the Baptist, reached their highest figures in

income the past year. The anniversaries continue to be great events in the religious year of London.

The anniversary of the Church Society was graced this year by the presence of the Archbishop of Canterbury as the preacher; an event so rare in the history of the society that the "Church Missionary Intelligencer" makes much of it. It was the second time that a primate had thus honored the society, Archbishop Longley being the first to perform the service, as long ago as 1863. Archbishop Benson, whose name has a strong interest for Methodists, discussed the topics of extension, increase of funds, the future of the Native Church, and the question of union in mission fields. On the last point, he said, On remote fields the old sectarian animosities seem to be regarded as discreditable on all sides, and amalgamation of Christian bodies is coming into the thought of all Christians. But amalgamation involves concession, and the Church of England cannot surrender any portion of its inheritance from the past. It has elasticity, but it also has distinct lines which it cannot ignore. It must continue faithful, come what may, to its "great deposit." Thus, if at all, will it become the bond of union. The society lost its honorary president, the Earl of Chichester, the past year, and Captain Mande, of the Royal Navy, was elected as his successor. Captain Mande has been identified with the society fifty years. Among the speakers at the anniversary were Bishop Ryle, of Liverpool, and Bishop Moule, of China. The society's missions, which are scattered over the entire globe, are for the most part in a very prosperous position. One of the most conspicuous of the exceptions is that of the Central African Mission, on the Victoria Nyanza. The missionaries have been in extreme peril, while some of the converts have suffered persecutions of extraordinary character. The young king is bad and brutal, and will neither allow the missionaries to withdraw nor to go on with their work. There are many stanch converts, and several young men are asking for baptism in the face of the terrible threats and acts of the king.

Central Africa is also the field in which the London Society has suffered most. Its losses on Lake Tanganyika have been very discouraging, but the society has resolved to fill up the depleted ranks of its missionary force and prosecute the mission with renewed vigor. Much of the lake has been explored, and a light-house has been erected on Kavala Island. Another light is soon to be established at the south end of the lake. The society considers the future of the mission to be hopeful. The South Sea missions of the society are passing through a season of severe trial. The incoming of the varied influences of civilization and commerce, the growth of formalism, and the occasional outbreak of old heathenish habits create special difficulties which must be dealt with very carefully and wisely. The society has withdrawn from Tahiti, its oldest mission, leaving three missionaries of the Paris Evangelical Society to look after the native churches. The first missionaries landed in Tahiti in 1797, and labored until 1813 before a single sign of success was given them. In that year came a great awakening, and in 1821 native Christians went out from that island to

carry the Gospel to the Hervey group. In 1830 the same mission sent evangelists to the Navigator's, and from Samoa the cross was carried to the New Hebrides. It was also sent to the Loyalty Islands, whence, in 1870, it was carried to the island of New Guinea. The mission in New Guinea is now among the most promising fields of the society. Four gospels have been published in two dialects, and translations into two other dialects are in progress. Secretary Thompson closed his speech at the anniversary with these striking words:

> It has been my duty and privilege to read through all the reports which have come to us from the different mission stations. One impression has been deeper than another, and it has grown as I have read them. There has been much good, true work in various directions, and yet there is one great lack, which is apparent every-where. As you read through the reports, especially from the great eastern missions, I think you will feel that the evidence of that lack comes out in almost every one of them, and is expressed by many of the missionaries in the most painful terms. They have schools and teachers; they have abundant opportunities for preaching; but, somehow, something more is wanted. The people are moving up toward Christianity, but they stop before they profess themselves on Christ's side; or, having accepted Christianity, they remain still at the low, lukewarm stage of Christian character and progress. From every quarter the impression comes, and deepens as we go on reading, that the one thing needed now is a blessing from on high. God has given us the workers; God has given us unrivaled opportunities for work; God is opening up fresh fields of labor; God is preparing, by our means, the ground; and now he bids us look to him, ask of him the blessing; and if we wait and pray, the windows of heaven will be opened, and he will pour out such a blessing that there shall not be room to receive it.

The Wesleyan Society celebrated its anniversary this year with much speech-making. The annual meeting and the missionary breakfast are events second only to the Annual Conference in the Wesleyan ecclesiastical year. A dozen long speeches, more or less, by representative Wesleyans, such as the president of the Conference and the missionary secretaries, and by well-known missionaries, occupy the pages of "Wesleyan Notices," and testify to the unappeased demand of the British public for anniversary addresses. The meetings were less jubilant than usual because of a decrease in the income of the society, which causes a deficiency of almost $24,000. The missions of the society, which are numerous and widely separated, have had a prosperous year. Those in Europe—in France, Belgium, Germany, and Austria, Spain, Portugal, and Italy—are advancing slowly. The Ceylon mission, which is now more than seventy years old, has been extended during the year. The South Ceylon district has been divided into three districts; and in the Kandy district a region embracing eight hundred villages is now being evangelized for the first time. In India signs of an intellectual awakening are recognized. The society has six districts in India, and has directed that fifty new schools be opened in each district. Every-where there are increasing demands for education; and some of the Wesleyan high-schools will be raised to the rank of second-grade colleges, so as to admit students preparing for the intermediate university examinations. While the society is thus strengthening its educational forces, it is also giving increased attention to village evangelization, for which a band of trained native evangelists is being prepared. In

China the year has been one of reorganization and recuperation from the effects of the war. The chief point of interest within the bounds of the South African Affiliated Conference has been the opening of the Transkei territories, despite the engagements of the British government, to the traffic in intoxicants. All protests of missionaries and natives were unavailing to restrain the authorities from this wicked step. In South Central Africa, including the Transvaal, Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Zululand, the society has twelve missionaries. Many new stations have been occupied, and many are ready for occupation. The society's important mission on the west coast is being extended, and the outposts are being pushed into the great interior, which is open now from the Gambia to the Niger. The other missions of the society are in Egypt, in Malta, at Gibraltar, in the Bahamas, in the West Indies, and in Central America. The general summary gives 290 central or principal stations in the various missions, 1,265 chapels and other preaching places, 302 missionaries and assistant missionaries, 1,710 other paid agents, 3,526 unpaid agents, 30,811 full members, 4,034 on probation, and 55,420 scholars.

The anniversary of the Baptist Society was not so enthusiastic as usual. At the Zenana Breakfast and at the more private meeting of the constituents of the society there was, however, a good deal of quiet, vigorous talk. The great meeting in Exeter Hall was not so impressive as it generally is. The hall was not crowded, the speeches were sensible but not rousing, and the audience attentive but not demonstrative. The chairman was Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton, a son of the famous brewer and philanthropist, one of "the Clapham sect"—that knot of active evangelical Christians to whom Zachary Macaulay, father of Lord Macaulay, belonged. The chairman expressed his pleasure that the Baptist Society, like the Church Missionary Society, with which he was closely identified, could announce increased contributions, and this in spite of commercial depression. He also spoke sympathetically of the difficulties of the Baptist Society in the country of the Cameroons. While this territory, on the fatal west coast of Africa, belonged to England, the missionaries had gathered a church, built up a town which they called "Victoria," and diffused among the natives a considerable tincture of the arts of civilization. The territory has, however, been ceded to the Germans. And though there are clauses in the act of cession specially protecting the missionaries and their property, the German jealousy of the presence of Englishmen in their territories makes things so uncomfortable that the society is negotiating the transfer of the mission to some German society. The chairman said, if intelligent and Protestant Germans are so bad, our missionaries have only the worst to expect in those large territories which have been conceded to such ignorant and bigoted Catholic countries as Spain and Portugal. The Report, a *résumé* of which was presented to the meeting, is most interesting. It speaks of continuous and steady progress in the various mission fields. It believes to-day to be the missionary opportunity of the ages; and that it is to England, beyond any other nation, that facilities have been granted for bearing the Lamp of

Life into regions of darkness and death. "To English Christians the question is, whether the opportunity will be their spiritual exaltation or ruin. Twenty-two missionaries had been accepted for service during the year. Two of these were ladies. One, a Miss Lila Y. Dawborn, who is sent to China, "is thankful to relieve the society from all pecuniary liability, her means enabling her entirely to support herself." This is an example worthy of being followed by ladies of independent property. Of these twenty-two missionaries, seven go to India, ten to the Congo, and five to China. The society mourns exceptionally heavy losses, both among its home supports and among the working foreign staff. Of these last four veterans, three men and one woman, and six recruits, four men and two women, have fallen. In India, the English Baptist Society has twenty-eight principal stations and one hundred and thirty sub-stations, scattered over Bengal, southern, western, and north-western India. The missionaries are sixty-three, and the native evangelists one hundred and nineteen. The literary work done in India is very considerable. About 80,000 copies of the gospels have been printed at the Mission press during the year. The preparation of the Sanskrit New Testament has been advanced some two hundred and forty pages. Tracts by many thousands have been printed. Grammars, and hymn-books for congregations and Sunday-schools in English and native meters, have been issued. One of these hymn books can be obtained for one *anna*, or three cents. A periodical called the "Khristiya Baudhab" is published monthly. In the palatial buildings at Serampore the Vernacular Theological Training Class reports thirty-two members added during the year. At Delhi the native Christian Training Class reports two members as qualified preachers of the first or highest grade, ten in the second grade, and eleven in the third or lowest grade. In Ceylon there are three principal stations and seventy-nine sub-stations, ministered to by four missionaries and twenty-one native evangelists. In China there are six principal stations and sixty-six sub-stations, confined to the provinces of Shansi and Shantung. The missionaries are eighteen, assisted by twenty native evangelists. In Japan the principal station is Tokio, around which are six sub-stations. Two missionaries and four native evangelists take charge of them. In Palestine there is also only one principal station, Nablous, and four sub-stations. One missionary devotes himself to preaching among the predatory Bedawin. In Central Africa seven principal stations are distributed along the Congo. Here the society has twenty agents at work. On the west coast of Africa there are five principal stations and twice that number of sub-stations. There are six missionaries and nine evangelists. In the West Indies there are eight principal stations and forty-nine sub-stations, nine missionaries and one hundred and forty-two native evangelists. The Baptist Union of Jamaica reports an annual increase of four hundred and fifty. In Norway fifteen missionaries are scattered through eighteen of the principal towns. In Brittany there are two principal stations and twenty-three sub-stations. The missionaries are three and the native evangelists nine. The society has eleven stations and eight sub-stations

scattered over the Italian promontory, embracing Rome, Florence, Leghorn, Genoa, and Naples. Mr. Wall is assisted by two other missionaries and by twelve native evangelists. The spirit in which this mission is conducted is well expressed in a few words from one of the missionaries: "We avoid mere controversy which draws crowds of people, but, so far as I have been able to discover, never *converts*. Our great aim is to preach Christ—to set Christ before the people and press his claims upon their hearts." The Mission Press is also energetically worked. About one hundred and twenty-six thousand gospels, tracts, and hymn books, etc., were issued during the year. Two papers are also maintained, "Il Testimonio," and an illustrated family paper called "Il Buon Genio." Thus the English Particular Baptist Mission—for the general Baptists have a mission of their own—supports about four hundred and eighty preachers, missionary and native, in some four hundred and sixty-five places, scattered over the continents of both the Old and New Worlds.

After the report came the Treasurer's statement, announcing that the income of the society was greater than it had ever previously been, amounting to £61,418, or about $308,000. Yet their expenditure had exceeded the income by some $10,000. This, however, Mr. Baynes expected soon to wipe out. A week afterward it was reduced by $3,500. Speeches then followed, the most notable of which was one by G. M. Rouse, of the literary department in India. He showed that only at the present rate of progress the complete Christianization of India might be expected in a century. No such progress, he contended, was accorded to truth in the first centuries of the Church. Dr. Landels, of Edinburgh, earnestly exhorted to self-denial for the mission cause. His venerable appearance and well-known sincerity gave great weight to his words.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

THE April number of the "Westminster Review" has a second part of the very remarkable examination of Goethe's Faust, which was begun in an earlier number. This review exhibits the fact that each generation finds in Faust an object of renewed and increasing interest, and the position of that poem is certainly assured as the greatest of all modern productions. There is also a review of the life of William Lloyd Garrison. It is highly laudatory and enthusiastic, scarcely taking account of the limitations of Mr. Garrison's character, while no more than just in its tribute to the services which he rendered to the liberty of the slave. To those who know the bitterness of which Mr. Garrison was capable, the following sentence will surely appear extravagant: "The earth . . . is sometimes relieved and brightened by the radiance of one of those incomparable men who actually live upon the same moral elevation which others only attain to in particular moments of emergency, or while

listening to the strains of music which utter the eternal harmony of truth. These are men who have been hallowed by the baptism of a divine pity for all human woe—as Gautama the Buddha, when he was awake beneath the tree in Bhodimandha, or Jesus the Christ in the garden of Gethsemane." Those who know how Mr. Garrison could hate as well as love will shudder a little as they read these sentences. There is also in this number a discussion of the fishery question and of its imperial importance based upon the messages of President Cleveland and upon certain Canadian documents. This article exhibits the immense importance of the fisheries to Canada, and their equal importance to us. There is also a review of Lieutenant Greely's "Farthest North," which is full of sympathy and of willing recognition of the scientific successes achieved. These are the only articles, with the exception of that on party government, which should long detain the American reader. This last is a strong defense of a government in which civil service, according to the American idea, should have larger influence in England than it has at the present time.

In the May number of the "Nineteenth Century," Matthew Arnold leads off in a paper entitled "The Nadir of Liberalism." It is thoroughly sympathetic toward Mr. Gladstone, while seeing also certain radical defects in his mental make-up and political methods. Richard A. Proctor, who writes wonderfully well for the quantity he produces, attempts to answer the question, "Whence come the comets?" Mr. Proctor seems to believe and teach that the comets are the progeny of the planets. It is somewhat startling, though plausible to read, that in 1872, and at sundry times since, the sun has been caught in the act of ejecting bodies, probably liquid or solid hydrogen atmosphere, around his globe with velocity so great that the matter thus expelled from his interior can never return to him, the velocities ranging to 450 miles per second at the least. The final answer to the question is this: Comets which visit our system from without were expelled millions of years ago from the interior of suns; comets which belong to our system were mostly expelled from the interior of a giant planet in the sun-like state, but in small portion may have been captured from without. Comets of whose past existence meteor streams tell us, were for the most part expelled from our earth herself when she was in the sun-like state; but some of the more important were expelled from the planets, and a few may have been expelled from suns. Percy M. Wallace has a very interesting account of Ignatius Donnelly's so-called Shakespeare's cipher, for which there is much more to say than appears upon the surface. The Rev. J. Murphy examines anew the case of Galileo, defending the Roman Catholic Church from the charge of persecuting him.

In the June number of the "Nineteenth Century" E. L. Godkin writes of American home rule, endeavoring to show what relation the government of the several States has to the General Government, and what can be gathered from this with regard to the solution of the question of home

rule in Ireland. This article is full of sympathy with Ireland and the methods and measures of Mr. Gladstone.

Thomas Sully, who is rapidly becoming the foremost writer upon certain psychological matters, has in this number a most admirable paper upon genius and precocity. This article is of itself worth the price of a year's subscription to the periodical.

Those who have lived to middle life without achieving fame may find encouragement in the fact that Dante, Milton, and Cervantes did not reach the impulse of poetic creation in their early life; George Eliot is a very remarkable instance of the imaginative faculty first revealing itself at a comparatively late period; and in the case of Defoe imaginative power had very late development. There are some very interesting tables given, which are believed to be roughly correct, with regard to the numbers in any calling who show distinct promise before the age of 20. Musicians, 19–20; artists, 8–9; scholars, 5–6; poets, novelists, men of science, 3–4; philosophers, 2–3. In order, however, to get a just idea of the relative proportions of the several classes they must be compared in respect of the date of the commencement of the productive period, and also of the age at which distinction is attained. If we take work before thirty as representing early production, we find the proportions in the different groups to be approximately as follows: musicians, 1–1; artists, 41–42; poets, 11–12; scientists, 4–5; scholars, 5–7; philosophers, 5–9; novelists, 9–16. Finally, with respect to the age of distinction we learn that the following proportions attain this result before 40: musicians are equal; poets and scientists are equal in the proportion of 11–12; scholars, 9–10; novelists, 4–5; philosophers, 3–5. This last seems natural, as the meditative power is ordinarily an outcome or growth of later years. The conclusion from these tables is, that the order in respect of precocity answers roughly to the degree of abstractness of faculty employed. Musicians and artists represent sensuous faculty, or the least abstract mode of mental activity, while philosophers represent the highest degree of abstraction. Between these come the men of imagination, the poets and the novelists. It is admitted that genius is precocious in the sense of manifesting itself early; but there are several difficulties with regard to the question whether it soon attains the summit of its development, or whether it goes on improving as long as, or even longer than, ordinary intelligence. This much is true, that the early manifestation of genius is not incompatible with a prolonged and even late development. In proof of this such names as these may be mentioned; Haydn, Beethoven, Michael Angelo, Titian, Milton, Goethe, Voltaire, Gibbon, Lessing, Newton, Leibnitz, Buckley, Mill. It is Mr. Galton's view that eminent men surpass ordinary men not only in superiority from the first, but also in a more prolonged development.

Political economists will do well to read the article by Edward Albert Sassoon on "The Crusade against Silver." It is strongly in favor of bi-metalism. The Countess of Galloway, in her paper on "Women and Politics," concludes that precisely because of their differences from men

women's influence in politics, apart from their influence *through* men, may be of definite value, and would be increased in a right direction by giving the married as well as unmarried the franchise, and that it would not materially alter their essential standing. "The wider scope given to her faculties, and her deeper interest in human affairs, need not distract her nor lead her to desert her true mission in the world."

The "Contemporary Review" for June has a strong paper by R.W. Dale, the well-known Congregational English clergyman, on "The Exclusion of the Irish Members from the Imperial Parliament." He takes strong ground against this exclusion, while clearly recognizing the necessity for establishing subordinate provincial assemblies. Mr. Dale cannot understand the difficulties which Mr. Gladstone sets forth, of drawing a distinction between the presence of the Irish members at Westminister to vote on imperial concerns, while an Irish parliament gives its attention to the affairs of Ireland. It is evident from Mr. Dale's article that the Nonconformist sentiment was not in the recent contest with Mr. Gladstone. The Rev. Sir George W. Cox, Bart., writes of the "Expansion of the Church of England;" a paper of much interest, showing the perpetual round of difficulties in which Anglican Christianity is involved by the bands of the Establishment. It embodies a scheme for the admission of the Nonconformists to the Anglican Church. It suggests the abolition of subscription and the repeal of the Acts of Uniformity as certain to remove the injustice and the wrong of which Non-conformists still have to complain, though the carrying of these measures would not change the character of the Church of England. It is a very pretty dream which the author has, that with these changes the Wesleyan and other bodies might become a part of the English Church as Societies within that Church, following in this the great orders and companies of the Latin Church, and with these changes there would be no reason, the author adds, "why the president or any of the members of the Wesleyan Conference should not also be the incumbent of a benefice or the bishop of a diocese." We cannot share the author's hope that under such conditions dissent would fade away like fire without fuel. There are some people left in the world who hold that Christian doctrine is something which can be ascertained, and that traditions cannot possibly be accepted, and there are many who, however much they may admire the high character and ability of those who call themselves Christian priests, yet feel bound in the interest of truth to make a protest against an idea of the priesthood which they believe to be thoroughly Jewish and therefore anti-Christian. The article is noteworthy for its Christian charity and for its intellectual breadth.

The "New Princeton Review" for July opens with "Recollections of Carlyle," with notes concerning his "Reminiscences," by Charles E. Norton. He gives an interesting sketch of Carlyle in his old age, showing how his feelings remained quick, keen, and intense, while his asperity and petu-

lance were softened, if not subdued. It is pleasant to read how the old hero, though childless, was still full of sweet thoughtfulness for children, and how his ways with them were most gentle and gracious. He strongly condemns Mr. Froude's indiscreet publication of the "Reminiscences," and his violation of the written injunctions. He appears to convict Mr. Froude of carelessness. Assistant Bishop Potter has a paper on the Sunday Question. While admitting that there is great force in the position of those who are resisting what they believe to be the beginning of encroachments destined not to give working-men more opportunities for culture and recreation, or more immunity from labor than they now possess, he also declares that these positions fail to attract the sympathy of those in whose behalf they are maintained, and that working-men as a body are not disposed to active co-operation with those who are undoubtedly their truest friends. As a remedy for this condition of things he suggests that a literature is needed suited to the wants of the working people, and in which the law of periodic rest shall be explained and defended, and, secondly, that practical and helpful sympathy shall be given them in order that they may not feel themselves isolated, and may be made more worthy of generous treatment. The bishop has some excellent words of rebuke for those Christians who do not permit Sunday to be in any part a rest day for their servants. We call attention to this striking sentence: "If to this end the congregations of all our great cities could be turned out of their comfortable sanctuaries for one Sunday and left to fight their way among those of whose lives and homes they at present know absolutely nothing, this, at least, would come to pass—that they would learn enough to set them thinking with unwonted earnestness." Henry W. Farnam, in writing of the Clergy and the Labor Question, declares that there is a great sympathy for working-men among the clergy of our country. H. W. Conn has a very valuable paper upon "The Origin of Life," in which he admits that the complicated movements of protoplasm are intelligible as the result of chemical change whereby the density of the substance is altered, and consequently its shape, but all this fails to reach the question at issue, which regards the directive cause of these changes. The only direct argument would be to manufacture protoplasm and have it begin to assimilate food, or to show in some other way that a purely automatic machine is a possibility which shall, as organisms do, supply itself with its own conditions of activity. Until this is done, the mechanical theory can be only an inference from the general tendency of scientific advance. Behind all must be posited something which the scientist calls Law, which Spencer calls the Unknowable, but which the theist calls God.

The June number of "The New Englander" discusses the difficult question of "Moral Education in Prisons." C. A. Collin writes sympathetically and intelligently on this topic. A. C. Dunham unfolds the organization of the Knights of Labor so far as is permitted by the rules of the order. According to this writer, the Knight is first called upon to fight

monopoly, meaning, in the programme of the Knights, an over-accumulation of wealth in a few hands. The private politics of the Knights are not to be meddled with; no more interest-bearing securities shall be issued by any civic or state government; the government shall purchase and manage all the railroads, telegraph and telephone lines in the country; these shall be paid for by the issue of paper money made legal tender; any deficiency in the ways and means of government should be supplied by the issue of legal tender paper, none of which shall bear interest; Mr. Dunham's conclusion is, that whatever fine words may be said about the belief of the Knights in capital, the organization surely means war against capital.

We do not find ourselves convinced by Mr. Leacock's argument to prove the organization of the Reformed Episcopal Church a necessity. Every reform for which this body separated itself from the parent Church had been accomplished a hundred years before by the Methodist Episcopal Church. If the Methodist Episcopal Church was in the habit of using Wesley's Prayer Book in its Sunday services, the Reformed Episcopal Church would have no standing ground at all.

The July number of "The New Englander" has a very interesting history of the development of educational opportunities for women in the English Universities, exhibiting the fact that England is really in advance of America in this regard. Those who are fond of literary studies will greatly enjoy Dr. Samuel W. Duffield's biographical sketch of Hermann, a forgotten genius of the eleventh century. A thoughtful study of Emerson by W. Salter makes of him a Christian idealist. The article does full justice to Emerson's exalted character, and quotes Mr. Alcott as authority for the dictum that Emerson is to be taken by the hand among all Christians as a brother. The true explanation of Mr. Emerson's career lies in the fact that his Christian education and environment led him to a line of conduct from which some parts of his philosophy would have exempted him.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Theism and Evolution. By JOSEPH S. VAN DYKE. New York: Armstrong & Son.

THIS work has an introduction by Dr. A. A. Hodge; and both he and Dr. Van Dyke agree in declaring that there is a conception of evolution which is compatible with both Theism and Christianity. It is to be regretted that the outlines of this allowable evolution are nowhere drawn, so that the reader may easily distinguish friend from foe. The work is properly a polemic against Atheism and Materialism as they appear to-day. It has always appeared to us that this debate is conducted nowadays with so little knowledge of underlying metaphysical and logical principles that

the one who makes the attack is sure to win the day. The battle resolves itself into a series of skirmishes by which nothing is decided. We are inclined to find the same fault with Dr. Van Dyke's work. The insufficiency of atheistic and materialistic logic is triumphantly shown; and if any one has not learned this already he would do well to read this work. The skirmishing is vigorous and masterly; but one has the feeling at the end that nothing is positively decided. The evil spirit is driven out; but there is no sufficient provision against his coming back. The value of the work is mainly negative. As an exposure of the extravagance and loose logic of anti-theistic theorists it deserves high commendation.

Clark's Foreign Theological Library. New Series, Vol. XXV. A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By EMIL SCHÜRER, Professor at the University of Giessen. Second Division. The Internal Condition of Palestine and the Jewish People in the Times of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and Rev. PETER CHRISTIE. Volume III. 8vo, pp. 386. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The first and second volumes of this work were noticed somewhat at length in our issue for March, 1886, to which the reader is referred for our general estimate of its character. The present volume is devoted almost exclusively to the literature of the Jews for that period, both biblical and general. The section on "The Palatinean-Jewish Literature," treats of its "Historiography," its "Psalmodic Literature," its "Gnomic Wisdom" (Jesus Sirach and Pirké Aboth), its "Hortatory Narrative" (Fiction), Pseudepigrapha and Sacred Legends, and Magic and Spells. The section on "The Greco-Jewish Literature," beginning with the Septuagint, and extending through a great body of works, well-known by name but very little read, ends with Philo, and a discussion of his works and his doctrine. The whole book is rich in just the kind of information that a thorough student of the New Testament has need of, shedding, as it does, a flood of clear light upon many points that have been esteemed either obscure or insoluble, sometimes, indeed, reversing accepted interpretations. We may here repeat and emphasize what we said in our notice of the earlier volumes, that without some acquaintance with the things here taught the reading of the New Testament must fail to lead to any clear conception of what it declares.

Biblical Essays; or, Exegetical Studies in the Books of Job and Jonah, Ezekiel's Prophecy of Gog and Magog, St. Peter's "Spirits in Prison," and the Key to the Apocalypse. By CHARLES HENRY HAMILTON WRIGHT, D.D., of Trinity College, Dublin. 12mo, pp. 255. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

The species of writing to which these "Studies" belong often has both a special charm and a high value with all who are addicted to rational but reverent free thinking on biblical subjects. Those found in this volume are designed for general readers rather than professional students; and yet some good degree of scholarship may be needed for their proper appreciation. They are able and earnest, conservative and yet distinctively free—weighty and yet vivacious—in a word, *clever*.

PHILOSOPHY, METAPHYSICS, AND GENERAL SCIENCE.

Plato and Paul; or, Philosophy and Christianity. An Examination of the Two Fundamental Forces of Cosmic and Human History, with their Contents, Methods, Functions, Relations, and Results Compared. By J. W. MENDENHALL, Ph.D., D.D., Author of "Echoes from Palestine," etc. Imperial 8vo, pp. 777. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

This is a remarkable book. Its magnitude, as a single treatise, the wide range of its topics, the copiousness of its matter, the elaborateness of its discussions, the richness of its quotations and references, its fertility of suggestions, and the manifest labor and painstaking used in its preparation, all these things together present it to us as a marvelous production. Its size—seven hundred and seventy-seven pages, each of nearly five hundred words—equals about two fifths of our English Bible of the Old and New Testaments, and would require, for its reading, if gone over carefully at the rate of fifty pages a day, and giving to it five days in a week, three weeks and two days. In these hurrying times that is a very long time to devote to a single volume. The range of topics—all, somehow, connected with the subject in hand—is simply of cyclopedian fullness; and while none of them can be objected to as entirely irrelevant, the case suggests the desirableness of a faculty for judicious exclusion, as a qualification for the complete book-maker.

With the steadiness of purpose of an Alexander going forth to subdue the nations of the earth in detail, and with the courage of a Hercules who shrunk from no required task, the writer passes from theme to theme, leaving no subject till it has been subjected to a thorough and exhaustive consideration, and then going quietly to the next to subject it to a similar completeness of examination. The range of literature laid under contribution, with the evident mastery of all that is used, is also marvelous, rendering probable, without other proof, that the seven years said to have been devoted to its incubation were most diligently employed. And though the range of the work is so very wide, and the discussions so comprehensive, still its suggestions of matters beyond what it covers in the discussions seem to indicate that the writer has given us only the smaller part of what came within the range of his mental vision. But although he could travel so widely without weariness, and wrestle with such vast subjects simply for the love of the exercise, he should have known that very few of even the most stalwart students could follow him in his wide excursion without weariness and probable failure.

As a specimen of book-making, we are compelled to speak of the production as faulty through excess. It has matter sufficient for three or four distinct treatises; and a division and distribution of its contents into that number of independent works could have been made without any violent separation of related parts. The nearly twenty chapters relating to Plato and Paul would, after removing from them certain matters that belong more fittingly to what follows, have made a fair-sized volume, with the advantage of complete unity of subject and design. Then, what

is written on the subject of the relations between Philosophy and Christianity, though somewhat diffused and mingled with other matters, if separated from all else and presented by itself, would have constituted a compilation sufficiently large for a volume, with one entirely definite, ruling idea. The discussions respecting some things, partly *of* and partly *about* Christianity (see Chapters XXVI to XXXI inclusive), are certainly clever and valuable, quite as much for what is suggested as for what is said, but these might have been omitted.

Discussions of this kind are helpful to those who can use them advantageously, without being positively harmful to any others. It is not needful, in order to profit by them, that one should agree with the opinions expressed and defended; but instead, the free discussion of a fancy or allusion may often prove the most fruitful as a provocative to productive thinking. To many things advanced in these chapters we should certainly refuse our assent, and yet we have read them with pleasure and to edification. A book full of such speculations—and a pretty full one might be excerpted from our author's capacious *collectanea*—would prove both curious and useful.

The evident design of the work, as a whole, appears to be to show the unity of Philosophy and Christianity, not, however, as independent coordinates, but as contained and container. It seeks to show the philosophic character of Christianity, and its capability of becoming completely harmonized with the findings of the human intellect properly enlightened and guided. The assertion and proof and illustration of that thought constitute the thread that runs through the entire production, though large parts of the work are only remotely related to that thought, and contribute nothing to its support. But while recognizing the ability and the reverent tone of the book, we still wholly dissent from its final conclusion, holding, as we do, in harmony with a celebrated philosopher, whose deference to Christianity was more formal than real, that our holy religion rests upon faith rather than reason; and that the highest office possible to philosophy in its relations to revealed religion is to serve in the outer courts, not presuming to enter its holy places, even with unsandaled feet, and especially to turn away its inquiring gaze from the unapproachable holy of holies of the divine mysteries.

In the production of this marvelous work the author has abundantly justified his claim to a place among the most widely read of the men of our times, in the related subjects of Philosophy and Christianity, and as having put to practical use the results of his broad and fruitful studies. Setting out to show the essential unity of Philosophy in its highest forms with Christianity, in which, according to our conception, he is wholly in the wrong, he seems to have made the most of an inconclusive argument; and so if he has failed in his main design, as we surely think he has, he has nevertheless shown his ability by the cleverness of the performance, executed in such great disadvantage. And yet while rendering such praise as justly due to the performance as a whole, exceptions must be made in respect to some of the lines of argumentation, as for example

that which calls "Christianity a Geometrical Ideal," which thought is definitely propounded and elaborated through successive pages. To our conception the application of mathematical "ideals" to things spiritual is simply "unthinkable," like predicating shape of sounds, or color of conceptions. And still, with all its drawbacks, the work we are noticing is no ordinary production, and altogether worthy of being looked into and read *by installments*. And whoever reads it thoughtfully and understandingly will learn something to his advantage. And as to the author, we would say that one who can write such a book will be likely also to do more and probably better work in the future.

[After the above was in type, the following analysis of the work under notice came to hand, which is also inserted, as presenting another view of the subject taken from another point of observation.—ED. *Meth. Rev.*]

The above is the title of a portly volume, whose magnitude will greatly tend to limit the number of its readers. It is not often that a work of such dimensions, on so grave a topic, is launched on the sea of thought; and how a Methodist preacher and presiding elder found time for the reading and study necessary in its preparation is a marvel. We may welcome a discussion of this great theme whether or not we can accept all the conclusions reached.

The literary style of the book is good, many passages being very impressive, and some rising to the height of real eloquence. The author has a good command of philosophical terminology, although the faults peculiar to philosophical books are, of course, not altogether wanting. It may be fairly suspected that many of the pet terms of philosophy are invented and used for no better purpose than to cover up the absence of clear thought. There are as few literary inaccuracies as could reasonably be hoped for in so large a volume; and for some of those that occur the printer is undoubtedly responsible. An occasional grammatical error may be observed, the adverb and pronoun, as usual, maintaining their pre-eminence as the special stumbling-blocks of generally accurate writers. We find the following: "And as *professed* [ly] inspired documents; and again, "Speak even *friendly* of his work" (p. 425). The dictionaries forbid us any longer to use "friendly" as an adverb. The treacherous nature of the pronoun is shown in the following phrases: "Neither ancient nor modern philosophy fixed *their* point of departure from the great Center," (p. 114); "Neither Judaism is reduced to system, nor Christianity, in the Book that reveals *it*" (p. 441). A few phrases for which we have a special dislike occur quite frequently; for example: "*In* so far as;" "so far *forth* as;" and the unsatisfactory apology, "so to speak."

The author gives his book a double name. Plato and Paul are first discussed—Plato as the representative of Philosophy and Paul of Christianity. Two lengthy chapters of more than fifty pages each are given to these celebrated characters; but while the monographs are valuable, they do not materially advance the discussion of the real question which is the subject of the volume.

Philosophy and Christianity are under review; and the author enters a field that has not been well explored. Books on the relations of science to Christianity are as abundant and parti-colored as the leaves of autumn; but unquestionably the relations of Philosophy to Christianity are more fundamental and important. Few men are brave enough to enter on such an investigation, and few are competent to do so with any advantage to mankind. The outline of the book calls for a full survey of Philosophy and Christianity, and a comparison of the two great systems. The general plan is to first discuss Philosophy, then Christianity, and finally to institute a comparison; although, necessarily, the work of comparison appears somewhat throughout the entire discussion.

A consideration of "The Province of Philosophy" leads to the following outline, under which the system is treated: "The initial fact of philosophy is—*Nature*. The intermediate term of philosophy is—*Man*. The ultimate word of philosophy is—*God*" (p. 127). All questions relating to these three topics philosophy must answer. Matter is first considered, and three conclusions reached: 1. Nature is the embodiment of the principle of unity. 2. Respecting its origin, nature is proof of the necessity of a Creator. 3. The substance, the spirit, of matter is the law by which it exists. Nature is law in form; nature cannot exist without law, but the law may exist without nature. Hence nature may perish and the law remain. The substance, the spirit, is immortal; the form, or nature, is mortal. As law is immortal, so God, from whom it came, is immortal (p. 142). In this third proposition, and elsewhere in the volume, the author puts himself in line with the philosophy of Lotze, which has been expounded so ably by Professor Bowne.

In discussing "The Grounds of Life," the author analyzes all the theories, and looks with greater favor upon "biogenesis" than any thing else that philosophy has propounded, at the same time regarding creation as the only explanation of life. Respecting the origin of soul-life, Traducianism is rejected in favor of Creationism.

From the origin of life he proceeds to that of "Man; or, Anthropology." Philosophy must answer questions respecting the origin, character, antiquity, and destiny of man. Darwin's theory of "descent" is discussed and rejected; the mechanical and transcendental theories meet the same fate; while the teleological theory is accepted. In character man is an intellectual and moral being in a physical frame-work. His antiquity science has not conclusively shown to be greater than the Mosaic account makes it. Respecting the destiny of man, the theory that develops him merely as an animal, or develops him out of existence, is rejected with scorn. A higher development theory is anticipated which will mark the eternal up-building of man in the direction of his Maker.

In considering the questions relating to Metaphysics, the author reaches the conclusion that the mind is a unit, and that faculties are merely terms to aid our thought. The indivisible mind is capable of distinct kinds of acts, which are manifested through material organs; and in the acts of which it is capable we must ultimately read its secret.

One of the most elaborate chapters in the book is that on "The Area of Human Knowledge." Agnosticism every-where receives a cordial and merited drubbing. The sources of knowledge are intuition, sensation, spontaneous and reflective reason, and revelation. Dr. Mendenhall recognizes the limitations of knowledge, but considers them a kind of movable fence which Philosophy may push farther and farther on as its explorations advance. He is dissatisfied with existing methods of acquiring knowledge, and anticipates new developments, suggesting that we must study the powers of the mind itself as a guide in discovering improved methods.

Following the discussion of man, topics relating to God are considered. Modern science is magnifying "force;" and the terms "persistence of force" and "correlation and conservation of forces" are coming into common use. This is all in the right direction, and points to a future acceptance of the doctrine of the unity of all forces in a personal God. Science may not be aiming at this, but by its investigations is making any other theory impossible. Three chapters are given to a discussion of the various phases of Causality, and the author concludes that philosophy has failed to reach a first Cause. This paves the way for the final chapter, devoted exclusively to philosophy, which bears the sad title "The Break down of Philosophy." This "Break-down" is exhibited in its failure to find God, in its account of civilization, in its conception of government and education, in its theory of life and the origin of the universe, in its metaphysics, in the basis of its ethics, and in its failure to point out the secret of happiness. Before reaching this sweeping conclusion the author places on the witness-stand the philosophers of ancient and modern times, and endeavors to measure the results reached by all systems.

Having discussed the categories of Philosophy, Dr. Mendenhall gives to Christianity a similar treatment to determine its contents and value. The "religious concept" is declared to be universal; and the field of inquiry is regarded, as (1) nature, and (2) the supernatural or spiritual universe. Christianity is limited in both departments by its prevailing purpose, and by the short-comings of the human mind. Revelation brings to men only necessary spiritual truths, which are classified as, (1) theistic, (2) governmental, (3) anthropological, (4) soteriological, (5) eschatological (p. 417). Christianity is regarded as the key to the phenomenal world, and the argument of Butler's Analogy is viewed with special favor. Nature is a vast simile of Christianity. Drummond's theory that natural and spiritual laws are identical is discussed and regarded with complacency. This converts analogy into identity, and changes the nature of the argument.

The author's views on "The Theodicy of Christianity" will be found to differ quite materially from those currently held by theologians, and each reader will judge for himself whether the discussion leaves this difficult question any murkier than it was before. In considering the relations of Christianity to the social life of man, eight different ideas are

noted which have been looked to as the basis of human society, namely, the ecclesiastical, the political, the philosophical, the scientific, the socialistic, the pagan, the Mohammedan, and finally the Christian. The last is his conception of the ideal state, in the realization of which individual rights, education, industrialism, ethics, a republican form of government, and a free church must enter. The "perfection of man" is regarded as "the ideal of Christianity;" and the "fruits" already ripened and yet to be anticipated, as a result of the general acceptance of Christianity, are a new civilization, Christian government, material activity, intellectual quickening, popular education, Christian art and architecture, reformatory movements, the Christian home, the brotherhood of man, popular enthusiasm for morality, benevolent agencies, and world evangelization.

"The New in Christianity" is discussed, and the opinion ventured that the work of Christ, the character and purposes of God, atonement, regeneration, resurrection, may all receive a clearer elucidation. In the treatment of "Eschatology," the discussion runs mainly along the beaten track of orthodoxy. The immortality of the soul, the intermediate state, the post-millennial coming of Christ, the final judgment, the existence of heaven and hell, are all recognized. The idea of a second probation is discarded, and the resurrection is to be of the spiritual and not the natural body. Two chapters are devoted to a consideration of the "power" of Christianity, in which the leading features of the system are emphasized. Its peculiar power to awaken enthusiasm is found in some of its doctrines, especially monotheism, atonement, and the future life, and in the unique personality of Christ. Under the title "The Pseudodox in Christianity" the author discusses the claim that Christianity is a system of falsehood, and reaches the conclusion that there is no falsehood in the Bible, though he cannot say as much of any particular system of Christian religion; and he lashes with severity the human elements that have crept into the older Christian Churches, and the differences that separate the various bodies of Protestantism. The last of the chapters devoted exclusively to Christianity treats of "Experience the Philosophic Test of Religion," and the claim is made that the sinfulness of human nature, regeneration, atonement, holiness, Messiahship, immortality, and resurrection, are all categories of experience.

Four concluding chapters are largely devoted to a discussion of the relations of Philosophy to Christianity, and a forecast of the future. Philosophy and Christianity have reached, or will reach, common ground at the following points: 1. Each must submit to the fullest possible investigation. 2. Each must fight Agnosticism as the deadly foe of both. 3. Another common ground is some form of Idealism. 4. Philosophy and Christianity are nearly at one on the question of natural evil. 5. Respecting the history of man, they can stand on common facts, although reaching different conclusions. 6. He further finds common grounds in teleology, but admits that Materialism denies the doctrine. 7. He sees indications that they are coming to a common ethical platform.

Our author proclaims a truce in the following terms: "Religion is nec-

essary to Philosophy. . . . Philosophy is necessary to Religion. . . . Philosophy is Christianity; Christianity is Philosophy." And he has bright anticipations for the future. His final conclusions are stated in the following passages: "We affirm, first, that *Christianity is a philosophic finality, or the finality of all philosophic truth.* . . . In itself, it will prove to be the true philosophy of all truth, without assuming a philosophic form, or usurping the prerogatives of philosophy as a distinct realm of thought and investigation" (p. 726). "If Christianity is the end of truth, it must also be the end of Philosophy; hence, Philosophy must finally be absorbed by Christianity. If ultimate truth absorbs all related or intermediate truth, and the highest truth includes the lowest, then philosophical truth at last must be lost in the broader truth of Christianity, which is the same as saying that *Christianity is the final philosophy.* As such we proclaim it. Final in its truths, it must be final as a philosophy of truth" (p. 732). Christians will not object to this conclusion—the philosophers are yet to be heard from.

But Christianity is more than the final philosophy: "As Christianity is the final Philosophy, so it is the *final Religion.* It is not only the supreme religion, it is the only supernatural religion, and therefore the only religion. All others in their sober contents are mere adumbrations, reflections, or imitations, to be fulfilled, and therefore to be lost, in that which shall endure forever" (p. 732). His ultimate verdict is, that Christianity, more perfectly wrought out, is to be the Philosophy as wellas the Religion of the future.

HENRY GRAHAM.

Psychology: The Cognitive Powers. By JAMES MCCOSH, D.D., LL.D., Author of "Intuitions of the Mind," etc. 12mo. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Metaphysical studies are not to be valued in the ratio of the number of those who are really devoted to their pursuit; but rather at an inverse ratio, which method would rate them among the first. To the mass of mankind the metaphysician is a wizard who walks in a charmed circle, into which only those of his kind can come. It is further noticeable that the select few who there walk together are not always averse to controversy among themselves. No doubt Dr. McCosh is himself a chief among these magicians, with whom the lesser lights of his art should not unnecessarily provoke a conflict. As one of the uninitiated in such mysteries, we have inclined to accept him as an authority, and our cursory examination of this, his last published volume, has not at all lowered our estimate of his powers.

Speculations: Solar Heat, Gravitation, and Sun Spots. 12mo, pp. 304. By J. H. KEDZIE. Chicago: S. C. Griggs & Co.

Nothing is less certainly understood than the ultimate principles of physical phenomena. We know something of the latest results, but only as facts; of their origin and methods of becoming we know almost absolutely nothing. This state of the case allows room for speculations, and the construction of hypotheses, which may be a not wholly useless employ-

ment, since such exercise may lead to the increase of valuable knowledge. In this spirit this book seems to have been written, and though nothing is really demonstrated, still some facts are set in a clear light, and not a few curious and perhaps useful, certainly thought-provoking, suggestions are given. With something of the dogmatic assertiveness that characterizes scientists as a class, the writer is on the whole good-tempered.

MISCELLANEOUS.

The Labor Problem. Plain Questions and Practical Answers. Edited by WILLIAM E. BARNES. With an Introduction by RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D., and Special Contributions by JAMES A. WATERWORTH and FRED. WOODROW. 18mo, pp. 330. New York: Harper & Brothers.

If the last words on the Labor Question have not been uttered, there seems to be a prospect that some progress is being made in that direction, and very many persons in all the lines of active life appear to be disposed to contribute a part to the current discussions. All this is well; for although very much that is crude, and partial, and one sided is offered, yet the whole together contributes to the better understanding of an important and practically valuable theme for discussion. The Essays here given are neither better nor worse than hundreds of others; still the reading of them will do good.

The Jewish Altar. An Inquiry into the Spirit and Intent of the Expiatory Offerings of the Mosaic Rituals, with Special Reference to their Typical Character. By JOHN LEIGHTON, D D. 12mo, pp. 127. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

The changes wrought by modern scholarship in the conception of the relations of the Old Testament to the Gospel, have largely antiquated the accepted text-books of half a century ago, and have introduced new methods for studying and interpreting the prophecies. The questions that cluster about the subject of typology are at once difficult and curious—attractive by their half-disclosed mysteries, and distracting by the incompleteness of the inference suggested by them. The author of this volume professes to have discovered the faultiness of nearly all former theories on the subject, and at the same time to have found out the key to all the mysteries of the subject. Though he writes with great force and learnedly, it must still be confessed that he has rather overtasked himself in attempting to read out all Messianic references from the service of the Jewish altar.

The Story of Music and Musicians. For Young Readers. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "The Story of English Literature," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 245. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The title given above very well indicates the purpose and character of the book. It has a good many of the best qualities of a history of music, yet so told that it may be readily understood by others than professionals, and in a style so simple and abounding in illustration that its perusal becomes a recreation rather than a labor.

The Early Schools of Methodism. By A. W. CUMMINGS, D.D., LL.D., Wellsville, N. Y. Crown 8vo, pp. 432. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

Our Methodist fathers made history, but left the writing of it to their successors, unmindful alike of the historical value of their work and of the impossibility for any others than themselves giving the history of what they actually performed. To gather up the drifting fragments of information that still survive in the form of personal recollections, often now in second and third hands, or in imperfect documents, written or printed, is the work here undertaken, to rescue some account of these things from the oblivion to which they are so rapidly hastening. The endeavor has been aptly compared to that of the hunter who seeks his quarry at noonday when the game has retired to its hiding-place and the dew by which the trail may be followed has exhaled. Among such conditions the work now before us has been prosecuted.

From the beginning American Methodism became the patron of education, and engaged in the work of founding institutions of learning. At first its efforts were beyond its ability, and pecuniary failure was the result in not a few early enterprises. Then followed a period of inaction, to give place in due time to renewed activity, which continues to the present. Dr. Cummings, by reason of his connection with that work in various parts of the country, became interested in those earlier educational movements, and has collected a large amount of information respecting them. He has also been induced to continue his researches, and to extend it to the early history of the later academies of the Methodist Episcopal Church; and now he gives to the public the results of his well-directed diligence in the volume named above. As a literary composition it is altogether creditable; but it is chiefly valuable for the service rendered in tracing an important department of church work whose history has heretofore been rather strangely neglected. We congratulate all concerned, in view of the completion of such a work, by which the author has achieved an important undertaking, and has made not only the Methodist Church, but the whole American people, his debtors.

Aristocracy in England. By ADAM BADEAU, Author of "Military History of Ulysses S. Grant," etc. 16mo, pp. 306. New York: Harper & Brothers.

General Badeau, during his long and intimate connection with the American diplomatic service in England, enjoyed peculiar facilities for gaining the information which he details in this little volume. It is essentially descriptive, giving a plain and unvarnished account of the composition of English society, which is probably the most complicated, as well as the most senseless, in the world. The writer proposes only to relate facts, without condemning or approving; and certainly without attempting to point out their philosophy. But as facts, they enter largely into all social and political questions in the United Kingdom, and for that reason they should be studied. This work is, therefore, no less practically useful than curious and entertaining.

Men of Renown. Character Sketches of Men Distinguished as Patriots, Statesmen, Writers, Reformers, Merchants, etc. By DANIEL WISE, D.D., Author of "Uncrowned Kings," etc. 12mo, pp. 295. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Dr. Wise drives a facile and a fruitful pen; and though he has outlived the first generation of his readers, he is no less heartily appreciated by their successors, and all who read his books will be benefited by them. The "Men of Renown" sketched in this volume are Abraham Lincoln, John Quincy Adams, Amos and Abbott Lawrence, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Rev. Sydney Smith, Charles James Fox, Oliver Cromwell, Thomas Cranmer, Desiderius Erasmus, and Geoffrey Chaucer, each of whom is also designated by a *sobriquet* to indicate his recognized character and place in history. These sketches are preceded by a chapter of "Introductory Words to Young Men," which is designed to serve as a practical application of the lessons taught by these "lives of great men." It is altogether a valuable and attractive book, as to both its matter and its dress.

Christian Thought. Lectures and Papers on Philosophy, Christian Evidence, Biblical Elucidation. Third Series. Edited by CHARLES F. DEEMS, LL.D., President of the American Institute of Christian Philosophy. New York: Wilbur B. Ketcham, 71 Bible House.

This volume is simply the six numbers of the "Christian Thought" for the year 1885–86, from July to May. The articles are of a high order of excellence, and altogether worthy of the permanent form in which they here appear.

The American Salmon Fisherman. By HENRY P. WELLS, Author of "Fly-rods and Fly-tackle. Illustrated. Large 16mo, pp. 166. New York: Harper & Bros.

Directions where salmon may be found, and how they may be taken—a book for sportsmen, by one of that ilk.

The Transfiguration of Christ. By FRANK WAKELEY GUNSALUS. 18mo, pp. 267. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co.

A collection of eight sermons or meditations, having the account of the Transfiguration for a common point of starting or reference. They are well written, devout after their method, mystical, and fanciful. They may be read as a kind of dreamy heart exercise, but they will not add much to the reader's practical religious thought. The mechanical work, like all that comes from its publishers, is excellent.

German Grammar and Reader ("Deutsches Sprach and Lesebuch"). Herman B. Boisen's "First Course in German." Revised and Enlarged. By Dr. WILLIAM BERNHARDT. Third Corrected Edition. 12mo, pp. 240.

German Grammar and Reader (Second Part: Narrative Style of Language), On the Inductive Plan, for Higher American Institutions of Learning. By Dr. WILLIAM BERNHARDT. 12mo, pp. 143. Boston Carl Schoenhof. New York: F. W. Christern. Chicago: Gustaf Hinstorff.

Books for beginners, on the plan of first learning the language, and after that studying its etymology and syntax; well arranged and beautifully printed.

King Arthur. Not a Love Story. By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman," etc. 18mo, pp. 326. New York: Harper & Brothers.

New Tabernacle Sermons. By T. DEWITT TALMAGE, D.D., Author of "Crumbs Swept Up," etc. Delivered in the Brooklyn Tabernacle. Publication Authorized. 12mo, pp. 410. New York: E. B. Treat (office of Pulpit Treasury).

Some thirty sermons from the platform of the Brooklyn Tabernacle, able, forceful, and distinctively characteristic.

Rolf House. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "The Story of English Literature from Chaucer to Cowper," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 266. New York: Harper & Brothers.

A story of American life, chiefly of boys and girls.

Bolinbroke: A Historical Study; and Voltaire in England. By JOHN CHURTON COLLINS. 12mo, pp. 261. New York: Harper & Brothers.

This volume is made up of two magazine articles—the first from the "Quarterly Review," and the second from the "Cornhill Magazine." They are well written, learned, and suggestive.

HARPER'S HANDY SERIES. (Latest Issues.)—72. *The Evil Genius.* By WILKIE COLLINS.—73. *The Absentee.* By MARIA EDGEWORTH.—74. *If Love be Love.* By D. CECIL GIBBS.—75. *French and German Socialism.* By RICHARD T. ELY, Ph.D.—76. *King Arthur.* By the Author of "John Halifax, Gentleman."—77. *The Head Station.* By MRS. CAMPBELL-PRAED.—78. *Army Society.* By J. S. WINTER. Illustrated.—79. *Pluck.* By J. S. WINTER.—80. *Her Own Doing.* By W. E. NORRIS.—81. *Cynic Fortune.* By D. CHRISTIE MURRAY.—82. *Effie Ogilvie.* By MRS. OLIPHANT.—83. *Alton Locke.* By CHARLES KINGSLEY.

HARPER'S FRANKLIN SQUARE LIBRARY. (Latest Issues.)—521*a*. *War and Peace.* By *Count Leon Tolstoi.* Part III. Conclusion.—522. *Demos.* A Story of English Socialism.—523. *Trust Me.* By Mrs. JOHN KENT SPENDER.—524. *England's Supremacy.* By J. S JEANS.—525. *A Stern Chase.* By MRS. CASHEL HOEY.—526. *The Russian Storm-Cloud.* By STEPNIAK.—527. *Killed in the Open.* By MRS. EDWARD KENNARD.—528. *Marjorie.* By KATHARINE S. MACQUOID.—529. *In the Old Palazzo.* By GERTRUDE FORDE.—530. *The Crack of Doom.* By WILLIAM MINTO.—531. *The Heir of the Ages.* By JAMES PAYN. Illustrated.—532. *Buried Diamonds.* By SARAH TYTLER.—533. *A Faire Damzell.* By ESMÈ STUART.

PAMPHLETS.

Labor and Capital Are One. By ELLIOT SHEPARD. 8vo, pp. 38. New York. 1886.

Murder and the Death Penalty. By W. H. THOMPSON, Woodward Avenue, Detroit. 8vo, pp. 67. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

A defense of capital punishment for murder.

Various Views of the Atonement. By Rev. LEWIS MEREDITH. Introduction by Bishop W. X. NINDE. 18mo, pp. 46. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. New York: Phillips & Hunt.

Methodism and the Missionary Problem. By Rev. C. S. EBY, D.D., F.T.I. (A Lecture before Victoria College.) 12mo, pp. 56. Toronto: William Briggs.

Shall the Loyal be Deserted and the Disloyal Set Over Them? An Appeal to Liberals and Non-conformists. By WILLIAM ARTHUR. [Against "Home Rule."] 8vo, pp. 67. London: Demrose & Sons.

The Bible. By H. W. BENNETT. D.D. 18mo, pp. 15. Published by Order of the McLean County (Ill.) Bible Society, Bloomington, Ill.

The Value of American Citizenship, as Related to the Education of Women. By Rev. HERRICK JOHNSON, D.D., LL.D. (Dedication of Albert Leo College, Minn.) 12mo, pp. 20. H. G. Day, Printer.

Circular of Information of the Bureau of Education. (No. 5, 1885.) Physical Training in American Colleges and Universities. 8vo, pp. 183. Washington, D. C.: Government Printing Office.

Sam'l D. Rice

METHODIST REVIEW.

NOVEMBER, 1886.

ART. I.—REV. SAMUEL DWIGHT RICE, D.D.

METHODISM in Canada has produced not a few eminent men who have served their generation faithfully. Among the laity, some are to be found in the legislative halls of the country. Both the great political parties have Methodists in their ranks. At least three have occupied gubernatorial chairs, and others have become judges in the various courts of judicature, and still others have served in the legislative assemblies.

Of those who have entered the ministry, few are more worthy of respectful mention than the honored man whose name stands at the head of this paper, and whose career was identified with the Church of his choice for about half a century. At the time of his death he was General Superintendent, or Senior Bishop, having previously filled all other subordinate offices in the gift of the Church.

It is a remarkable coincidence that so many of the provinces which now constitute the Dominion of Canada should have been visited almost simultaneously by some of the representatives of Methodism. In more than one province British soldiers were the first to unfurl the banner of Methodism, so that while they were loyal to their country they were also loyal to their religious convictions and to the King of kings. Newfoundland, whose territory is embraced in one of the Conferences of the Methodist Church, was one of the first Methodist missions ever established. The missionary was Laurence Coughlan, who, like Strawbridge and Embury, the founders of Methodism on the American continent, was an Irishman,

many of which nationality have done valiantly for the Church of John Wesley in various parts of the world. He landed in Newfoundland in 1765, a year previous to that in which Embury commenced to preach in New York, and was soon convinced that there was great need of missionary labor. His efforts were greatly owned of God. He afterward became connected with the Episcopal Church. Several local preachers, chiefly from Ireland, settled in this old colony, and established Methodist services, and in 1785 a missionary named John McGeary was sent out by Mr. Wesley, since which time Methodism has been a powerful factor in molding the character of the people. The mission was cared for by Dr. Coke, the father of Wesleyan missions.

In 1790 William Losee, of precious memory, commenced his labors as a Methodist missionary in the Bay of Quinte County, then of Upper Canada, now a portion of the Province of Ontario. He was sent forth by the New York Conference, and labored a few years, and then returned to the United States. Darius Dunham was the first presiding elder of the Canada District, and received his appointment as such in 1794.

A few years before Mr. Losee's visit to Canada, the Rev. William Black, often known as "Bishop" Black, was converted in Nova Scotia, under the labors of some earnest local preachers from Yorkshire, England, who had settled in that province. He soon became a successful evangelist, and extended his labors to all the maritime provinces. He was present at the Christmas Conference of 1784, when the Methodist Episcopal Church was organized. At his earnest request Bishop Coke appointed Freeborn Garrettson to accompany him on his return to Nova Scotia, where his apostolical labors were greatly owned of God. Other ministers were also sent from the United States to labor in this and in other parts of British America.

It will thus be seen that there has always been an intimate relationship between Methodism in the United States and in Canada. The latter owes its existence, to a very large extent, to the Methodist Episcopal Church [of America]. A goodly number of ministers, who were princes in Israel, were sent by the parent to nurse and train its offspring in the northern part of the continent. Among these may be named: Thomas Whitehead, Hezekiah C. Wooster, James Coleman, Joseph Sawyer,

Samuel Merwin, Nathan Bangs, Thomas Madden, William Case, Samuel Luckey, Israel Chamberlain, John Dempster, Fitch Reed, and many others.

Samuel Dwight Rice, D.D., whose career we wish to portray, took an active part in effecting the changes which occurred in Methodism during the last half-century. His name is conspicuous in various departments of Church work, and some of the most important institutions which are now the glory of the denomination may be regarded as monuments of his faithfulness and indomitable perseverance.

He belonged to a distinguished class of men—the old-time Puritans—who came from Hertfordshire, England, in 1640, and settled near Boston, Massachusetts. The Rices are still among the largest, most prosperous, and respectable families in New England, and have attained fame in the pulpit, the press, the world of commerce, and in the political arena. An illustration of this fact may be found in the person of Alexander Rice, Esq., ex-Congressman and ex-Governor of Massachusetts. In 1812 his parents removed from New England to what was then "the howling wilderness" of New Brunswick. His father belonged to the medical profession, and the family consisted of two sons and two daughters. One of the former was Samuel Dwight, who was born in 1815, in the Province of Maine. His education was received at Bowdoin College, where he and his brother were fellow-students with the poet Longfellow.

After his return home, on account of the impairment of his health during his collegiate term, he spent two years in commercial pursuits in Woodstock and Frederickton. In 1834, when he was not quite nineteen years of age, he became the subject of converting grace, and, as he has often been heard to express himself respecting that memorable event in his history, he was filled with joy, and for several days he experienced such an exuberance of delight as he never felt in the pleasures of sin.

In 1837 he was received as a probationer for the Wesleyan ministry. It may be stated in this connection, that from the commencement of Methodism in the Eastern provinces of Canada until 1804, a considerable number of ministers from the United States had labored there, but in that year they were withdrawn, and Methodism in those provinces, including New-

foundland and Bermuda, were attached to the Wesleyan Conference in England, and were known as missionary districts until 1855, when they were organized into a separate Conference under the cognomen of "The Conference of Eastern British America," in affiliation with the English Conference.

The first appointment of the subject of our paper was in the lumbering region of Miramichi, which might truly be designated a "Hard-scrabble circuit." The writer of his obituary, Rev. W. S. Blackstock, published in the Minutes of Toronto Conference, has well remarked respecting this period of his life, that

> he performed heroic service for the Master, and had the happiness of seeing much fruit of his labors. Being of an ardent temperament, an adventurous disposition, and an indomitable will, he gloried in facing and overcoming difficulties in the presence of which men cast in a less heroic mold would have failed.

His next station was Sydney, Cape Breton, and, though it is a place somewhat famous in history, it was purely mission ground when Mr. Rice labored there. Thus it will be seen that the commencement of his itinerancy was not in the most inviting fields of ministerial toil, but where there was an abundance of hard work, the performance of which required great self-denial and true devotedness; but he gained much experience, which was of immense service to him during the whole of his subsequent life.

His next appointment was to the city of St. John, New Brunswick. While here he spent six happy years, and assisted in organizing the educational institutions at Sackville, which are a noble monument to their founder, C. F. Allison, Esq., by whose liberality they have been so nobly sustained, and a credit to the Methodist people of the maritime provinces. A considerable number of persons of both sexes, some of whom now fill important positions in various parts of the world, were educated at this seat of learning. Mr. Rice's stay in St. John completed his term of labor in that part of Canada, where he had won for himself a good degree, and in no part of the Dominion is his memory more revered than in the province in which he spent the early years of his ministry.

The history of Methodism in Upper Canada from 1791, when the first class was formed, until the period in Mr. Rice's

history at which we have now arrived, was crowded with such events as tried the faith of many. The war which prevailed between Great Britain and the United States in 1812–15 excited much controversy. Violent attacks were made upon the character of the Methodist ministers. Their loyalty to the government of the country was questioned: they were represented as aliens who were seeking to spread republican principles among the people, with a view eventually to secure the annexation of Canada to the United States, whereas but few of their number were American citizens. The majority of them were natives of Canada, and were therefore British subjects, and some of them had even fought on behalf of the country whose institutions it was said they wished to overthrow. Baser calumnies and more wicked misrepresentations were never before published.

A family of brothers of the name of Ryerson had become connected with Methodism, of whom there were at one time four in the ministry; three of them died in the work, the other located after traveling a few years. The youngest member of this illustrious family was a comparative youth, in the novitiate of his ministry, when the Church of his choice was thus ruthlessly assailed by one who claimed to be a successor of the apostles. Young Ryerson, like another youthful David, with simple but effective weapons went forth to meet the ecclesiastical Goliath. For prudential reasons Mr. Ryerson withheld his name, and merely signed his letters by the term "A Methodist Preacher." This first controversial publication of Egerton Ryerson made a profound impression upon the community, and gave evidence of the superior ability of the author, which was frequently corroborated by the later productions of his powerful pen.

During some portions of the period to which we now refer, there had been occasional dissensions in Methodist circles on various matters. Some professed to be dissatisfied with the Discipline of the Church, and the administration of its chief officers, though the majority were agreed that Methodism in Canada had been well cared for by the constituted authorities of the Church. In 1811 Bishop Asbury visited a portion of the country, with which he was greatly delighted. The Genesee Conference, which was formed in 1810, held its session of

1817 at Elizabethtown, Upper Canada, at which Bishop George presided. This was the first Methodist Conference held in Canada, and under the sermon of the Bishop such was the manifestation of spiritual power that hundreds were converted, and to this day that Conference is often spoken of as the "Revival Conference."

The war of 1812 had greatly disorganized the societies both in Upper and Lower Canada. The latter is now known as the Province of Quebec, of which Nathan Bangs was presiding elder. He also was minister in charge at Montreal, and had the honor of forming the first Methodist society in the city of Quebec. The presiding elder, and some of these under his care, returned to the United States, hoping to return when peace should be proclaimed, but the war was more protracted than had been anticipated, and as the societies became dissatisfied for want of the ministrations of the word, application was made to the British Conference for missionaries to be sent to them. In a short time there were rival altars in close proximity to each other, from which the usual fruits of contention and strife followed. Methodist emigrants from England, who had settled in different parts of Canada, naturally preferred ministers from their own country, rather than those against whom all manner of evil was spoken.

Thus matters progressed until 1820, when the Rev. John Early, afterward Bishop Early of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, was sent to the English Conference as delegate from the Methodist Episcopal Church, with a view, if possible, so to adjust Church affairs in Canada that there should not be more than one body of Methodists established in the country. Arrangements were made for the British missionaries to occupy Lower Canada, and the Methodist Episcopal Church Upper Canada as their field of operations. This plan was faithfully carried out for the period of twelve years.

There were still those in Canada who were clamoring for a Conference of their own. The General Conference of 1824 formed a Canadian Conference, the first session of which was held at Hallowell, now Picton, in that year. Bishops George and Hedding presided. The Conference consisted of *thirty-five* ministers and preachers, with six thousand one hundred and fifty members. The demand of those who were dissatis-

fied with being connected with the United States was now for independence or separation. Rev. Henry Ryan, grandfather of Bishop Fowler, who was for many years presiding elder and a most zealous and successful missionary, was one of the most earnest advocates that the Methodist Church in Canada should assume an independent form. He was assured that the approaching General Conference would allow the societies in Canada to withdraw if they saw fit to do so. This, however, Mr. Ryan did not believe, and therefore in 1827 he withdrew from the Church which he had done so much to build up, and commenced an independent organization, which he designated the Canadian Wesleyan Methodist Church, but the party was for many years known as the "Ryanites."

This was an unfortunate step on the part of Mr. Ryan, as probably there was then no man in Canada to whom Methodism was so much indebted. He was an earnest, powerful man, capable of almost any amount of endurance; and his labors were herculean. He was once the colleague of Bishop Hedding, when that devoted man was a circuit minister. They occasionally met each other when they were performing their respective routes on their extensive circuits, and usually Ryan would salute his brother thus: "Drive on, brother, drive on! Drive the devil out of the country! Drive him into the lake and drown him!" Sometimes at camp-meetings rude fellows of the baser sort would attempt to make disturbance; on such occasions, if Mr. Ryan was present, he would seize the disturbers and fling them over the high fence with which it was customary in those days to inclose the grounds in front of the preachers' stand. He was as bold as a lion, but yet was possessed of a kind, tender heart, and could weep like a child when surrounded by scenes of sorrow; at once "a son of thunder," and "a son of consolation."

In 1828 Methodism in Upper Canada was set apart, with the assent of the General Conference, into an independent organization, known as the "Methodist Episcopal Church in Canada." By a most singular coincidence three ministers who were successively chosen to act as bishop declined; hence, while episcopacy was adopted as the mode of government, there was no *episcopos;* but the Rev. William Case acted as general superintendent *pro tem.*, but with limited powers.

Mr. Case was a gift from Methodism in the United States to that of Canada. He had long been a presiding elder, and was the "father of Indian Missions," and probably no Methodist ministers in British America was more widely known or had a better reputation. He was sometimes designated "the beloved disciple," so meek was his deportment. He lived to see the Church in Canada become a powerful organization, and was permitted to preach a jubilee sermon, in which he related many interesting reminiscences. His remains were interred at the Indian mission burying-ground at Rice Lake, where he had labored for many years. Near the same spot the remains of John Sunday, who was a native Indian missionary, also repose, and a monument was erected a few years ago to the memory of the father and his beloved son in the Gospel, the expense of which was mostly defrayed by the ministers of the Conference of which they had both been members.

In 1832 an event occurred which seriously affected Methodism in Canada. The Wesleyan Missionary Society in England sent out one of its secretaries, the Rev. Robert Alder, afterward Dr. Alder, with a view to establish Wesleyan societies in such places as were not favored with Methodist ordinances. The Wesleyan authorities took the ground that as Methodism in Canada was no longer connected with the United States they were free from the agreement into which they had entered twelve years before, not to establish societies in Canada.

The visit of Dr. Alder was not regarded as favorable to Methodism in Canada, and as the Conference was soon to meet in Picton, he was invited to attend, to see if some arrangement could be made to prevent two bodies of Methodists being established in the country. The result was, that articles of union were agreed upon, and in 1833 an amalgamation was made with the Wesleyan Conference in England. The name and usages of the English Conference were adopted. The principal alterations related to the change of name; to the annual election of a president of Conference instead of a bishop; to the abolition of the ordination of local preachers; and to the suppression of the office of deacon. The office of presiding elder was also abolished, and in its place was instituted that of chairman of district, who was to be appointed to a pastoral charge, by which the salary was to be paid.

The union with the English Conference gave great offense to many in Canada; hence, in 1834, soon after the first Conference under the new regime was held, a new organization was formed which retained the name, "Methodist Episcopal Church." For some years after this period the Methodist societies were greatly divided, and, to say the least, some who were the chief actors in both the parties into which the Church was unhappily divided both wrote and said bitter things concerning each other. The country also was greatly agitated on public questions. The union, no doubt, strengthened the Church financially, as the Parent Society gave large grants in aid of the missions in Canada.

This union only continued until 1840, as the Parent Society disapproved of the course adopted by the editor of the "Christian Guardian" on the Clergy Reserves, which for many years was a burning question in Canada. For the next seven years the Methodist Church was divided into three separate bodies, greatly to its injury. Happily, in 1847, a union was again effected on the part of the Canada and the British Wesleyans, which affiliation with the Wesleyan Conference in England remained strong and compact until 1874, when it was dissolved by mutual agreement.

The union of 1847 was the occasion of the Rev. S. D. Rice becoming connected with Methodism in Western or Upper Canada. The British Conference appointed the Rev. Enoch Wood (now Dr. Wood) its representative in Canada, and also general superintendent of the missions. This venerable minister has become an octogenarian, and still survives, though "in age and feebleness extreme," having been sixty years in the Methodist ministry. He commenced his labors in the West Indies, whence he removed to New Brunswick, where he labored twenty years, and then removed, as before stated, to Upper Canada. His whole career has been connected with Methodist missions. He has occupied the presidential chair of Conference ten times, and for more than thirty years was missionary secretary, and for most of that time he was general superintendent of missions. Since 1879 he has been honorary secretary. Under his presidency the Church was greatly strengthened. The Lower Canada District was attached to the Canada Conference, and a new mission was established in

British Columbia. It is believed that he has dedicated more churches than any other minister in Canada; and when the infirmities of age compelled him to ask for a superannuated relation, the Methodist Church had become the largest Protestant denomination in Canada.

Dr. Wood requested that Mr. Rice should accompany him to his new field of toil, which request was granted. Mr. Rice's first appointment was in the city of Toronto, which eventually was the place of his death. His rich, evangelical preaching, his diligent pastoral visitation, and his faithful, judicious administration of discipline were well adapted to the state of affairs which he found in the chief city of the extensive province which for so many years was to be his field of labor. A great revival took place, which gave a grand impetus to all the departments of Church work.

He soon became a prominent member of Conference, and took his full share of all its duties and responsibilities. For one year he had charge of the Indian Industrial School at Munsey, from which he was removed to Kingston, and under his superintendence Sydenham Street church was erected, an achievement that only few persons could have accomplished. Here, also, he was chairman of the district, which added greatly to his labors; but he was then in the vigor of his manhood, and shrank from no labor, however much danger and self-denial it might involve.

The next four years were perhaps the most laborious of his life. They were spent in connection with Victoria University. He traveled thousands of miles, and was truly "in season and out of season." His desire was to place that noble seat of learning on such a sound financial basis as would insure its future prosperity. His sanguine expectations were not fully realized, but his interest in collegiate institutions never abated, and probably no man in Methodism ever gave so much ill-requited toil on behalf of higher education in Canada as Dr. Rice. During one of those years he was also secretary of Conference.

We next find him in the city of Hamilton, where he resided more than twenty years. For three years he was in the pastorate, and labored with all his wonted zeal. However well adapted he was for business, he was never happier than when

preaching the Gospel; and had it not been for an affection of the throat, he would not so readily have turned aside and served tables. Hamilton was the scene of a glorious revival, which resulted in a large accession to the membership of the Church. For three years he was financial secretary of the district, after which he sustained a superannuated relation for two years.

He was not, however, by any means a retired minister, for he now commenced an undertaking for which he will be longest and best remembered—the establishing of the Female College in that city. The institution was opened in 1861. A college for ladies was a new idea in that day, and like all new ideas had to stem the tide of popular prejudice; but, having once put his hand to the plow, he did not look back, and therefore he enjoys the honor of having established the first female college in Canada, of which it has been said, that it

> has sent out more than two hundred graduates, who have completed the full course of study, and several hundreds more who for a shorter period have enjoyed its literary advantages. Its graduates and ex-students are found in all parts of this broad land, adorning with the graces of Christian culture the social circle, lending the charm of their influence to the cause of religion, teaching in higher institutions of learning, and some of them sharing the trials and triumphs of missionary life.*

During the time he was thus identified with the Female College, the Senate of Victoria University conferred on him the degree of D.D., an honor which he richly deserved. He was a good theologian, especially of the Wesleyan school. The works of Wesley, Fletcher, Clarke, Benson, and Watson had been carefully studied, and he was ever ready to defend those standards, which in his opinion have not been surpassed by any others of modern times.

Dr. Rice always took deep interest in all the affairs of the Church, and when in Conference he was ever ready to take part in the discussions which arose. In person he was tall and commanding; he had a strong, ringing voice, which could be heard in every part of the room; and he was able to state his views in a clear style, so that he generally carried his points; but, if he should happen to be in the minority, he was always manly, and would never manifest a spirit of opposition that

* Rev. Dr. Withrow, editor of "Methodist Magazine."

was not fair and candid. His brethren, even such as might not always agree with him, esteemed him very highly, and showed their confidence in his integrity by placing him in positions of trust.

In the year 1872 he was co-delegate of the Conference, and in consequence of the Rev. W. L. Thornton, M.A., the president for that year, returning to England immediately after the Conference, the duties of presidency devolved upon him. In 1873–74 he was elected president. The latter was a memorable season, as it was the final session of the Wesleyan Methodist Conference in Canada.

For some years there had been a growing disposition on the part of many to reduce the number of branches of the Methodist Church. The various bodies of Presbyterians had united and become a compact and powerful organization, and the question was frequently asked, "Why cannot the Methodists become one body?" In addition to the Wesleyan and Methodist Episcopal branches of Methodism, there were also the "New Connection," which had absorbed the societies formed by the Rev. Henry Ryan, previously named the Primitive Methodists, and "Bible Christians," all of which took their rise in England. In addition to these, there was a Wesleyan Conference in eastern British America.

With a view, if possible, to form a united body of Methodists, several meetings were held, and the conditions of union were generally accepted by all parties; but, when the first General Conference was held, only three bodies could be brought together, namely, the Wesleyan Conferences of Canada, that of eastern British America, and the New Connection. Six Annual Conferences were formed, with one General Conference to meet once in four years. The name agreed upon was that of "The Methodist Church of Canada." The first General Conference was held in 1874, of which the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, D.D., LL.D., was elected president, which office he sustained for four years, as an acknowledgment of the esteem of his brethren for the onerous services which he had rendered the Church during his eventful life. The hope was indulged that the branches of Methodism which did not now amalgamate would soon do so. They manifested a kindly disposition by sending fraternal delegates to the General Conference.

In effecting the amalgamation which produced the Methodist Church of Canada, Dr. Rice took an active part, and at the second General Conference, of which the Rev. Dr. Douglas was president, he was elected vice-president, and at the General Conference of 1882 he was elected president, with a request that he would travel at large throughout the Connection. He was abundant in labors during this year, not only in the pulpit and on the platform, but also at committee meetings, of which there was an unusual number during the year of his presidency.

We must here break the thread of our narrative to state that in 1878 Dr. Rice returned to the active work of the ministry, and was stationed at St. Mary's, and though he was exhibiting the marks of age, he was the same earnest, faithful expounder of God's word, for which he had been so remarkable during all his previous history. A new church was erected in the town, which was said to be "a model of neatness, utility, and cheapness."

To the surprise of many, in the year 1880 Dr. Rice went to the North-west and settled in Winnepeg, where he was also chairman of the district. During his residence there the city was in a state of intense excitement, which was called "the boom." Property of all descriptions rose to the most fabulous prices, and every body was in "haste to be rich." There was such a state of things as only few had ever witnessed. Such seasons of inflated prosperity are seldom favorable to spiritual growth, though they may sometimes be turned to good account. Dr. Rice understood the position of affairs, and sought to take advantage of them for the benefit of the Church. One has well said:

> During his three years in Winnepeg great changes occurred. Grace Church was turned into a block of stores; the *rink* was fitted up as a temporary place of worship; another block of stores was built; and the large hall, the second "Wesley Hall," used as a church by the congregation of Grace Church. Bannantyne Street church was built, and the present new Grace Church commenced. As the city grew greatly in these years, so did the Methodist congregations; and as did the congregations, so did the places for the people to worship in.

Dr. Rice's position as chairman of the district in Manitoba imposed some onerous duties upon him. The following in-

cident may serve to illustrate the earnestness of his spirit, and the ready manner, in which he could suit himself to circumstances in order to promote the interests of the Church. In the month of June, 1881, accompanied by the Rev. John Semmons, and several ladies and gentlemen, he left Winnepeg by steamer for Fisher River, 200 miles distant. The Rev. A. W. Ross was then stationed there, and a new church was greatly needed. On the arrival of the party, a site was selected, and then the work of hewing and squaring timber, digging post-holes, drawing sand and lime, laying the floor, and building the walls was proceeded with. The Indians of the place worked well. The ministers toiled as though the success of the undertaking depended on their diligence; the merchant busied himself as though he was not out for a holiday; and the architect wrought at the bench as though he was not on the sick list. Even the ladies were as busy as bees, and Dr. Rice had the pleasure of seeing the church, 22x50, built, plastered, and opened for divine worship. Of all present it might truly be said, "The people had a mind to work," though they were subjected to a great amount of suffering and bodily torture from the swarms of mosquitoes, which bestowed special attention upon them.

The season was one of great enjoyment to the mission family, and the Indians in the settlement who had never seen such a "bee" before. The members of the party from Winnepeg were delighted with their excursion, and the religious services which were held morning and evening of each day were refreshing seasons coming from the presence of the Lord, while those of the Sabbath were specially edifying, as from 6 o'clock A. M. until the evening the voice of prayer and praise was heard almost continually. The friends from Winnepeg, accompanied by their beloved pastor, returned home after an absence of four weeks, having spent the period of their absence in a manner on which they will always reflect with pleasure.

September, 1881, will ever be memorable in the annals of Methodism. It was then that the First Ecumenical Methodist Conference was held in the Methodist cathedral, City Road Chapel, London, England. Representatives from all branches of Methodism in Canada were present, and evidently caught the union spirit, for the majority of them returned home as though

they were all of one heart and mind. All the Annual Conferences passed resolutions favorable to union if a proper basis could be secured. By a remarkable coincidence the General Conferences of the Methodist and the Methodist Episcopal Churches met in the year 1882 in the same city, and a united committee from all branches of the Church met soon afterward, and after several days' careful deliberation a Basis of Union was adopted, which was submitted to all the quarterly meetings of the respective denominations, and was adopted by large majorities; next the Annual Conferences, with one exception, indorsed the Basis with slight modification, which was also accepted by the adjourned General Conference of the Methodist Church of Canada, though, as might have been expected, there were some dissentients who conscientiously opposed the Basis.

Immediately after the last named General Conference closed its sessions, the first United General Conference was held, consisting of representatives from the four branches of Methodism, which had hitherto been largely antagonistic to each other. Now they were brought together and could love as brethren. The Rev. John A. Williams, D.D., had the honor of presiding at this first United General Conference, which by a most remarkable coincidence was held in the vicinity where, years before, some of the divisions of Methodism had occurred, and not far from the spot where William Losee had laid the foundations of Methodism in Canada.

Dr. Rice took the deepest possible interest in the subject of Methodist unification. He once remarked to the present writer that his life had been most remarkably mixed up with union movements. As before intimated, his coming to Upper Canada in 1847 was occasioned by a Methodist Union. As president of Conference in 1873 he presided at the meetings of the United Committee which formulated the Basis of Union which led to the organization of the Methodist Church of Canada. He presided at the last General Conference of the said body, and officially announced the fact that there was a majority of votes in favor of union.

The Basis of Union provided for the office of general superintendent, the election of laymen jointly with ministers to all the Conferences and committees, except the Stationing Com-

mittee. Each Annual Conference was to elect its own president, who presides alternately with the general superintendent. Both take part in the ordination services, and jointly sign the parchments. Should a general superintendent not be present at the Annual Conference, the president performs all the duties of the office. As far as possible, the names of offices and usages of the various branches who now constitute The Methodist Church were adopted. The following statistics will show the strength of the Church at the United General Conference: Ministers and probationers, including 241 superannuated and supernumerary, 1,633; members, 169,803; churches, 3,159; parsonages, 877; estimated value, $9,130,807; Sunday-schools, 2,707; teachers, 22,434; scholars, 175,052—18,530 of whom meet in class; colleges and schools, 12; professors and teachers, 185; graduates, 1,925; students, 6,948. There are two publishing houses, one at Toronto and one at Halifax; two papers are published weekly; a monthly magazine is issued; and also eight Sunday-school periodicals.

The Methodist Church of Canada dates its organic existence from June 1, 1884; and, though it cannot be said that there has been universal harmony during that period, still, the friends of the Church have cause for thankfulness that the Union has worked with so little friction. Doubtless, several who were Methodists before the union are now found in the bosom of the Presbyterian and other Churches, while, perhaps, some are not connected with any Church; still, the gratifying fact must remain that the returns made at the ten Annual Conferences of 1885 showed an aggregate increase of more than 20,000 members.

The election of general superintendents necessarily excited great interest at the first General Conference of the United Church. The Rev. Drs. Rice and Carman were chosen for the important office, the former as the senior. Since the death of Dr. Rice many have been led to think that he had a presentiment that his end was near, for he entreated the General Conference to make some provision in case he or his beloved colleague should be removed by death. The majority of the Conference, however, thought that in the event of such a calamity the special committee would be competent to act in the emergency.

After the General Conference both general superintendents labored incessantly, especially in missionary and educational services. It was a season of anxiety to the United Church. There were places where conflicting opinions prevailed respecting the places of worship that should be no longer retained, and other perplexing matters required adjustment. As the superintendents were general advisers as well as the expounders of law, they were often appealed to as to what was best to be done with the grievances which had arisen.

Dr. Rice was too willing to labor when he should have taken rest; the consequence was, that during the winter of 1883–84, while traveling on behalf of the Educational Society, he took a severe cold, from the effects of which he never rallied. He attended some of the Annual Conferences of 1884—the first of the United Church—and at the Toronto Conference he delivered an address chiefly in the interests of the Educational and the Superannuation Funds, which caused many to weep, as it was evident that the shadows of the sepulcher were then upon him: and if he had known that he would never meet his brethren again in a Methodist Conference he could not have addressed them in a more appropriate manner, especially when he referred to the subject of entire sanctification, and urged the ministers to be sure and preach and enjoy this great Gospel privilege.

The few remaining months of his life were a season of intense suffering, which was endured with great fortitude. Such was his hopefulness of spirit, and so great was his strength of will that he could not be persuaded that death was so near. No murmur fell from his lips, though his pain was often most excruciating. Happily, all the members of his family arrived in time to receive his last counsel and witness his dissolution, which was calm and peaceful. He departed this life Monday, December 15, 1884, in the sixty-eighth year of his age and the forty-eighth of his ministry.

The funeral service was held in the Metropolitan Church, Toronto, after which the remains were interred in Mount Pleasant Cemetery.

Art. II.—THE EPISCOPACY OF METHODISM.

In the "Methodist Review" of March, 1885, there appeared an article entitled "The Doctrine of the Fathers," in which we presented the views of the "fathers" in reference to the episcopacy of Methodism from the time immediately prior to the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, in 1784, until the death of Bishop Asbury, in 1816, a space of about thirty-two years, thus embracing the period covered by one generation. It was there attempted to prove that while the Church viewed the eldership as a ministerial order, it looked upon the episcopacy as an office in the ministry to be filled by one who, in ministerial order, should be a presbyter or elder.

This is shown by the fact that Wesley, the recognized head of American as well as British Methodism, declared, in his Circular Letter of 1784, that "bishops and presbyters are the same order;" and Bishop Coke, who was set apart by Wesley, and received as the first superintendent of the new Church, said in 1808, twenty-four years after the organization of the Church, that they were "one and the same" order.

Bishop Asbury, also, acknowledged the same thing in 1800, sixteen years after the organization of the Church and his entrance upon the duties of general superintendent or bishop, when he proposed to resign his "official station," as it was termed by the Conference and understood by himself, and to take his seat on the floor as an elder, just as if he had never filled the "official station" of a general superintendent. The action of the Conference in this instance, and at various other times, shows that the ministers understood they were not dealing with a clerical order but with an executive office.

Then, as though to prevent any one ever being misled by the service used in setting apart the bishops, John Dickins, who took part in the organization of the Church, and who was the first person in America to whom Dr. Coke revealed his plans, clearly taught, in 1792, that this service possessed no virtue, as it gave nothing to him who was set apart, and, hence, was merely a dignified, impressive, and fitting formality. The whole history of this early period shows that the Church of

that day understood that the difference between the bishop and an ordinary presbyter was not one of clerical order.

Now, taking up the line of historical investigation, we purpose to seek the view held by the leading preachers, in the period following the death of Bishop Asbury, as indicated by their writings and by Conference action.

Bishop Asbury died in the month of March, 1816. One month later the Rev. Ezekiel Cooper, at the request of the Philadelphia Conference, preached a sermon on the death of Asbury, and the same Conference subsequently requested the publication of the discourse. The sermon, with an appendix, was published in 1819, as an 18mo volume of 230 pages. In this discourse he says, The Methodist societies, in organizing the new Church, resolved "to follow the Scriptures and the primitive Church;" * and in the appendix he calls the Methodist episcopacy a "presbyterial episcopacy," and maintains that bishops and presbyters or elders are "the same order." † We thus start out in this second period of the Church's history with the very declaration which the Church at its beginning had received through Wesley's letter.

In a short time agitations concerning questions of polity greatly increased. The discussions referred mainly to lay representation, but it also involved the episcopacy of the denomination, and the controversy called out strong writers. In 1820, the year following the publication of Cooper on Asbury, the Rev. Nathan Bangs, D.D., published his work on "Methodist Episcopacy." In this he used language which created the suspicion that he meant to imply that the bishops had a distinct order above that of the elders. That his phraseology did not represent the voice of the Church, and that he was applying the word order in a new and objectionable sense, is evident from the fact that his phrases were promptly objected to, and he was attacked so vigorously for even appearing to teach that which the Church had never taught, that at last he found it necessary, in defending himself, to write and print a letter explaining his language.

In this letter, which was published in 1827, in the appendix to Emory's "Defense of Our Fathers," Dr. Bangs complained that he had been misunderstood, and explained that in his use

* Cooper on Asbury, p. 109. † *Ibid.*, p. 215.

of the word order, in that connection, he gave it a special definition. He says:

I use the word *order* merely for convenience, to avoid circumlocution, meaning thereby *nothing more* than that they were invested, by consent of the eldership, with a power to preside over the flock of Christ, and to discharge other duties not so convenient for the presbyters to discharge.

This definition, of course, makes the bishopric simply an office with delegated executive powers, and Bangs takes the force out of the word *order* in this connection when he says, that he used it in a qualified sense, and "merely for convenience, to avoid circumlocution," and that he means this, and "*nothing more.*" Again, he states that he means that our bishops were like those ministers in the early Christian Church who were "denominated *evangelists*," which certainly is not a very high-church notion. And again, in this letter, he says:

If any choose to say that we acknowledge two *orders only*, and a superior minister possessing a delegated jurisdiction, chiefly of an executive character, he has my full consent.

So Dr. Bangs gives his "full consent" to the declaration that "we acknowledge two *orders only;*" and also, that a bishop is merely "a superior minister possessing a delegated jurisdiction, chiefly of an executive character," and the logical inference from this is, that he held that the bishop was an executive officer, and that the bishopric was an office and not a clerical order above the eldership. We should not overlook the fact, that in the above quotations from Dr. Bangs's letter, the italics, "*orders*," "two *orders only*," and "*nothing more*," are his own.

That he considered bishops and presbyters to be the same order is manifest from other declarations which he makes. Thus he says:

That those denominated bishops, elders, or presbyters in the apostolical writings were one and the same order of men we will now endeavor to demonstrate.*

Again, in his "Original Church of Christ," published in 1836, and which has been a text-book in the course of ministerial study, Dr. Bangs says:

The terms bishop, presbyter, and elder signified, in the primitive Church, the same order of ministers. . . . There was, how-

* Bangs's "Vindication of Methodist Episcopacy," p. 19.

ever, as it appears, this difference: the term bishop was *a title of office*, signifying overseer, and the word presbyter referred to the order.

That he held the bishopric of our Church to be an office and not an order is seen also in the fact that in his "History of the Methodist Episcopal Church," published in 1840, Dr. Bangs speaks of the episcopacy as an office;* and, further, from the fact that during the great discussion in the General Conference of 1844, he constantly spoke of "the *office* of bishop," and the "high *office* of a general superintendent," and refers to the bishop as "a general *officer* of the Church." †

In 1827, seven years after the appearance of Bangs's "Methodist Episcopacy," the Rev. John Emory, D.D., published "A Defense of Our Fathers, and of the Original Organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church." At first sight there seems a little confusion in some of his phrases, but a careful reading, and a just comparison of his statements, show that the context fully qualifies his apparently unusual expressions. His object is to maintain the validity of the episcopate of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and he insists that there is nothing improper in having a service for setting apart bishops "even on the principle of two orders," for, "in this respect," he says, "both Mr. Wesley's usage and ours exactly correspond with that of the primitive Church, according to Lord King," who "maintains that bishops and presbyters in the primitive Church were the same order." ‡

But Emory shows just how little weight he put upon the service for setting apart bishops, by his indorsement of a quotation from John Dickins's pamphlet of 1792, in which Dickins declared "the superiority of the bishops" was not "by virtue of a separate ordination;" § and Emory himself refers to the superiority of our bishops as derived not from their 'separate ordination.'" ‖ Emory, therefore, following Dickins and Wesley, puts no stress upon the service; and, as the separate service conferred no superiority, the bishop received through it no order distinct from and superior to the eldership.

Dr. Emory is meeting the allegation that because Methodism

* Bangs's History, vol. iii, pp. 60, 78.

† "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," p. 98.

‡ "Defense of Our Fathers," p. 64. § *Ibid.*, p. 110. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

has no order higher than the eldership it has not a true episcopal form of government. This inference he denies, and says:

We have abundantly proved, according to ecclesiastical writers of the most distinguished celebrity, that an episcopal form of government is perfectly consistent with the admission that bishops and presbyters were primarily and inherently the same order. And we have especially proved that this was Mr. Wesley's view in particular.*

Again he says:

The idea that *equals* cannot from among themselves constitute an officer who, *as an officer*, shall be superior to any of those by whom he was constituted, is contradicted by all experience and history, both civil and ecclesiastical, and equally so by common sense. †

All this refers to the episcopacy of our Church, and Emory calls the bishop an *officer*, and those who elected him his *equals*. That this is his meaning is seen a little further on, where, referring to Bishops Coke and Asbury, he says:

These church officers, after they were thus constituted and commissioned, *were* superior, *as our officers*, in the actual exercise of certain executive powers among us, to any individual of those by whom they were constituted. ‡

In 1830, Dr. Emory quotes Mr. McCaine as claiming that Mr. Wesley believed "that bishops and presbyters are essentially of one order." To this Emory replied: "And do we dispute this? Have we not repeatedly averred the same thing with the utmost explicitness?" §

Again he declares:

The Methodist Episcopal Church not only admits, but asserts and maintains, and always has done so, that bishops and presbyters are inherently and essentially the same. Its episcopacy was originally and avowedly instituted, and still rests, on this very principle. . . . In the strict ecclesiastical sense, they are inherently and essentially the same order. ‖

One year later, namely, in 1831, Dr. Emory edited and added notes to the "First American Official Edition" of Watson's Life of Wesley. In these notes, referring to Wesley's setting apart of Coke as superintendent, he declares that even after that

* "Defense of Our Fathers," p. 60. † *Ibid.*, p. 64. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 65.
§ "Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review," 1830, p. 81. ‖ *Ibid*, p. 85.

service, "according to Mr. Wesley's own view, he could not be higher *in order* than a presbyter." *

The issue as to whether the bishopric was an order or an office was soon squarely made, and just as squarely met. In 1828, the year after Emory's "Defense" appeared, Thomas E. Bond, M.D., wrote his "Narrative and Defense of the Proceedings of the Methodist Episcopal Church in Baltimore City Station," and in 1852 this was reissued as a part of Bond's "Economy of Methodism." The author refers to the charge that Asbury had used language which implied that he thought he was "a bishop of the third order, and superior to presbyters." †

And to this Dr. Bond replies:

> As to the charge of our having at any time considered our bishops as a distinct ministerial order, contradistinguished from and superior to presbyters or elders, it has no foundation in fact. The very circumstance of our having acknowledged the *right* of elders to ordain is a sufficient refutation of the allegation. We consider the episcopacy a superior office in the Church—not a distinct ministerial order; and this is the light in which it has been considered ever since its institution. ‡

Dr. Bond's statement shows that the Church had recognized and made a distinction between "order" and "office" ever since the institution of the episcopacy. It is, indeed, a point of no little value in this investigation, that Dr. Bond's phraseology so clearly shows that in the early days the word order and the word office were used as meaning entirely different things.

That Dr. Bond was competent to give testimony on this question cannot be doubted. He was the great controversial writer of the Church, and his election to the editorship of "The Christian Advocate" in 1840 was no doubt due to the masterly ability he had displayed in the disputes of those days. He stood at a point in the history of the Church where he could speak authoritatively for the Church in his time, and from the time of its organization. When he wrote the passage just quoted he was in the prime of life, and with sufficient maturity to comprehend the view of the Church.

When Asbury died Dr. Bond was thirty-four years of age,

* Watson's Wesley, American edition, p. 253.

† Bond's "Economy of Methodism," p. 117. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 120.

and a practicing physician, so that even at that time he was old enough to have met all the "fathers" of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and, as he resided in Baltimore, he probably had met them, and from them learned their views and the views of the early Church. Besides this, his family connections opened to him reliable sources of information. He was a near relative of the Rev. John Wesley Bond, who was Bishop Asbury's traveling companion, and who was with the bishop when he died. Had Dr. Bond no other means of gaining information on this subject, this relationship alone would, no doubt, have been sufficient to secure him accurate knowledge as to the opinions of Asbury and of the Church prior to that day. Probably there was no one at that time more competent to speak for the Church.

Dr. Bond stood beside the fathers and knew the sons, and so was familiar with the ideas of both. For him, therefore, to say publicly to an antagonist that the Church from the beginning considered the bishopric as an office, and not "a distinct ministerial order, contradistinguished from and superior to presbyters or elders," is most conclusive teaching, and sufficient to settle the question as to the view of the Church up to 1828, and even up to 1852, when his "Economy of Methodism" was issued.

In 1841, Bishop Hedding delivered a discourse before the New York, Providence, New England, and Maine Conferences on "The Administration of Discipline." At the request of these Conferences, he prepared it for publication, and it appeared in book form in 1842.

This brings us close to the memorable General Conference of 1844, which was followed by the secession of Southern members and the formation of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South.

The discussions in this Conference involved the very question we are now studying, and threw strong light upon the prevailing views of the Church as to its episcopacy. In the proceedings, "Hedding on the Discipline" was quoted a number of times in a way which sustained the idea that the episcopacy was an office, and not a distinct order, and there is every indication that Bishop Hedding, who was present, assented to this interpretation.

But, before considering the opinion of individual delegates and the action of the Conference itself, we turn to the Address of the Bishops, which was presented to the General Conference before the debate on Bishop Andrew's case had begun. In this address they say:

> The office of a bishop or superintendent, according to our ecclesiastical system, is almost exclusively executive. . . . So far from their being irresponsible in their office, they are amenable to the General Conference.

Continuing, they declare that bishops have not "a distinct and higher *order*. For, with our great founder, we are convinced that bishops and presbyters are the same order in the Christian ministry. And this has been the sentiment of the Wesleyan Methodists from the beginning." And they add that their authority "is by virtue of an *office* constituted by the body of presbyters, for the better order of discipline," etc.*

The bishops say the episcopacy is not "a distinct and superior order," or "a distinct and higher *order*," and so emphatic are they that they italicize the word *order*. What is more, so anxious are they to make the point plain, that they specifically state "that bishops and presbyters are the same order;" that this was the opinion of Wesley, the "great founder" of the Church, and that this was "the sentiment" of Methodists "from the beginning."

They go still further, and speak of "the episcopal office" and "the office of a bishop or superintendent;" and are so determined that it shall be understood as nothing more than "an *office*," that they italicize that word in contradistinction to the word order, and this address was signed by all the bishops, showing that it expressed their unanimous opinion.

We now turn to the opinion of the Conference, as expressed in the discussion of Bishop Andrew's case.

The Rev. Alfred Griffith, of the Baltimore Conference, was the delegate who offered the resolution in which Bishop Andrew was "affectionately requested to resign his office as one of the bishops." In speaking to his resolution, he referred to the title bishop, and said:

> We use it only and exclusively to denote and designate the chief officer of the General Conference, the chief officer of the

* Appendix A, General Conference Journal of 1844, p. 155.

associated Annual Conferences of this union. A bishop among us is therefore only an officer of the General Conference, created for specific purposes, and for no other than the purposes specified. . . . He is chosen as the chief among his equals. . . . Our bishops . . . regard not themselves as a distinct order separate and apart from presbyters or elders, . . . they are officers in the strict and proper sense of the term. *

Dr. Bangs, Dr. Olin, Mr. Cass, Mr. Drake, G. F. Pierce, Jesse T. Peck, and others also referred to the bishopric as an office. Mr. Comfort spoke of the "episcopal office," and said:

The proposed action of this Conference [that Bishop Andrew "desist from the exercise of his office"] did not affect his *orders*, but simply his jurisdiction as an officer of the General Conference. . . . His *office* only was touched, not his orders—a distinction which could not be denied without involving the doctrine of *prelatical* episcopacy; a doctrine at the farthest remove from Methodism on this subject. †

Here is a clear distinction between order and office.

Mr. J. A. Collins, of Baltimore, quoted from Hedding on the Discipline, and from Emory's "Defense," and said:

According to them, a bishop was but an officer of that General Conference. A high officer, he admitted—one whose very presence ought to inspire respect, and of whom they ought never to speak lightly; but still, after all, simply an officer of the General Conference. ‡

Dr. Durbin spoke of the "episcopal office," and quoted Coke, Asbury, and Dickins, to prove that "a bishop is only an officer of the General Conference." He also opposed the idea "that the General Conference has no power to remove a bishop, or to suspend the exercise of his functions, unless by impeachment and trial, in regular form, for some offense regularly charged." §

The greatest speech in this great debate was delivered by Dr. Hamline, who, before the session closed, was made a bishop. In his argument he referred to the bishop as an "officer," and to his position as the "bishop's office," and said: "In clerical orders every man on this floor is his equal."

Again he said: "That the bishop's is an office is, I suppose, conceded." So well settled was the idea that Dr. Hamline, in the presence of that able General Conference, dared to say, and take it for granted, that it was a "conceded" fact not requiring

* "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," pp. 82–84.
† *Ibid.*, p. 135. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 147. § *Ibid.*, pp. 174, 175.

argument, as it would not be disputed; and, certainly, this was the prevailing view of the General Conference of 1844.

Referring to the service in the ritual, he remarked:

> True we ordain him; but we may cease to ordain, and by suspending the Conference rule which requires a day's delay, may immediately blot from the Discipline these words (page 26): "and the laying on of the hands of three bishops, or at least of one bishop and two elders." Would not this harmonize our practice and our principles?

The nature of the episcopate had much to do in the matter of defining the power of the General Conference, and the position taken by the General Conference of 1844 was tenable only on the ground that the bishopric was an office.

Rev. Jesse T. Peck, afterward bishop, said:

> There are no *constitutional rights* invaded. As to whether a man will do for a bishop, or not, the General Conference is the sole judge, either as to his election or retention.*

He also held that if a bishop "should resign his episcopal office" he would still be "an elder in the Church of God." †

In one of the debates, Mr. Winner, of New Jersey, remarked, that "the *General Conference* is *the* supreme power of the Church, not the episcopacy." ‡

Mr. Griffith held that they were concerned exclusively with "an officer of the General Conference," and claimed that the General Conference "has power to regulate her own officers;" § and J. A. Collins, of Baltimore, asserted that, "if there were no specific law, the Conference had power to remove the officer it makes." ‖

Mr. Green, of Tennessee, put the position of various speakers in these words:

> They say that a bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church is nothing more than an officer of the General Conference; having received his appointment from the Conference, and being merely an officer of the Conference, that the Conference has the right, when they shall judge it expedient to do so, to divest this officer of his office, without even the forms of trial. ¶

This Mr. Green opposed, as did the Southern delegates generally, and asserted the doctrine, "Once a bishop, whether able to do the work of a superintendent or not, always a bishop." **

* "Debates in the General Conference, 1844," p. 116. † *Ibid.*, p. 120.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 78. § *Ibid.*, p. 83. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 147. ¶ *Ibid.*, p. 123. ** *Ibid.*, p. 124.

Mr. Hamline, however, with the majority of the body, held that the General Conference had "authority to depose a bishop summarily for improprieties morally innocent, which embarrass the exercise of his functions,"* and "whatever it can confer and withhold it can *resume* at will, unless a constitutional restriction forbids it;"† and these were the views of the majority.

It is evident that some of the Southern delegates, in the effort to defend their bishop, were driven to the necessity of making claims for the episcopacy which were novel, and which had not been received by the Church itself. After the Conference had, by a large majority, pronounced against Bishop Andrew, the Southern members, who were in the minority, filed a protest embodying views to which some of the minority had given expression during the progress of the discussion. "The Protest" of the Southern delegates does not deny, but admits, that the bishopric is an office—"the episcopal office"—and an "official" "station," and refers to the bishops as "officers" and "executive officers;" but it claims that "the episcopacy is a co-ordinate branch, the executive department proper, of the government."‡ But Dr. Bond, who was present at this Conference, wrote in 1851 that "to sustain this view of the episcopacy, its advocates were compelled to take high-church grounds, bordering upon Puseyism itself."§

Again, alluding to the rule of the Discipline making the bishops amenable to the General Conference, Dr. Bond says:

> The minority of the Conference, finding it impossible to evade the force or escape the consequences of this rule of discipline, resorted, in their speeches and "Protest," to doctrines in respect to Methodist episcopacy which, if not entirely new, had only been attributed by the most bitter enemies of our Church government, and which had been disavowed as a slander by its defenders.‖

Dr. Bond further observes:

> These high-church notions of episcopal authority, independence, and jurisdiction, had to encounter the well-settled theory of Methodist episcopacy, . . . and it was crushed and annihilated by the contact. . . . The high-church notions of episcopal authority and independence assumed in the Protest constituted no part of prim-

* "Debates," p. 129. † *Ibid.*, p. 131.

‡ Appendix H, General Conference Journal, 1844.

§ "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1851, p. 412. ‖ *Ibid.*, p. 411.

itive American Methodism, nor of the opinions of those who instituted Methodist episcopacy. Nor has there been any change in this respect since the present form of Church government was instituted. *

It would appear, therefore, that this novel doctrine of episcopal authority and jurisdiction was taken up by the delegates from the slaveholding Conferences to serve a purpose, and was founded on no just or tenable grounds whatever. †

When the "Protest" was presented, Mr. Simpson, as the report terms one who afterward was honored as Bishop Simpson, offered a resolution declaring that "they could not admit the statements put forth in the Protest," and directing "that a committee, consisting of Messrs. Durbin, Olin, and Hamline, be appointed to make a true statement of the case, to be entered on the Journal." ‡ This showed that "Mr." Simpson, the future bishop, denied the positions of the minority, and the composition of his proposed committee showed what views he desired affirmed.

The above committee was ordered, but when Dr. Hamline had been elected bishop and Dr. Olin had gone home, Dr. George Peck and Dr. Elliott, on motion of Mr. Simpson, were put in their places.

This very able committee presented a reply to the "Protest," in which they remark:

> In order to make out that the General Conference had no right to take such action as they have in Bishop Andrew's case, the authors of the Protest have been driven to the necessity of claiming for the Methodist episcopacy powers and prerogatives never advanced before, except by those who wished to make it odious, and which have always been repudiated by its chosen champions. §

The "Reply" denies that "the episcopacy is a co-ordinate branch of the government." It calls the bishops "officers," and maintains the supremacy of the General Conference. ‖

The views of Hamline were the views of the Conference. They were sustained by a large majority, and, as the minority subsequently seceded, it left the view of the majority the view of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

With the close of the General Conference of 1844, the Church may be said to have entered upon a third period in its

* "Methodist Quarterly Review," 1851, p. 412. † *Ibid.*, p. 413.
‡ "Debates," p. 212. § Appendix K, Gen. Conf. Journal, 1844, p. 206.
‖ *Ibid.*, pp. 199–210.

history. It began its second period holding the doctrine of the parity of bishops and elders as to order, and it closed that period with a distinct affirmation of the same doctrine.

Now it will be seen that the third period opens with the same view. In 1847 Dr. Abel Stevens issued his work on "Church Polity." In this he says:

> The episcopacy of the Methodist Church . . . is presbyterian, our bishops being considered but presbyters in *order*, differing from [ordinary] presbyters only in *office*, as *primi inter pares*, first among equals.*

Passing to the General Conference of 1852, we find that "the superintendents presented a communication from Bishop Hamline, tendering his resignation of the episcopal office;" † and the Conference accepted the resignation. The language used by both the bishop and the Conference showed that both held that the episcopacy was an office, and the action of Bishop Hamline and the Conference showed that it was an office from which a bishop could resign and cease to be a bishop, and, ceasing to be a bishop, would take his place among the elders in an Annual Conference.

The late Dr. Eddy, in his sketch of Bishop Hamline, referring to Hamline's resignation, remarks:

> It was not broken health alone which led him to this decision, or a desire to be entirely free from care. He was actuated by a sense of high consistency. In 1844 he held and maintained, with great force, that the Methodist episcopate is not an exalted *order* of the holy ministry, but an *office*—of grave responsibility and dignity, it is true, but still an *office*—and one which can be vacated for disqualification by the General Conference without the formality of an impeachment, or by the voluntary retirement of the officer. . . . Now he would do the Church the service of showing, by example, that it could be vacated by the resignation of an incumbent. He meant in 1852 to emphasize the doctrine he taught eight years before.‡

The Church now began to consider the necessity for revising its ritual, for its formal services contained expressions seemingly at variance with the doctrines of the Church, and the service for setting apart the bishops had often required explanation. So, in the General Conference of 1852, C. Kingsley,

* Stevens's "Church Polity," p 61. † General Conference Journal, 1852, p. 36.
‡ "Lives of Methodist Bishops," p. 302.

afterward bishop, called attention to the necessity for amendment in the latter service.

In the General Conference of 1856 the question of the revision of the ritual came up again, and a committee, of which Dr. John McClintock was chairman, was appointed to consider what should be done. That committee reported that "a large portion of our ministry and membership are grieved to find in our most solemn forms the sanction of doctrines which neither we nor our fathers believe," * and they call attention especially to the misleading and dangerous language in the services for baptisms, the Lord's Supper, and the ordinations of ministers. The report shows that the Church had not looked to these services for its doctrines, but had tried to prevent the membership from being misled by language "borrowed from the rubrics of a foreign Church."

The matter again came up in the General Conference of 1860, and Davis W. Clark was made chairman of the committee. In the General Conference of 1864 he was made chairman of the committee on the same subject, and he acted as such until he was elected bishop, when Dr. Freeborn G. Hibbard took his place. This committee recommended various changes in the ritual, and especially in the service for bishops, and on its recommendation the General Conference struck out the word "ordination," which was misleading, and, according to the well-settled doctrine of the Church, a misnomer, and substituted the word "consecration." The Church had been charged with inconsistency in calling a service an "ordination" when it did not exalt to a higher "order," and while its bishops were only elders, and so, to be consistent in form, as well as in fact, and to check supposed high-church tendencies or dangers, this substitution and other marked changes were made.

Thus have we carried the examination from 1784 down to 1864, and through all these years it has been found that the accepted view in the Church was, that the bishopric was an office, and that the bishop had no higher ministerial order than that of presbyter or elder. Limited space has compelled us to entirely omit some authorities belonging to the foregoing periods, and to condense those we have used; but enough has been presented to demonstrate the soundness of our position.

* General Conference Journal, 1856, p. 292.

In 1873 the third volume of McClintock & Strong's Cyclopædia appeared. In the article on "Episcopacy," and under the sub-head "Methodist Episcopal Church," and referring to its episcopacy, is the following statement:

> Its simple idea is, that certain elders are chosen from the body of the presbyters to superintend the Church, and are called *bishops* or *superintendents*, both terms being used in the Methodist ritual. . . . The primitive principle that bishops and presbyters are of equal rank in the New Testament is fully recognized; nor are bishops regarded as successors of the apostles. . . . It has been objected to the Methodist episcopacy that, while the theory of the Church admits but two *orders* in the ministry, the separate ordination of bishops really implies three. But the objection is groundless. . . . Mr. Wesley did not pretend to ordain bishops in any other sense than according to his view of primitive episcopacy, in which, as he maintained, bishops and presbyters are the same order.*

In 1876 Bishop Simpson's history, entitled "A Hundred Years of Methodism," was issued. In it he says: "The Methodist episcopacy is regarded as an *office* in the Church, not distinct in order from the eldership."† Speaking of bishops he says: "They are simply executive or administrative officers."‡

Further citations are unnecessary. We are willing to rest our case on what we have given. The question is one of history, and the historical evidence is abundant and the proof conclusive. The established view of the Church from the time of its organization is what we have declared.

In recent years, however, a new school of thought began by voice and through the press to assert itself and gradually make its influence felt. It began to use the words order and office in a sense to which the Church had not been accustomed. At times the use was indefinite. Sometimes it suggested there was no difference between the word order and the word office, and, finally, claimed that the Church had three ministerial orders, and that the bishopric was a clerical order superior to and distinct from the eldership.

It might look as if the method was first to inculcate these views as though not antagonizing any thing within Methodism, and then, when the Church had become accustomed to the new way of putting things, to boldly assume that this was the view the Church had always held.

* Cyclopædia, vol. iii, p. 266. † Page 228. ‡ Page 229.

Possibly this was the result of a natural tendency which had always existed, and which might assert itself at any time should the Church be off its guard, and especially, as in 1844, if some important point was to be gained. In some instances it may have had its motive in a hankering after an ecclesiasticism which our Church has always rejected; but it is probable that frequently these erroneous views sprang from incomplete knowledge of the history of our Church's polity; but, notwithstanding this, they were none the less dangerous.

The history of the growth of error points out the possibilities of evil in human nature and in ecclesiastical organization. The developments from the simplicity of doctrine held by the primitive Christian Church, and the changes of view in modern times on this very question, even in the Church of England, are illustrative and very suggestive. It is well known that the Christian Church gradually passed from the primitive doctrine of the parity of bishops and presbyters up to a prelatical, and finally to a papal, government. That there is with us any immediate danger of that character is not asserted, but it is a possible thing for history to repeat itself, and so long as human nature continues in its present condition, the maxim, "Eternal vigilance is the price of safety," will apply in the ecclesiastical as well as the political world. No governmental evil comes suddenly. It is always preceded by a period of preparation; and the changes may be by stages so gradual as to be almost imperceptible. The ministry and membership of a Church should always be upon the alert, especially to detect covert evil. It was time for the Methodist Episcopal Church to indicate its watchfulness; but the new heresy in Methodism went on without any marked ecclesiastical check until the General Conference of 1884.

In that body one of the ministerial delegates, in the course of a speech, affirmed the high-church doctrine, "Once a bishop always a bishop." Whether this was intentional or unintentional it could not be permitted to pass unchallenged, and to stand in the printed reports without the Conference putting something on record which would counteract its mischievous tendency. The time had come to check the new school of thought which was becoming more and more aggressive.

The writer, therefore, in the General Conference of 1884

prepared, and on the 15th of May presented, the following resolution:

Resolved, That we reaffirm the doctrine of the fathers of our Church, that the bishopric is not an order but an office, and that in orders a bishop is merely an elder or presbyter.*

Alluding to the error which the resolution was intended to expose and neutralize, the writer in his remarks said:

Our honored bishops do not assert this false doctrine, but if the tendency in other quarters goes unchecked we cannot say what notions may be held by their successors. The very fact that such statements go unchallenged is itself dangerous. The danger may seem small now, but it will grow. If we would protect the episcopal office from misunderstanding and evil, now is the time to check this vicious tendency. †

After the author of the resolution had spoken at some length a member moved to refer the resolution to the Committee on Episcopacy,‡ but the merits of the whole subject were quite fully discussed by at least a half dozen speakers, a larger number than usually gained the floor on most questions. At last, after the previous question was ordered, the Conference rendered its decision. The first vote was not upon the resolution itself but upon the motion to refer the resolution to a standing committee. Now if the Conference had wanted to avoid the issue it would have agreed to the reference, but it was evident that the Conference had positive convictions, and desired to make a deliverance upon the subject, and so the motion to refer was voted down by a heavy majority. Thus the body deliberately brought itself face to face with the main question, and then passed the resolution by an overwhelming vote. §

The Conference recognized the fact that the false view was spreading to a dangerous extent, and that it was finding expression through the public press. Dr. Curry, in advocating the passage of the resolution, declared that the erroneous opinion had appeared in various publications. He said:

I certainly have found it in print. Some of our ablest, brightest, recent discussions on the subject have assumed the contrary doctrines, at least by stating the case. ‖

* General Conference Journal of 1884, p. 207.

† "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 107.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 105–107; Atkinson's "Centennial History of American Methodism," p. 107. ‖ "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107.

The Conference saw the importance of checking the evil, and so took this opportunity for formulating the doctrine of the Church.

It is true the resolution was warmly opposed by a few, but no one denied that the resolution expressed the doctrine of the "fathers" and of the Church itself. Every speaker admitted that to be the fact. Dr. Buckley said:

> There is one thing settled in Methodism—that our bishops are presbyters or elders.

And Dr. Leonard went so far as to say:

> We have no third order in the ministry, and if any bishop on that platform wants to prepare the way to get the authority stripped off him, let him declare that the episcopacy is a third order, and that will be the end of his administration.*

This General Conference was thoroughly competent to give an authoritative deliverance upon this question, and possibly more so than any future General Conference can be, for it contained members who had been prominent ministers of the Church for about half a century, and had been members of General Conferences running back to 1844 or 1848, besides many who had made the polity of the Church a life study. No future General Conference is likely to have so many members whose lives will run back so near to the "fathers" and the early discussions, and so in that particular, future Conferences are not likely to be so well qualified.

For such a body to refer such a question to a committee would be like the Senate of the United States sending a resolution affirming that it was the view of the fathers of the country that the presidency of the United States was an office and not an order of nobility, and that the president was a citizen like other citizens, to a committee to examine the school-books and then report, so that the Senate might understand the facts and know how to vote. The Conference was familiar with the teaching of the Church, and did not need the assistance of a committee.

In the debate on the resolution the Rev. Dr. Curry and another delegate suggested that an "explanatory" "bracketed note" should be inserted "at the head of the form of consecra-

* "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107.

tion for bishops," stating "what is our view in this case, that none of our people may be misled, or the great public."* This suggestion was made on the 15th of May during the progress of the discussion upon the resolution, and so had the effect of notice given at that date.

On the 21st of May Dr. Curry presented a resolution embodying such a note to be inserted in the Discipline.† According to the rule it had to lie over, and it was printed in the "Daily Christian Advocate" of May 22. After standing in print a number of days Dr. Curry called it up on the 26th of May.

It was moved to lay it on the table, but the motion was voted down.‡ Then some one raised the point of order that it could not be considered without a suspension of the rules. This point was denied, but in order to settle all doubts the Conference promptly passed a motion to suspend the rules, and after discussion the Conference, with only a few votes in opposition, § passed the resolution as follows:

Resolved, That these words be inserted as a rubric at the beginning of the ritual for the consecration of bishops:

[This service is not to be understood as an ordination to a higher order in the Christian ministry, beyond and above that of elders or presbyters, but as a solemn and fitting consecration for the special and most sacred duties of superintendency in the Church.]

Every thing in connection with the resolution and the disciplinary note shows that the Conference made these deliverances with great deliberation and determination. Twice did it decide essentially the same thing. The main battle was fought on the resolution, and the adoption of the explanatory note was merely a second decision on the same matter. Indeed, it may be said to have passed upon it at least five times: first, in refusing to refer the resolution to a committee; second, in passing the resolution; third, in voting down the motion to lay the explanatory note upon the table; fourth, in passing the motion to suspend the rules in order to consider the explanatory note; and fifth, the adoption of the note: and all this covered a period running from the 15th to the 26th of May, thus giving full time for reflection.

* "Daily Christian Advocate," 1884, p. 107. † *Ibid.*, p. 150.

‡ Journal General Conference, 1884, p. 267.

§ "Daily Christian Advocate," p. 177; Atkinson's Hist., pp. 107, 108.

Some of those who objected to this action appeared to believe that the higher-order idea was not held at all, while others seemed to think that it did not amount to any thing. The Conference, however, had hardly adjourned when, to the amazement of those who had not estimated the audacity of the new school of thought, some of its adherents boldly asserted that the resolution and the rubric misstated "the historic facts in the case;" that the action of the General Conference was a "newly invented theory of our episcopacy;" that the episcopacy is "a distinct order in the ministry;" and that the Church had always had "an episcopacy that is of a third ministerial order." Such assertions were made in the public prints, even in denominational papers and other authoritative or semi-authoritative publications. They were also made in addresses before important audiences, and uttered very freely in private conversation. These adverse utterances, so quickly following the decision of the highest body in the Church, aroused many to a realization of the true situation. The action of the Conference was like a shot falling into an enemy's camp. It unmasked batteries which, unseen, had been preparing for the work of destruction. The return fire only revealed the existence and position of the foe. As a result many who had doubted the necessity for the resolution and the rubric were convinced of their propriety and pressing need. They now felt that the evil was more deeply seated than they had suspected, and that the action of the General Conference was timely, and not a moment too soon, and it was asked: If the holders of these notions will dare do so much in spite of the authority of the General Conference, what would they not have done if this authority had not been against them?

Another result of the discussion has been to bring about a re-examination and re-statement of the history of our polity. The agitation on the part of the opposition has compelled this. The historic evidence demanded and presented proves that the "fathers of the Church" did affirm that which the General Conference of 1884 re-affirmed. The doctrine that the bishopric is an office and not a ministerial order was the doctrine of the Church at the beginning, and has been the doctrine throughout the hundred years.

The higher-order episcopacy involves prelacy, and churches

possessing such an episcopacy have a prelatical government, but this, as was said in the General Conference of 1844, is "at the farthest remove from Methodism." The higher-order idea carries with it as a legitimate consequence a house of bishops, with legislative or veto power which would prevent the General Conference making laws without the concurrence of the bishops. The General Conference delegates vast executive powers to the bishops, but does not grant them any legislative functions, not even giving them voice or vote in its deliberations; but if it were once admitted that the bishops had a higher ministerial order, then the tendency would be to overturn the present law and usage. Heretofore the General Conference has been too jealous of its power to permit any thing of this nature, and the Church will pause a long time before it gives legislative or veto power to officers who already hold in their hands the destinies of more than twelve thousand ministers.

It is not asserted that the bishops want any thing of this kind, but that if the school of thought to which we refer were to preponderate that would be the natural tendency, and that this would be the logical result if the idea of superior clerical order, even without the name, were given to the *episcopoi*. Words mean something and have a living power, and an intelligent Church will not accept a new ecclesiastical term without understanding its meaning and intention; neither will it abandon an old one without good cause, any more than it will permit an old word to be used in a new, misleading, and false sense.

The history of the Methodist Episcopal Church establishes the fact that it has always considered its episcopacy as an office, and not a ministerial order superior to the eldership; and now after a hundred years of progress it will not go back to the dark ages for technical terms and ecclesiastical ideas, no matter how plausibly the false may be presented. With an episcopacy just as valid as any in the world, it will not weight it down with the dead body of an ancient error.

[Perhaps the subject would be simplified by recognizing the Christian Ministry as a solidarity, without any distinctions of orders by divine appointment, while all grades and distinction in ecclesiastical organizations are but human devices, to be continued or disused at any time as may seem expedient.—Ed. *Meth. Rev.*]

Art. III.—THE PROPHECY OF JACOB.

Jacob was the last personal representative and possessor of the great Abrahamic covenant. His grandfather, Abraham, had been separated from his kindred and native land, and received the covenant of circumcision. Isaac was preferred, to the exclusion of Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, and he transmitted the prophetic blessing of the covenant to Jacob, thereby excluding and supplanting Esau. After Jacob passed away the chosen seed was represented by twelve tribes, descendants of twelve sons of him who wrestled with the angel of Jehovah, and thereby obtained the lofty title of Israel, "prince of God." It is written in the forty-ninth chapter of Genesis, that before this last great father was "gathered to his people," the voice of prophecy issued from his lips, and, magnifying itself above the blessings of the everlasting hills (verse 26), disclosed unto his assembled children the great events of their subsequent history.

According to the late Professor Tayler Lewis, "there is but one part of the Scripture to which this blessing of Jacob can be assigned, without making it a sheer forgery, and that, too, a most absurd and inconsistent one. It is the very place in which it appears. Here it fits perfectly." * To many critics, however, this strong statement is not convincing. It is not denied that the poem is assigned to its natural place in the biblical narrative, but it is affirmed that its language bears traces of a later time than that of Jacob, and that what purports to be a prophecy of the dying patriarch was composed by some gifted writer in the days of Samuel or David. It is claimed that such a composition may have been designed to serve a good purpose, and to enhance in the public mind the great facts and hopes of the nation. No one in that ancient time would consider it a forgery, or think of it in any other way than as a fine poetical conception, and in beautiful harmony with the tenor of theocratic feeling. It was looked upon as a creation of poetic genius, like the discourses of Adam and Eve in Milton's great epic.

In the discussion of such a question, nothing will be gained

* Lange's Commentary on Genesis, p. 651. New York, 1868.

by dogmatic assertion. It becomes the thoughtful scholar to give all questions of criticism a patient examination, and to rid himself, as far as possible, of any bias or prepossessions which would interfere with impartial judgment. This poetical chapter of Genesis will serve, probably, as well as any passage of similar extent that could be chosen, to illustrate the real character of the critical discussions now current touching Old Testament literature and prophecy.

Waiving for the present the questions of higher criticism, we first examine the poem itself as a piece of literature. It should be compared with Isaac's words when he felt his end approaching (Gen. xxviii, 1–4, 26–29, 39, 40), and the songs and farewells of similar sentiment attributed to Moses (Deut. xxxii and xxxiii), Joshua (Josh. xxiii and xxiv), Samuel (1 Sam. xii), and David (2 Sam. xxiii, 1–7). These all breathe the same prophetic spirit. And we may also bear in mind the prevalent opinion of heathen antiquity, expressed by Socrates in Plato's Apology: "And now, O men who have condemned me, I would fain prophesy to you; for I am about to die, and that is the hour in which men are gifted with prophetic power." A like thought is expressed by Cicero in his treatise on Divination: "When death is near, the mind assumes a much more divine character, and at such times easily predicts the future." Similar statements abound in the classic authors;* and we may well ask, Is there any warrant for such a wide-spread belief? Or are these notions the offspring of fancy and superstition? It is unnecessary to obtrude any positive statement on this question, though much could be said on both sides. Much credulity and superstition have prevailed in all ages on the experiences and mental powers of the dying; but it is also true that many gifted men and women have been exalted in their last hours into highest flights of thought and utterance, and have evinced a clearness of spiritual insight transcending any attainments they were known to have reached before.

The rapturous utterances of religious emotion naturally take poetic form, and in this prophecy of Jacob we find the greatest intensity of passion, sudden transitions and outbursts of alarm, ejaculations of prayer, and a multiplicity of similes and meta-

* See the citations and references in Kalisch, "Historical and Critical Commentary on Genesis," pp. 720, 721. London, 1858.

phors, almost defying in places the ordinary canons of criticism. Even the introductory words of the chapter, which describe the assembling of the family around the patriarch, are arranged in the form of parallelisms:

And Jacob called his sons, and said:
Assemble yourselves, and I will declare unto you
What shall befall you in the end of the days.
Gather yourselves together and hear, O sons of Jacob,
Yea, hearken unto Israel, your father.

These words evidently belong to the poem itself, and are not the composition of the historian who inserted Jacob's prophecy in this place in his narrative. What particular meaning the writer attached to the expression "end of the days" is somewhat doubtful. It appears to be too definite a phrase to be intended merely to denote *after times, the future.* It suggests the idea of a limit, the end of an age, eon, or period. Such an age had its רֵאשִׁית and its אַחֲרִית, its beginning and its end; and the author of this prophecy proposes to speak of events belonging to the end or closing period of the age to which he belonged. The Septuagint translates it by the phrase so common in the New Testament, "in the last days," which suggests the same idea of the closing period of an eon. The events contemplated as befalling the sons of Jacob "in the end of the days" were such as belonged to the closing period of the prophet's vision, the end as distinguished from the beginning of Israelitish history. How near or how remote that end might be is left entirely undetermined.

Having summoned his sons around him, and having thus briefly indicated the prophetic purpose of his heart, the patriarch proceeds as follows:

REUBEN.

3. Reuben, my first-born thou;
My might and the beginning of my strength;*
Excellence of dignity and excellence of power.

* Allusion to the supposed vigor of the first-born, as inheriting the full virile power of the father—first-fruit of his physical and spiritual strength. The nearly synonymous words *might, strength,* and *power* suggest all the forces of his nature. The possession of these constituted that *excellence* or superiority which gave the first-born of the family special rights. Comp. Deut. xxi, 17; Psa. lxxviii, 51.

4. Boiling over like the waters,* thou shalt not excel;
For thou didst go up to the beds † of thy father.
Then didst thou defile; ‡ my couch he went up!

SIMEON AND LEVI.

5. Simeon and Levi—brothers §—
Instruments of violence their swords. ‖
6. Into their secret council come not my soul;
Into their assembly unite not my honor.
For in their rage they slaughtered men,
And in their wanton pleasure they houghed oxen. ¶
7. Cursed their rage, for it was a power,
And their fury, for it was severe.
I will divide them ** in Jacob,
And I will scatter them in Israel.

JUDAH.

8. Judah, thou! †† Thy brothers shall praise ‡‡ thee;
Thy hand in the neck of thy foes!
The sons of thy father shall bow down to thee.

* Figure of speech to denote the unrestrained passions of Reuben. The dark blot on his life to which reference is made is recorded in Gen. xxxv, 22.

† The plural may hint at repeated acts of incest.

‡ The verb is purposely left without object expressed, and the insertion of the pronoun *it* in the common version weakens the expression. The indignant patriarch forbears to add even a word to his direct address, and suddenly changes to the third person, repeating the statement which gives the reason for the transfer of the rights of primogeniture to another son.

§ They were sons of the same mother (Gen. xxix, 33, 34), and were also of like disposition, as appears from their concerted action in the slaughter of the Shechemites. Gen. xxxiv, 25–31.

‖ מְכֵרֹתֵיהֶם occurs here only, and in ancient and modern versions is rendered variously, as *machinations, habitations, arms, alliances.* Its resemblance of the Greek word for *sword*, μάχαιρα, is noticeable, and according to one of the rabbins, "Jacob cursed their swords in the Greek tongue." Some warlike weapon seems most naturally implied by the context, and the mention of swords in Gen. xxxiv, 25, favors the version we have given above.

¶ This statement shows their wanton cruelty. The common version, *digged down a wall*, follows the Syriac, Vulgate, and Chaldee, but disregards the Masoretic pointing, and is not sustained by the usage of the word. Comp. Josh. xi, 6, 9; 2 Sam. viii, 4.

** He speaks as one conscious of divine authority.

†† Pleonastic use of the pronoun, but adding emphasis to the address.

‡‡ A play upon the meaning of the name *Judah*. See Gen. xxix, 35.

9. Whelp of a lion is Judah;
From prey, my son, thou hast gone up.
He has bent down, he has crouched down like a lion,
And like a lioness—who will rouse him up!*
10. Scepter shall not depart from Judah,
Nor ruler's staff† between his feet,‡
Until he shall come—Shiloh;§
And unto him shall be obedience‖ of peoples.
11. Binding to the vine his young ass,
And to the choice vine the foal of his ass,
He has washed in the wine his clothes,
And in the blood of grapes his robe.
12. Lustrous the eyes from wine,
And white the teeth from milk.¶

*Three different Hebrew words are here employed for *lion*, represented by *whelp*, *lion*, and *lioness*. The patriarch first calls Judah a lion's whelp, and then directly addresses him, as if, like a lion, he had seized his prey, and having eaten what he would, had gone up to his lair in the mountains. He then resumes the third person, and pictures the victorious lion as having bowed and crouched down, either for repose or in readiness to pounce upon any victim which might approach him. In this crouching attitude he is further described as a *lioness*, fiercest of all the lion-family, and most dangerous to rouse up in the lair. Hence the apocalyptic expression, "Lion of the tribe of Judah." Rev. v, 5.

†מְחֹקֵק may denote either a ruler or his badge of office and power. Some read *lawgiver*. The Septuagint and Vulgate have *leader*; Targum of Onkelos, *scribe*; Targum of Jerusalem, *scholars of the law*; Syriac, *interpreter*. The rendering *ruler's staff* affords a closer harmony with the parallelism.

‡Those who render מְחֹקֵק *ruler*, or *lawgiver*, naturally explain this expression as a euphemism for posterity—the issue of his loins. But with the idea of *ruler's staff* is associated the custom of Oriental kings, as seen in representations on the monuments, sitting on the throne with the royal scepter between the feet.

§ *Shiloh*. The exegesis is discussed farther on. The grammatical construction we leave in our translation precisely as in the Hebrew text. It is equally correct, so far as the mere question of syntax is concerned, to render either *until Shiloh comes*, or *until he comes to Shiloh*. But to translate *Shiloh* as an appellative (like *rest*) involves many difficulties.

‖Septuagint and Vulgate render *expectation*; others *gathering*, or *congregation*. But the word occurs elsewhere only at Prov. xxx, 17, where *obedience* is the only meaning suitable.

¶Septuagint, Vulgate, and others construe the כִּי in the verse as denoting a comparison: "More joyful," or "more lustrous . . . than wine, and whiter . . . than milk." This is allowable; but inasmuch as the previous verse depicts the great abundance of wine, and consequent fertility of the land of Judah, the more natural and suitable thought in this verse is, that *from* the superabundance of wine and milk (as the originating source) the eyes and teeth are affected.

ZEBULUN.

13. Zebulun—at the coast of seas* let him dwell;†—
Yea, he (would fain be) at the coast of ships,
And his side upon Zidon.

ISSACHAR.

14. Issachar is an ass of bone,‡
Crouching down between the double sheep-folds.§
15. And he saw rest, that it was good,‖
And the land that it was pleasant;
And he stretched out his shoulder to bear (burdens),
And became a tribute-slave.

DAN.

16. Dan shall judge¶ his people,
Like one** of the tribes of Israel.
17. Let Dan become a serpent†† on the road,
A horned viper on the path,
Which bites the heels of the horse,
And his rider fell behind.

* Extending between the Mediterranean and Galilean seas, but not really touching upon either. See Josh. xix, 10–16. Compare, also, Deut. xxxiii, 19. So, too, the words *side upon Zidon*, or *toward Zidon*, do not necessarily mean that his territory would border on Zidon, but would look that way; or the meaning may be, that the tribe itself would come to have some peculiar dependence on Zidon, or some notable relations with the Phenicians. In Deborah's song this tribe is celebrated for skill in penmanship and heroism in battle. Judg. v, 14, 18. Jacob may have seen in this son a taste for commerce.

† The word involves an allusion to the meaning of the name Zebulun. Compare Leah's words in Gen. xxx, 20.

‡ Or, *an ass of body* (so Ges. Lex. under גָּרֶם). That is, a strong beast of burden.

§ Inclosures made of hurdles, and open at the top. The word is dual, because these folds were divided into two parts. Comp. Judg. v, 16, the only other passage where the word is found. Septuagint has *inheritances;* Vulgate, *boundaries.*

‖ The thought is, that Issachar would choose ease and comfort, even though these involved submission to others, and the paying of tribute, rather than enter upon any great strife for power and independence. So he chooses the rich valley of Jezreel for an inheritance, and maintains the character of a hireling, in accordance with the meaning of his name. See Gen. xxx, 18, and comp. Josh. xix, 17–23.

¶ Play upon the word *Dan*, which means to *judge*. Comp. Gen. xxx, 6.

** Being the first named of the sons of the handmaids, it is made prominent that he shall, nevertheless, exercise authority and judgment as one of the tribes.

†† The strategic exploit of Samson, and the account of the Danite conquests in Judges xviii, illustrate the subtlety and prowess of this tribe.

18. For thy salvation have I longed,* Jehovah!

GAD.

19. Gad—a crowd shall crowd † him,
And he will crowd the heel.

ASHER.

20. Out of Asher—fat (shall be) his bread;
And he shall yield ‡ the dainties of a king.

NAPHTALI.

21. Naphtali is a hind sent forth;
The giver of sayings of beauty.§

JOSEPH.

22. Son of a fruit-tree is Joseph,
Son of a fruit-tree over a fountain.
Daughters climbed upon the wall. ‖
23. And they embittered him, and they shot,
And they hated him—lords of arrows.¶
24. Yet stayed in firmness his bow,**
And stout were the arms of his hands,††—

* This sudden ejaculation has no apparent connection with what goes before or what follows. Perhaps the mention of the serpent recalls the ancient prophecy of conflict with the serpent's seed (Gen. iii, 15), and this verse expresses the deep longing for that *judgment* of sin which shall bring in salvation.

† The most noticeable play on words to be found in the whole poem. Every word in the verse but *he* and *heel* is some form of the word *Gad*. The translation above given is but an imperfect attempt to reproduce in English the Hebrew paronomasia. The thought is, that hostile troops or crowds will invade the territory of Gad, and distress him; but in their retreat he will in turn crowd upon them, and annoy their *heel* or rearward.

‡ Or, *give*. Allusion to the products of his fertile territory on the Mediterranean north of Mount Carmel. His soil shall give forth royal delicacies.

§ As the tribe of Zebulun became famous for ready writers (Judg. v, 14), so Naphtali, perhaps, became noted for elegant speakers, or displayed elegant taste for beautiful proverbs and songs. Hence, too, the fitness of the metaphor of the fleet hind, or gazelle, let loose upon the mountains.

‖ The image is that of a luxuriant scion, growing up beside (and so *over*) a fountain. Comp. Psa. i, 3. This fruitful scion begets many branches, *daughters*, which reach out and climb up over the wall near by.

¶ That is, masters in the use of bow and arrows. Joseph's foes are compared to skilled and malignant archers. The verbs (*embittered, shot, hated*) may refer to the persecution he suffered from his brethren and from Potiphar's wife.

** He turned archer, also, and lost no strength by time.

†† Significant and happy expression to denote an archer, whose hand must have back of it a stout arm to be effective.

From * the hands of the Mighty One of Jacob,
From the name† of the Shepherd,‡ the Stone§ of Israel;—

25. From the God of thy father, and he will help thee;
And the Almighty,‖ and he will bless thee;—
Blessings of heavens on high,
Blessings of the deep lying down below,
Blessings of breasts and womb;—

26. The blessings of thy father have been mighty,¶
Above the blessings of enduring mountains,
The desire of everlasting hills;**
They shall be for the head of Joseph,
And for the crown of the consecrated†† of his brothers.

BENJAMIN.

27. Benjamin is a wolf. Let him tear in pieces!
In the morning let him devour prey,
And at the evening let him divide spoil. ‡‡

* The preposition (מִן, *from*) connects with the preceding, and indicates the source of the strength of Joseph's arms.

† The Masoretic reading is מִשָּׁם, *from thence*, and this is followed by many. But the reading מִשֵּׁם, *from the name*, accords closely with the preceding *from the hands*, and the following, *from the God of thy father*, and seems to be a designed allusion to Jacob's struggle at Peniel, where his own name (שֵׁם) was changed, and where he inquired the name of him with whom he wrestled. Gen. xxxii, 27–30.

‡ Comp. Gen. xlviii, 15: "The God who fed me like a shepherd."

§ Comp. "the rock" in Deut. xxxii, 4.

‖ *Shaddai*, who appeared often to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. Comp. Gen. xvii, 1; xxviii, 3; xxxv, 11; xliii, 14; xlviii, 3.

¶ That is, the blessings named are in real worth above, or greater than, those of the mountains and hills; they surpass them.

** The above version adheres strictly to the natural meaning of the Hebrew words, sustains the parallelism, and seems, therefore, much preferable to the common version: "blessings of my progenitors unto the bounds of the everlasting hills." To sustain this latter הַוְרֵי must be derived from הָרָה, and used in a sense which has no parallel or support elsewhere in Hebrew. תַּאֲוַת must also be twisted from its common meaning, and traced to another root. The parallel passage in Deut. xxxiii, 15, 16, is also against the common version. The blessings of the mountains and the *desire* of the hills poetically denote all natural beauties, products, healthfulness, and defenses which one could desire. But greater even than these are the blessings invoked on Joseph by his father.

†† נָזִיר, *Nazir*, the *separated*, or *consecrated one*. From this root we have the word *Nazarite*, one set apart by a holy vow. Joseph was *nazir* among his brothers.

‡‡ We prefer the jussive rendering, as giving the passage greater expressiveness and in perfect keeping with the spirit of the entire prophecy. The warlike and

We pass now to examine the critical theories of the date and authorship of this Hebrew poem. There are three different views which demand attention:

1. The first and simplest conclusion is, that the poem is truly what it assumes to be—an oracle of Jacob addressed to his sons as they gathered around him to receive his dying benediction.

2. Another view is, that the poem is no genuine prophecy of Jacob, but the anonymous production of a later time. Its author, after the manner of poetical writers of all nations, conceived the happy thought of transferring certain facts of his own time and nation to the prophetic vision of a famous ancestor. So Virgil, in the sixth book of his Æneid (lines 756–891), represents "father Anchises" as detailing to his son a long account of the fortunes awaiting his posterity in Italy.

3. A third view may be represented as in some measure a mediating hypothesis, combining some elements of both the preceding theories. It maintains that Jacob did truly prophesy to his sons, and that the substance of what he said is here faithfully preserved, but that his sentiments were afterward put into the poetical form in which we now find them. Perhaps each son remembered the particular blessing or malediction which his father had uttered concerning him, and a later poet put the whole together, and possibly made some additions and embellishments of his own.

Against the first opinion named above it is objected, that the language is too poetical and highly wrought for an illiterate old man, who had been a shepherd all his life, and who at the time was in a weak and dying condition. "We might as well suppose," says Adeney, "that Shakespeare's famous speech of the

furious character of the Benjamites is illustrated by the history of the tribal war in Judges xx. From this tribe came the daring Ehud and the warlike Saul. Benjamin is portrayed under two characters, a beast of prey and a victorious warrior. Like a wolf that has prowled all night (comp. 1 Sam. xiv, 36) and taken prey, he devours it in the morning; like a warrior, after great conquests through the day, he divides the booty in the evening. In this imagery Lange sees the outlines of "a wild, turbulent youth and an old age full of the blessing of sacrifice for others. That dividing the spoil in the evening is a feature that evidently passes over into a spiritual allusion. Our first thought would be of the dividing of the prey among the young ones, but for this alone the expression is too strong. He rends all for himself in the morning, he yields all in the evening. This is not a figure of Benjamin only, but of the theocratic Israel; and, therefore, a most suitable close." See Isa. liii, 12.

dying Wolsey is a literal report of the language of the great cardinal."* This objection, however, is obviated by the very legitimate supposition that the prophecy was no sudden product of momentary inspiration. It may have been meditated for months, and even years. Though uttered, as the record shows, in the midst of his sons, and with all the solemnity and impressiveness which such a scene would add, it was not an extemporaneous prophecy. As Milton mentally composed long passages of his immortal poem, and afterward dictated them for his daughter to write down, so might Jacob have given the latter years of his sojourn in Egypt to the composition of this exquisite lyric, and so have rehearsed it from memory at the appropriate hour. We are no more to suppose this prophecy an extemporaneous effusion than the sublime utterances of Joel or Isaiah. As for the illiteracy and shepherd-life of Jacob being inconsistent with such authorship, it is a sufficient reply merely to mention the names of David and Burns. Nevertheless, it is not improbable that such utterances of the great patriarch received additional finish by some later poet. We may have here the substance of a genuine prophecy preserved to us in a poetic form, but no critic is now able to decide what is substance and what is merely form.

But according to Dillmann, one of the most recent critics who has written on Genesis, this poem wants the characteristics of genuine prophecy. Inspired prophecy, he observes, takes the present as a point of departure, roots itself firmly into current events, and may also catch glimpses of the immediate future and cast remarkable light thereon; but it foretells concerning the remote future only such certainties as rest upon the eternal principles of the divine government of the world; not details of history or geography. This critic finds in Jacob's prophecy traces of the historical and geographical condition of Israel after the conquest of Canaan, and assigns it to the times of the judges. He urges that the author's vision was so circumscribed that he evinces no knowledge of matters either previous or subsequent to the period of the Judges, and he therefore denies that the poem has the proper marks of genuine prophecy.†

And here the vital question opens. There need be no controversy between those who hold the first and third of the theo-

* Hebrew Utopia, p. 142. † Genesis erklärt (Leipzig, 1882), pp. 432–433.

ries named above. For it may be left to those who accept the prophecy as genuine to believe either that we have here the very words of Jacob, meditated and composed by himself previous to their utterance; or that we have only the substance of what the patriarch said, put into poetical form by a later hand. The main question of the Higher Criticism is, whether we truly have in this production, either in substance or in form, what the dying patriarch said to his sons; or whether what purports to be such a prophecy is merely the poetical invention of a later age? The thoughtful reader will perceive that this issue raises the great question between Naturalism and Supernaturalism. If this prophecy be merely a poetic fiction of the times of the judges or of the kings of Israel, what reason is there to believe that any of the other prophecies of the Old Testament are of a different character? And then follows, naturally, the question: Has God ever spoken to man? Is there in the Scriptures any thing which is to be regarded as the product of divine inspiration?

The apocryphal and pseudepigraphal Jewish books abound in prophecies assuming to forecast the future, and yet no critics of any note accept them as genuine. They are believed to be (what rationalistic critics affirm of such prophecies as this of Jacob) the production of writers living at the time of the events to which they refer, or else subsequent to the events. Why, then, do men unhesitatingly reject the one class of prophecies and contend earnestly for the genuineness of the other? Is not the rationalist consistent here, and likely to have the best of the argument, when he maintains that all such prophetic discourses belong to one class, whether we call them canonical, apocryphal, or pseudepigraphal?

On this general subject we make our appeal to the following considerations:

1. The mere fact that a given prophecy is recorded in the so-called canonical books need have no weight with us in this discussion. We are here called to meet the same questions that came before the men who set limits to the canon of genuine Scripture, and we should therefore form our judgment independently of their action. It is quite possible that they erred in judgment, and admitted some books which ought not to have been admitted; and equally possible that among the so-

called apocrypha and pseudepigrapha are writings which deserve a place in the biblical canon.

2. But as regards the pseudepigraphal prophecies, it is conspicuously evident that they are largely imitations of what are found in the canonical books. Compare, for example, the vision of the eagle coming out of the sea (2 Esdras, chapters xi, xii) with the visions of Daniel, after which it is confessedly modeled. Compare almost any portion of the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs with this grand oracle of Jacob. No candid student can sit down to a careful comparison of the prophetical pseudepigrapha and the prophecies of the canonical Scriptures and fail to note the very great superiority of the latter. They move in a different realm of thought and life.

3. The tendency of literary copyists to imitate great and genuine p oductions is notorious. Examples of this kind abound in the history of literature. Whatever one's opinion of the Books of Daniel and Esther, he has only to compare them as they stand in the Hebrew canon with the apocryphal additions which are supplied in the Septuagint, to learn the habit of later Jewish writers in imitating and supplementing their ancient Scriptures. Such imitations of great originals, so far from indicating that all alike are of one rank as to genuineness, favor, rather, the real prophetical character of the originals, and evince the spuriousness of the copies.

4. The fundamental question in this discussion will not be determined by the consideration of any one or two isolated prophecies. Old Testament prophecy, especially wherever it connects itself with Israel's Messianic hopes, must be studied as an organic whole. The New Testament teaching recognizes this truth in the idea that the older revelations were communicated in divers portions and in various forms. (Heb. i, 1.) Some of these particular portions, separated from their connection with the history, may be destitute of self-evidencing genuineness; but if the Old Testament predictions can be shown to be a grand connected series, starting as from a germinal root, and thence developing and strengthening through many ages, and never brighter and more inspiring than when the nation was in deepest humiliation and helplessness, then it would be a groveling and captious criticism which would ignore such facts, and refuse to study such a prophecy as this of Jacob in the

light of the entire series of national predictions which contemplated the sublime destiny of the Hebrew people.

5. It must also be observed, as favoring the genuineness of this prophecy of Jacob, that it comports most admirably with the events of the patriarch's life. The varied allusions seem to have sprung from just such experiences as Jacob's life had furnished. He who had the dream at Bethel, the vision of angels at Mahanaim, and the struggle and trial at Peniel; who had traversed mountain and plain, and been exposed to heat, and cold, and storms; who, like David in after times, had become familiar in shepherd life with the habits of the lioness and the lion's whelp, the ravening wolf, and the bounding hind, and the horned serpent hidden by the way-side; the father who had studied the character of each of his sons with more than human interest; the man who had watched the caravans of the desert, and learned from them much about other lands and peoples; who had stood in the presence of Pharaoh, and abode seventeen years in Egypt; the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham, the heir of the promises—he, of all men imaginable, was the proper person to utter these oracles. Candid criticism is bound to acknowledge that the life and experiences of Jacob, as they are recorded in the Book of Genesis, furnish the most fitting psychological basis for this prophecy. And, while we may concede that a later poet, working himself into the spirit of patriarchal traditions, might have composed a prophecy like this, it should also be conceded that a man of such deep and manifold spiritual trials and such lofty hopes as Jacob might, toward the close of life, have been lifted into a divine ecstasy, and have uttered an impressive prophecy touching the future of his sons.

The above considerations constitute one valid argument for the genuineness of Jacob's prophetic blessing. It stands out in admirable harmony with the patriarch's life and hopes, befits the close of such a life as his, and was adapted to transmit his own spiritual anticipations to the generations following. Like other oracles of the Hebrew Scriptures, this one is intimately inwoven with the history of the covenant people. Old Testament history and prophecy cannot be divorced from each other. They stand or fall together. The test of any recorded fact or prophecy is, not that it has been accepted by the general consensus of the Church, but that it is in vital harmony with the

entire scope and plan of the biblical revelation. A very important link in the chain of divine revelation would be wanting but for this prophetic outlook into Israel's future.

Against the constant plea of the rationalistic critics that true prophecy does not meddle with minute historical and geographical details, it may be boldly replied that Jacob's prophecy does not concern itself with such details. No better evidence of this is needed than the utter disagreement of the critics themselves. If details of history or geography are so minutely given, why such diverse opinions and uncertainty as to the date of the poem? The following six theories represent the condition of rationalistic opinion:

1. It belongs to the period of the Judges (Baur, Ewald, Dillmann. Ewald puts it in the time of Samson).

2. It belongs to the time of Saul's reign, and was probably written by Samuel (Tuch).

3. It belongs to the reign of David (Eichhorn, Knobel, Bohlen. The last-named thinks Nathan was the author).

4. It belongs somewhere in the period covered by the reigns of David and Solomon (Reuss).

5. It belongs to the earlier period of the divided kingdom, when Judah and Joseph were the two great rival tribes (Kalisch).

6. It belongs to the times of the Syro-Israelitish wars, to which allusion is made in verses 23 and 24.

Here we see the poem, which is alleged to bear historical and geographical evidences of its date, referred all the way from the times of the Judges to those of the later kings of Israel! Surely a most unfortunate showing for those who deny its genuineness, and yet affirm that genuine prophecy exhibits numerous marks of the time of its author, and grows out of his environments. In the face of these diverse views of critics we affirm that the prophecy is full of allusion to what must have been familiar to Jacob. The acts and qualities of his sons, which he would naturally have studied with deepest solicitude, are faithfully treated, and the whole poem is a mirror of the patriarch's life. It contains nothing incredible—nothing which might not in substance have been spoken by Jacob in his last days. It is, as noticed above, in perfect keeping with the dream at Bethel, and with the whole series of prophetic promises run-

ning through the Old Testament that in him and in his posterity all nations should be blessed.

To the statement of Dillmann, that true prophecies of the distant future deal only with such certainties as rest on eternal and unchangeable principles of the divine government of the world, it may be said: That is very true, but may need qualification as to what some of those principles are. If the divine government had in charge a holy purpose of Christly redemption, and its policy was to make known to man, by gradual disclosures, the wisdom and grace of that purpose, it is not for a modern critic to deny that even Abraham and Jacob might have seen and rejoiced over notable events of the far future. Compare John viii, 56. And all great events which had direct bearing on this purpose of God were among the certainties of the divine government.

Let us now examine the language of the poem with a view to finding any thing which may be reasonably inconsistent with genuine inspired prophecy. The words concerning Reuben have more fitness in Jacob's lips than they could have in any writer of a later time. The patriarch's soul was stung by the foul incest of his first-born as no other could have been, and all of prediction that the words of the father to this first-born involve is, that he should not attain or hold the pre-eminence to which his birthright entitled him. The broad, general, but decisive character of this prediction is in perfect harmony with that of Noah (Gen. ix, 25–27) and of Isaac (Gen. xxvii, 27–29, 39, 40), and cannot therefore be pronounced exceptional.

The malediction respecting Simeon and Levi is of a similar character, and the allusion to their violence and cruelty rests manifestly upon that vengeful slaughter of the Shechemites which troubled Jacob so sorely. Comp. Gen. xxxiv, 30. So far from being an accurate or detailed prediction, some critics pronounce it inconsistent with the history of these tribes; for according to Josh. xix, 1–9, Simeon had a definite tribe-territory allotted him, and the Levites, though having no separate tribe-territory, had assigned them most important cities with their suburbs, and were chosen to be the priests and ministers of the sanctuary instead of the first-born. So far, therefore, as the tribe of Levi was divided and scattered in Israel, the fact was an honor rather than a curse. In the blessing of Moses the

priestly character of the tribe of Levi is made prominent, and the language is notably different from this of Jacob. Comp. Deut. xxxiii, 8–11. All these facts are in conflict with the theory that our poem belongs to a later period; but, in the mouth of Jacob, they may be naturally explained. With their cruel slaughter of the Shechemites in mind, he curses the wanton fury of Simeon and Levi, and, speaking as one having divine authority (one of the most striking features of inspired prophecy), he declares that they shall be divided and scattered. In a broad general way this came to pass in the fact that Simeon's inheritance fell in the midst of that of Judah, and consisted of scattered cities previously assigned to Judah. The Simeonites never acquired any prominence in Israel, and are not mentioned in the songs of Moses and Deborah. And while the choice of Levi for the priesthood placed honor upon that tribe, it did not wipe out the record of the tribe-father's violence, nor alter the fact that his descendants never obtained a portion of the Promised Land like the other tribes, but were scattered throughout the country. It should be noted that while the language of Jacob is to several of his sons more a malediction than a blessing, not one of them is denied a place in the promised inheritance.

Much more remarkable is the prophecy concerning Judah, and yet we incline to the opinion that interpreters of all schools have been wont to find therein more than the language warrants. There are four things which every reader will see: 1. Judah is to be honored by his brethren, and accepted by them as ruler. 2. He is to be a mighty conqueror, with prowess like a lion. 3. He will bear the regal scepter and be obeyed by peoples. 4. He will be rich in vineyards, and wine, and milk. This last feature is readily explained of the territory of Judah, which was noted for its rich vineyards and pastures. Here grew the grapes of Eshcol and En-gedi (Num. xiii, 23, 24; Song of Sol. 1, 14); here were Maon, and Carmel, and Tekoa, famous for pastures and numerous flocks. 1 Sam. xxv, 2; Amos i, 1; 2 Chron. xxvi, 10. The mention of the ass is a further mark of princely wealth, for in the more ancient times the ass, like the camel, served for carrying the rich and noble. Judg. v, 10; x, 4; xii, 14. The thought is, that Judah will enjoy wealth of this kind, and the whole picture of abundance and luxury is enhanced by the thought that the vines

grow to such strength that the asses may be tied to them without harm. It is not improbable that this picture of abundance and repose is purposely added to the description of Judah's conquests and power, to denote the plentiful peace and quiet which he should enjoy after victories. But to adduce, as a parallel to this Scripture, the ass and foal of Zech. ix, 9, and Matt. xxi, 5, and the winepress and blood-stained garments of Isa. lxiii, 1-6, and explain all alike as a specific prophecy of the coming and work of the Messiah, would be extravagant, and would be reading into the language of this poem far-fetched ideas of a later time.

Four things, then, are predicated of Judah—Leadership, Conquest, Royalty, and Wealth. These ideals are set forth under appropriate imagery, and in highly poetic form. The only passage which looks like a definite historical or geographical allusion is the subordinate sentence, *Until he shall come—Shiloh*, where it is evident to an unbiased critic that the word *Shiloh* may, grammatically, be either the subject of the verb *come*, or the accusative of place after it. So the revised English version retains in the text, "Until Shiloh come," but puts in the margin, as an alternative rendering, "Till he come to Shiloh." The English revisers also add in the margin the rendering of the Septuagint: "Until that which is his shall come," and also that of Aquila, Symmachus, and the Syriac: "Till he come whose it is." The Vulgate reads, "Until he comes who is to be sent" (*donec veniat qui mittendus est*). Others translate Shiloh as an appellative, meaning *rest:* "Until he (Judah) comes to rest," or, "Until rest comes." Others less defensible explanations have been put forth in abundance.* But let this one thing be here

* Three different readings appear in Hebrew MSS., namely, שִׁילֹה, שִׁלֹה, and שִׁלוֹ. The Septuagint, Aquila, Symmachus, Syriac, and some of the Targums, evidently read שִׁלֹה, as if compounded of שְׁ, abbreviation of אֲשֶׁר, and לֹה, or לוֹ. We have the cognate words שַׁלְוָה, שַׁלְוָ, and שַׁלְוָה, meaning *rest* or *peace*, and it is not impossible that one of these forms was the original reading of our text. But from such conjectures it is better to abstain, as well as from all dogmatizing assertions like that of Delitzsch, who pronounces the appellative rendering, "till rest comes," grammatically impossible; or that of Hoffmann who declares that "till he come to Shiloh" is the most impossible of all renderings! All such translations as that of the Septuagint and Syriac, according to Kalisch, "are impossible from the simple consideration that the Hebrew language does not allow an elliptical construction which omits the chief notion, and creates the most perplexing ambiquity."—*Com.*, p. 750.

observed: The number and variety of interpretations put upon the passage most thoroughly refute the assumption of those critics who affirm an historical or geographical definiteness inconsistent with the usage of inspired prophecy.

Without attempting to determine the precise meaning of this disputed text, we offer our judgment that the word Shiloh is most naturally interpreted as a proper name. As such it might mean either *resting-place* or *rest-giver*. It is the name of the place where the tabernacle was set up after the conquest of Canaan (Josh. xviii, 1), and where it remained as the central place of worship till the time of Eli. 1 Sam. i, 3. But against the simple and very natural rendering, *until he come to Shiloh*, is the decisive objection that up to the time when Israel came and pitched the tabernacle at Shiloh, Judah had no notable pre-eminence either for leadership, conquest, royalty, or wealth. The honorable position assigned to this tribe in the march through the desert (Num. ii, 3) is by no means a satisfactory fulfillment of the terms of this oracle; for Moses, the Levite, was commander during all the march, and Joshua, the Ephraimite, succeeded him, and commanded the armies until after the conquest and partition of the land. If this poem were written after the tribes had come to Shiloh and set up the tabernacle there, it is inexplicable that the author should have employed such language as this concerning Judah, for it is notoriously inconsistent with the history up to that time. On the other hand, if we have here a genuine prophecy of Jacob, and are to understand Shiloh as the Ephraimite town mentioned in Josh. xviii, 1, we have the same difficulties to meet, and also the improbability of Jacob's giving such an obscure town as Shiloh must have been at that time (if indeed it existed at all in Jacob's time) so prominent a place in connection with Judah. Four things, we repeat, are affirmed of Judah in this passage, namely, leadership, conquest, royalty, and wealth, and not one of them, in any conspicuous degree, distinguished him before coming to Shiloh.

We turn then to the common rendering, "Until Shiloh come," and ask: What might these words have meant in the mind of Jacob? If he employed the word Shiloh as a proper name, and yet not the name of a place, he would naturally have intended to designate some person. It is possible that he

may have had in mind some concrete representative of rule, conquest, regal power, and opulence, as that of a kingdom, but the word Shiloh does not readily accord with such a conception. The ancient opinion of the Jews, as represented in the Targums, and the prevalent interpretation maintained by the whole Christian Church, make Shiloh the title of the personal Messiah. It is accordingly believed that Jacob's prophetic vision opened for the moment into the distant future, and saw the regal position the tribe of Judah was destined to hold at the time when the tribes should be organized into a kingdom. It is also maintained that from the time when royalty was firmly established by the conquests of David, and by his settlement upon the throne, the tribe of Judah held the regal preeminence until the coming of Jesus Christ.

In favor of this view stands the fact that from David's accession on for many generations the tribe of Judah represented all that this prophecy affirms more conspicuously than did any other tribe of Israel. The permanency of the kingdom of Judah and of the royal line of David is one of the marvels of history. While other and greater kingdoms fell it remained. Revolutions swept over Egypt, and dynasty after dynasty passed away. Phenicia and Syria, with their varied forms of power and pomp, flourished and decayed. The great Assyrian empire, after oppressing both Judah and Israel and utterly destroying the latter, was overthrown; and yet the kingdom of Judah, with a descendant of David on the throne, maintained its individuality, held its ancient sacred capital, and continued unbroken, resolute, hopeful. And even after its fall under Nebuchadnezzar, and the seventy years of bitter exile, and after Babylon in turn had fallen and the Persian empire had risen into power, we find the dispersed Jews still led by a scion of the house of Judah, restored to their fatherland, and rebuilding their temple and city. This irrepressible tribe, thus again established in its ancient regal seat, survived the fall of Persia, outlived the triumphs of Alexander and his successors, and maintained its individuality through unspeakable persecutions and oppressions of heathen powers until finally dispersed by the Romans in A.D. 70. Let it be granted that during this later period there was no real king in Judah (as before the Babylonian exile), and that its dominion was but the shadow of royalty, its

persistence as a distinct nationality, settled and centered in its ancient seat of power, fulfilled in a most remarkable way the principal ideals outlined in this patriarchal prophecy. If there is not the strictest possible agreement, this fact refutes the charge of minute historical allusions, which the rationalistic critics affirm to be incompatible with genuine prophecy. In such a brief but pregnant oracle as this we should not expect the specification of particulars. Had it been intimated that during the later part of the period before Shiloh came there would be a lamentable failure of regal power in Judah, how would it have been urged that such particularizing proved the composition to be later than the exile! But it can be safely affirmed that in broad outline this oracle concerning Judah was a striking glimpse of what would distinguish that tribe above all others before the advent of Christ.

Against this Messianic explanation it is urged, 1. That the passage is nowhere else referred to in the Scripture as a prediction of the Messiah, and, 2. That the scepter departed from Judah at the exile, some six centuries before Christ came. As for the first of these objections, it is sufficient to reply that it assumes a standard for judging what is Messianic, which no interpreter ought either to ask or to allow. No prophecy claimed to be Messianic can be fairly set aside by such a plea. But in view of the objection it may be also replied that the apocalyptic designation of the Lamb of God as "the Lion of the tribe of Judah" (Rev. v, 5) shows that the New Testament writer associated a Messianic conception with this prophecy of Jacob.

The other objection is of more weight, for it is true that in the fall of the kingdom of Judah by the Chaldeans the exercise of royal power was broken; no real king again appeared in the city of David; the Maccabean leaders who wrought such triumphs for their nation were not of the lineage of Judah, and the Herods who bore the title of king were of foreign birth. But after granting all these allegations the notable fact remains, that the vast majority of those who returned from exile were of the tribe of Judah, and that their body of elders formed a council which virtually represented the scepter and the ruler's staff. Notwithstanding their many oppressions, and the occasional interruption of their worship, they were permitted during all these centuries to manage their

own affairs, and constituted a distinct and well-known body politic until finally broken up and scattered by the Romans. The scepter of Judah was indeed of no great weight, but it was not taken away. The wars of the Maccabees and the government of Herod truly served to conserve and perpetuate the power of Judah. As long as the tribe retained its distinct existence and name, even though a foreigner held the scepter, the spirit of this prophecy was fulfilled. So the Persian dominion retained its name and power, although a usurper temporarily occupied the throne. No one now questions that when Christ at length appeared he sprang from the tribe of Judah.

Kurtz opposes the Messianic exposition of Shiloh on the ground of inconsistency with the stage of progress which the Messianic hope had attained in the time of the patriarchs. The organic progress of prophecy, he argues, and its vital connection with contemporary history, forbid the doctrine of a personal Messiah in that early age.* A close inspection of the patriarchal history, however, will scarcely substantiate this view. So far as the Messianic hope gleams out in that early time it reveals itself in a narrowing circle. The broad promise made to Abraham was after a time limited in Isaac. Gen. xxi, 12. Renewed again to Isaac (xxvi, 4), it was in turn committed to the line of Jacob, thereby excluding the house of Esau (xxvii, 29, 37). (See first paragraph of this article.) Is it not then to be expected that before the last great patriarch passes away some one of his numerous sons will be designated as the special guardian of the Messianic hope? At a later period this promise was narrowed to the line of David, the son of Jesse. 2 Sam. vii, 12. Moreover the death of Jacob marked a transition point in the history of the chosen people. They were about to become a people and a nation rather than a family; and no one great father could longer represent them. This, then, was the proper time for the first intimation of a personal ruler, about whom future tribes and peoples should obediently gather, and the suggestive but undefined and indefinite name Shiloh was suitable for such a new modification of Messianic promise.

The objections against the Messianic interpretation are of little weight as compared with the cogency and strength of considerations in its favor. And yet we should call attention

* "History of the Old Covenant" (Eng. trans.), vol. ii, p. 36.

to this important fact, that it lacks the definiteness which exposes to the suspicion of a prophecy written after the event foretold. The passage in dispute is but a subordinate sentence, and the limiting particles עַד כִּי, *until*, not only indicate the *terminus ad quem*, but may also include it. The thought, then, is, that Judah will exercise leadership until the promised deliverer comes, in whom the lordship will be perpetuated. The word Shiloh is also indefinite. While some such idea as that of *rest*, *rest-giver*, *the peaceful*, etc., is suggested by it, we may dismiss as strained the notion that David gave his son the name Solomon with specific reference to this passage, or that the "prince of peace" (*shalom*) (Isa. ix, 5) is an expression derived from the use of Shiloh in our prophecy. All such attempts betray a desire to read into the words of Jacob a definiteness which belongs to later prophecy. We cannot tell all that Jacob may have associated with this name, and it is not important for us to know. This much alone seems clear, that the future destiny of Judah was to involve praiseworthy leadership, conquest, royalty, and wealth, and that his regal authority would culminate in one—Shiloh—whom many peoples would obey.

Judah's tribe-territory seems to be described in the latter part of the passage concerning him, but in so general a way that it cannot be claimed as an example of historical or geographical accuracy inconsistent with the general style of prophecy. More noticeable, in this respect, are the words addressed to Zebulun and Issachar. Zebulun is to dwell by the sea, and stretch toward Zidon (verse 13), which seems at first sight to be a specific designation of the geographical location of the tribe. So far, however, from being situated upon the seas and bordering on Zidon, Zebulun's territory, according to Josh. xix, 10–16, was surrounded by that of other tribes, and touched neither sea nor land of Zidon. The parallel passage in Moses's blessing (Deut. xxxiii, 19) is: "They shall suck the abundance of the seas, and the hidden treasures of the sand." As designations of geographical position, both passages would better suit Issachar and Asher, and therefore do not favor the idea that they were written after the conquest and apportionment of the land. Better is the supposition that the dying father's words sprang from what he had observed in the tastes and habits of this son—

a love of commerce, a desire for ships and trade upon the seas, rather than the travel of the desert-caravans. On this supposition, the allusion to seas, ships, and Zidon—the synonym of ancient naval commerce—would be most natural in the lips of Jacob, as also the jussive rendering of יִשְׁכֹּן, *let him dwell*, and the obscure brevity of the whole verse.

We believe that rigid criticism, applied to these several descriptions of the future of Jacob's sons, will dissipate the notion that any of them are close delineations of historical and geographical events. The strong but easy and submissive character of Issachar was not inconsistent with occasional feats of valor. Judg. v, 15. The play upon the sound and significance of the names of Dan and Gad removes them from the plane of definite prediction. Asher's abundance of bread and royal dainties (verse 20) is outlined in most general terms. Benjamin's warlike prowess (verse 27) might have been predicated, also, of Judah or of Naphtali. Judg. v, 18.

The blessing of Joseph, however, rivals that of Judah, and hence Kalisch and others have argued that it must have been composed after the division of the empire of Solomon, when these two tribes represented all the political power of the Israelitish nation. But here, again, we may safely challenge any critic to put his finger upon word or allusion so specific as to determine the date of the poem. Kalisch's attempt to put the meaning of "crowned" (="who wears the royal diadem") upon נזיר, verse 26, deserves condemnation as the special pleading of a partisan; for the word *Nazir* is of common occurrence, and denotes the *separated* or *consecrated one*. It is the word commonly translated *Nazarite*, and never means one wearing a diadem. The blessing is in fullest harmony with the narrative of Gen. xlviii, 10–22; the bitterness and hatred referred to in verse 23, and the separateness denoted by *nâzir* (verse 26) are most simply explained by facts in Joseph's life which were all too well known to Jacob, and may be read in the previous chapters of Genesis. The partial love of Jacob for this son of Rachel (Gen. xxxvii, 3) was still strong in his soul, and naturally broke forth in rapturous song on this occasion. Outside of what was personal to Joseph himself, the poetic allusions are general and far-reaching.

We conclude our examination of this ancient poem with a

profound conviction that it is most legitimately explained as a genuine prophecy of Jacob. As such, it fits the time and circumstances in which it assumes to have originated, and is every way worthy of such an origin. It is free from any minuteness of detail which can justly be made the ground of assigning it to a later date. Witness the unsatisfactory attempts of critics to determine its historical occasion. It cannot belong to the time anterior to Saul, says Kalisch, for it speaks of the royal dignity of Judah. And yet Ewald, Baur, and Dillmann are sure that it contains traces of the period of the Judges. It cannot refer to Saul's time, he adds, for then Benjamin would have received more notice. It must be later than the times of David and Solomon, he urges, for Joseph is represented as Judah's great rival, and the "crowned of his brethren." We have seen that all these judgments rest upon untenable foundations, and that the great diversity of opinion as to date is itself a complete refutation of the charge that the poem betrays, by minute historical and geographical allusions, a late origin.

The question then recurs: Has God ever spoken to men? Did the Holy Spirit ever reveal any true conception of the future to the patriarchs and prophets of the Hebrew people? Is there any divine or supernatural element traceable in the Scriptures? He who answers these questions in the negative will not, of course, be convinced by any arguments or criticisms based upon the Scriptures. But he who affirms these propositions and yet denies that Jacob's prophetic blessing belongs to the inspired Scripture will find insuperable difficulty in maintaining his ground, for the deep marks of genuine prophecy are here. If God ever spoke through the heart and lips of man, this is a fair example. Not the greatest or grandest utterance—no one claims that—but one in lofty keeping with that remarkable series of oracles which, commencing with the call of Abraham, and even before, grew more and more definite and grand, until the whole Israelitish nation was permeated with glowing expectation of deliverance and triumph through a coming Messiah. Jesus Christ, of the tribe of Judah, has fulfilled that expectation to all such as are willing to submit to the divine, spiritual Christ of the gospels, rather than to wander and search for a prince and kingdom of this world.

Art. IV.—THE HISTORY OF PREACHING.

The pulpit is the creation of Christianity. No other religion has used public oral instruction as its principal means of outward extension and inward edification, or incorporated such instruction in its public services. In this as in other things Mohammedanism has been partially a borrower. How vast the new field thus opened to eloquence, which was formerly restricted to the arena of politics and law, it is needless to say. The seed-germ of the pulpit was the reading and exposition of the law in the Jewish synagogue (Luke iv, 16); another striking proof of the fact that the synagogue, not the temple, is the model of the Christian Church. While the synagogue had its appointed order and officers, it also preserved freedom of teaching, as the scene in Nazareth shows. This freedom was long cherished in the Christian Church (see 1 Cor. xiv), and only vanished gradually. In the course of a few centuries it became quite extinct, and remained so, to the great loss of Christianity, through the Middle Ages. It was revived at the Reformation, and must characterize every community that would be true to primitive Christianity. There are other interesting examples of this freedom. The most ancient term for a Christian discourse was *homily* (Acts xx, 11), which denotes a simple, familiar address to a mixed assembly, almost in the tone of conversation. The substitution of the Latin term *sermo* marks the transition to a more formal style, though even this term had perhaps at first a more familiar sound than it has now. So in early times it was common for preachers as well as hearers to sit.

The character of the pulpit in a particular age depends greatly on the general state of knowledge and literature in the age, and still more on the state of religious life in the Church. Culture and barbarism, spiritual vigor and spiritual torpor, are faithfully reflected in the pulpit. No doubt, preaching has often been the means of religious awakening; but, on the other hand, the influence of the age and of the Church's spiritual life on preaching is undoubted. This must be borne in mind in the estimate we form of the preaching of the past. To apply modern canons of taste to the works of former ages

would be unjust as well as uncharitable. Excellence of style consists mainly in its adaptation to the kind of work to be done, and we have learned to exercise great latitude in this respect. At the same time, this judgment of charity is far less applicable to the matter than the style of preaching. We cannot forget that, while no canon of style is set up in the New Testament, there is a canon of truth. Former ages were surely in as good circumstances for knowing the real teaching of Christ and the apostles as ourselves. However this may be, nothing can blind us to the fearful change for the worse that soon came over the substance of Christian teaching. The more we know of patristic and mediæval days, the more we are impressed by the extent to which corruption penetrated Christian doctrine and morals alike. We propose briefly to review the long story of the pulpit in ancient, mediæval, and modern days.

We may mention at once the two main defects which clung to the pulpit during the first two periods. One was the overwhelming preponderance given to the allegorical interpretation of Scripture over the literal and historical. If the latter was not utterly ignored, it played a very subordinate part. The allegorical, tropological, anagogical senses were well-nigh all in all. It is plain that on such a system almost any thing might be made of Scripture. The sense for the historical side of revelation is all but exclusively a modern phenomenon. It is the fruit of the revival of learning and of the Reformation. The other fault is the terrible rapidity with which material, heathenish ideas became universal in the Church. The glory of the ascetic life, the mediation of the Virgin and saints, the merit of almsgiving, became the themes of panegyric, which grows in extravagance as time goes on. When the greatest preachers are not above criticism in these two respects, the lengths to which ordinary preachers and writers go may be left to imagination.

Origen († 254) heads the great roll of Christian preachers, as he heads the roll of exegetes and scholars. In illustration of the freedom just mentioned, it may be noted that he preached on a bishop's invitation before he was ordained as presbyter. It must also be said that he was constantly quoted in after days as the patron of the allegorical school of inter-

pretation. Still, with many faults, his general writings and his numerous homilies contain the first rudiments of homiletic rules and the first examples of their application. His familiarity with Scripture, and his skill in making it self-explanatory, are extraordinary. His aim is to bring out of Scripture both food for mind and heart and direction for the life. He combined real instruction with thorough popularity. His writings furnished matter and models to the pulpit for many centuries.

It is remarkable that in the Eastern Church preaching leaped to its highest point at a bound, and fell as rapidly. Basil, the two Gregories, and Chrysostom (fourth century) are among the greatest preachers of all ages, and after them the Eastern Church has scarcely a name worthy of mention. In their days it was not thought indecorous for congregations to express approval in all the ways known now to public meetings. The greater preachers discouraged the practice. Whether the minor stars encouraged it we will not undertake to say. The diffuseness and rhetorical extravagance even of these brightest ornaments of the Eastern pulpit offend us; but we remember the canon of charity, and forbear. Basil and his friend Gregory Nazianzen were natura orators, and received a thorough training in the schools at Athens. They were also alike in their gifts of poetical illustration, and in their open eye for the glories of Nature. Basil's Homilies on the Six Days of Creation exhibit these powers in a remarkable degree, anticipating the argument from design. These homilies were largely copied and imitated. Gregory's sermons on the Trinity, the great subject of controversy of the age, dealt not merely with its theoretical aspects, but with its practical consequences to Christian life and worship, and are an excellent model of doctrinal preaching. Gregory of Nyssa, Basil's brother, was inferior as a preacher. If we were asked to name the greatest popular preacher of all time, we should unhesitatingly name Chrysostom (the "Golden Mouth"). Not a great polemic or theologian or thinker, not perhaps the greatest of all preachers absolutely, he combined in a higher degree than any one else the qualities which go to make the popular preacher in the best sense. We know no other pulpit orator who has possessed such absolute power over an audience, and who has uniformly exercised his power in so noble a spirit and to such noble ends.

We know of no drawback to his greatness and nobility save, perhaps, the imprudence with which he furnished occasion to the malignity of a wicked empress, when he exclaimed in public, "The daughter of Herodias dances again!" His mighty powers were used to lash wickedness in high places and low. To his infinite honor, bad politicians and bad priests and monks were his bitter enemies, and wrought his ruin. The tragedy of Herod, Herodias, and the Baptist was played over again in Chrysostom's exile. Of all the early preachers he is the freest from allegorical extravagance. He belonged to the Antiochian school, which held to the literal sense of Scripture. His sermons and homilies display wonderful common sense, as well as boundless resources of tact and sympathy. He is not free from the repetition which is the danger of extempore discourse, but the repetition was the result of his determination to bring what he said home to the hearts of his hearers.

Chrysostom had no successor in the Eastern Church. Without denying that a few respectable names occur afterward, we have searched in vain all through the Middle Ages for one really great name. The decline of the pulpit followed the decline of spiritual life and energy in Eastern Christianity. The exaltation of the monkish life as the ideal Christian life, the preaching of the Virgin and saints instead of the preaching of God and Christ, belief in the virtue of relics and the cross, became the universal rule. Let one moderate example from Andrew of Crete (seventh century), a preacher not destitute of talent, suffice. He calls the Virgin "the diadem of beauty, the queen of our race, Christ's holy temple, the rod of Aaron, the root of Jesse, the scepter of David, the mediator of the law and grace, the seal of the Old and New Testament, the looked-for salvation of the heathen, the common refuge of all Christians, the first restoration of the fall," etc. Henceforth our attention must be confined to the Western Church. Here, indeed, the same evils ran riot. Still, there was a vigor of spiritual life and missionary ardor which superstitious excesses did not succeed in overpowering.

The two greatest preachers of the early Western Church are Ambrose (340–397) and Augustine (354–430). Ambrose reminds us of the late Bishop Wilberforce. He was great, not in any specific line, but in general versatility, broad sympathies,

and commanding personal influence. An assiduous student of Origen, Basil, and Athanasius, he transferred their teaching to the West. His *Hexæmeron*, in six books, is a reproduction of Basil's work already mentioned. And along with the ideas of the Eastern preachers he reproduced their allegorizing tendencies. His style has all the faults and all the merits of the born rhetorician—an affluent but untrained and ill-regulated fancy. Augustine, his spiritual child, praises the *suavitas* of his preaching. What shall we say of Augustine? His greatness lay elsewhere. Still, his imperial genius made smallness in any thing impossible to him. The power of his numerous extant sermons or homilies lies in the flashes, the intuitions, of great truths scattered through them. With a swiftness amounting to divination, instead of plodding through detail, he seizes upon the central truth of a book or passage, and sets it forth in luminous outlines. Amid masses of allegorical rubbish we come upon treasures of thought which more than repay the labor of digging. He combines, in a wonderful manner, speculative with practical genius. He is strong, imposing, massive in the highest degree—an intellectual and spiritual giant. The preachers and expositors of the Middle Ages lived upon his brains. The homiletic manual contained in his *De Doctrina Christiana* (book iv) was substantially reproduced again and again, as, for example, by Rhabanus Maurus in the ninth century.

The greatest names of the next two centuries are Leo the Great († 461), Cæsarius of Arles († 542), and Gregory the Great († 604). If they borrowed from their greater predecessors, they borrowed in royal style. They are related to common plagiarists as knightly marauders to common thieves. Leo's best sermons are those which deal with the dogmatic questions discussed in his days. His clear judgment and antithetic style undoubtedly did good service in putting the last touches to the definitions of Christology. His Latin still retains something of the purity of old times. Cæsarius is one of the most attractive figures of his time. Standing at the helm of the Gallic Church in the troublous days of the barbarian invasions, he steered its course with consummate skill, using his great influence both with kings and peoples for the best ends. His sermons have an evangelical ring which is only too rare in those days. He

insists that fasting, vigils, alms, will avail nothing without the love of a new heart. Love of God is the spring of all good works, and it is the sweetest; whoever has it has salvation. He warns against all trust in the sign of the cross as a charm, as well as against the hypocritical repentance of a death-bed. He urges his hearers to read the Scriptures, or, if they cannot read, to have them read. His style, too, is as simple as his tone is practical. Gregory's *Moralia in Jobum*, filling above a thousand folio pages, anticipated our own Caryl, and is much of the same character. This work is an inexhaustible mine of rules and reflections bearing on practical life. Still, despite his intolerable prolixity and childish expositions, despite his admiration for the ascetic life, which he preached into favor in the West, one is pleased to hear that Gregory delighted in preaching, and that like a true pastor he stood by his flock in days of fearful pestilence. In indefatigable toil he reminds us of Baxter. The sermons of the English Bede owe much to Gregory. Preachers of less distinction but considerable power were Columban and Eligius of Noyon, of whom mention must suffice.

We turn now to the Middle Ages. During the first part of this period preaching sank to a low point, the result of a corresponding intellectual and moral decline. Charlemagne tried to meet the case by the publication of a "Homilarium," a collection of homilies taken from Ambrose, Augustine, Hilary, Leo, Bede. About this time, also, the lectionary was definitely fixed, the idea being, that as the whole of Scripture was too much for preachers to master they should confine their study to the selected portions. The qualifications required of priests were fixed at a very low point, and related chiefly to the right performance of mechanical functions and duties. Superstitious corruptions rose to as great a height in the West as in the East. According to Fulbert of Chartres (eleventh century) Christ is an object of terror to Christians; his mother, on the other hand, is the fount of mercy and grace. Peter Damian's language on the same subject, in his sermons on the Annunciation and Assumption, is still wilder, not to say grossly irreverent. The latter half of this period witnessed a great improvement in the form of preaching, due to the growth of scholasticism, which, however questionable in some respects, was at least a manifestation of mental power. If the doctrines preached

were too often unevangelical in the highest degree, they were preached with more logical connection and intellectual force. Stirred up by the success of the Waldenses and other sects in preaching, the Dominicans arose as a preaching order, and the Franciscans followed suit. They gave themselves to itinerant preaching in a popular style, for the purpose of counteracting the work of the "heretics," and they largely succeeded.

The result of this movement was an immense outburst of popular preaching, good and bad. The latter we will pass by, only remarking, for the comfort of those who are shocked by some modern excesses of the pulpit, that the worst outrages upon taste and reverence in our days might be more than rivaled from the Middle Ages. The lengths to which burlesque was carried by the Italian Dominican, Barletta, and the French Franciscans, Maillard and Menot, in the fifteenth century, set all rules of decorum and decency at defiance. And yet these preachers were in universal favor. It passed into a proverb in Italy, *Qui nescit Barlettare, nescit prædicare.*

We prefer to notice popular preachers of a better stamp. One would like to know more of Foulques, a priest at Neuilly, near Paris, in the twelfth century, who, we are told, though destitute of culture, preached repentance over a great part of France with burning eloquence and immense effect. But none of his sermons have come down to us. Perhaps if they had come down to us we should have found that, like Whitefield's, their spirit evaporated on paper. However, we know something of Berthold, Vincent Ferrer, Gerhard Groot, Geiler, to say nothing of Wiclif and his helpers—Huss, Jerome, and Savonarola. Berthold, a Franciscan of the thirteenth century, was the instrument of a true religious revival in Germany. Although standing on the ground of the Romish Church, and showing no disposition to deviate from it, he preached its doctrines in a moderate form. Thus he preaches earnestly against pilgrimages and crusades, as well as against indulgences. He prefers to insist rather on following the examples of the saints than on seeking their intercession. His favorite topics are the practical virtues and duties of life. He preached in fields to immense crowds of people. It is the form, however, rather than the matter, of his preaching that is remarkable. He laid himself out to gain the popular ear, dealing largely in parable,

dialogue, and illustration, surprising by sudden turns, introducing a spice of humor, while never descending to the comic. Berthold, in short, is another proof of the possibility of making religion as interesting and popular with the masses as politics or science by perfectly legitimate means. Ferrer, a Dominican of the fourteenth century, of a more fanatical bent than Berthold, was not unlike him in his mode of preaching, and was the means of a similar awakening in Spain and Italy. The last twenty years of his life were spent in constant preaching journeys in these countries with striking results. Enemies were reconciled, hardened sinners publicly confessed their sins and vowed amendment, Jews and Mohammedans were converted in great numbers. On his incessant journeyings he preached every day, often twice or thrice a day. He was a predestined preacher, his chief amusement in childhood taking this form. He had a fine voice, exhaustless fluency, a clear, logical, picturesque style. Like many of his class, he was not without learning, often making apt quotations from the Fathers. His sermons fill four folios, which have often been reprinted. Gerhard Groot, the founder of "The Brothers of the Common Life" in the fourteenth century, labored in a similar way in the Netherlands. Giving up ecclesiastical office and property, he went through town and village, poorly clad, calling the people to repentance. He spoke from the heart and in the vernacular, often preaching twice or thrice a day. At the instigation of the priests and monks the bishop at last reduced him to silence. It was in one of the schools of his foundation that Thomas à Kempis was trained. Geiler enjoyed immense popularity in the fifteenth century as preacher at the Strasburg Cathedral, but it was popularity of a kind with which we are little able to sympathize. He preached in fables, anecdotes, witticisms, taking up any illustration that came to hand and working it to death. Zaccheus's tree had twenty-three branches, and each branch represents one of the means by which we are to climb to eternal life. Ants, lions, ships, mountains, markets, swords, are similarly allegorized. Even indecency is not wanting. The taste both of preachers and hearers can only be described as hideous, even for their days.

The scholastic preachers proper, represented by Bernard of Siena, Leonhard of Utino, Meffreth, Bernard of Busti (fifteenth

century), and greater names, and such as Albert the Great (thirteenth), the Victors (twelfth), Abelard (twelfth), need not detain us. They are all after one pattern. Great learning, abundance of logic, boundless superstition, length and dryness, are their common features. The following is an apostrophe to the Virgin by Bernard of Busti: "O Redemptress of the world, Changer of the course of Nature, Restorer of a lost world, Renewer of human nature, Mediatrix between God and men, Foundation of our faith, Ladder by which we ascend to heaven, Queen and Empress of the whole universe, preserve us from evil spirits!" Preachers like St. Bernard, Huss, Wiclif, Savonarola, we pass by as well known. But some representatives of the Mystic school deserve notice, such as Bonaventura, Eckhart, Suso, Tauler, Gerson. The sermons of Bonaventura (thirteenth century), despite their scholastic manner and superstitious extravagances, show real sympathy with inward religion. He has a hearty love of Scripture and makes diligent use of it, although in the usual allegorical way. Of the other mystics, Tauler (fourteenth century), whose sermons have appeared in an English dress, is by far the most intelligible. By renouncing the exercise of his own reason and will, man is to rise to unity with God. Passive submission is the way to perfection. Like all mystics, Tauler depreciates knowledge and outward effort, even knowledge of the letter of Scripture. Inward calm, emptiness, detachment, are the chief things. His style is simple, and yet enriched with apt figures. He has many quotations from the Fathers, but always in the right place. Tauler may still be read with profit. It will do us all good to hear the old mystic insist on the heart being emptied of worldly desire before God can come in. "Emptiness is the first and chief condition for receiving the Holy Spirit; for the more emptied man is, the more receptive he is. Before filling a glass with wine, the water in it must go out. Before God comes in, the creature must go out." The image of Christ kept before us perpetually will kindle love to him. He is never weary of illustrating the instinctive hunger of man's soul for God. As fire tends upward, as water flows back to its source, so the soul never rests till it finds its way back to God. "A single flight of the soul to the wounds of our Lord is worth more to God than all the bells and organs and vestments."

The modern era of preaching begins with the Reformation. The Reformation was essentially a return to God's word. God's word was the sole instrument and trust of the Reformation. That word had free course to an extent never seen before. Luther, Calvin, Melanchthon, and the other Reformers were pre-eminently preachers. The form of preaching also underwent an immense change. We are in a new world: scholasticism with its hair-splittings, and superstition with its externalism, are behind us; the owls and bats of superstition are fleeing in terror before the dawn; the air is pure, and the heavens bright above us. This latter change is due in great measure to the revival of learning, and the entirely new direction given to inquiry and thought. The reign of *a priori* speculation is over; faith is henceforth to be grounded on evidence and historic fact. Even the Romish Church has felt the change that has come over the world. Its preachers have known to some extent how to march with the times.

We proceed to notice the names marking the different stages of preaching in continental Protestantism. J. Arndt (1555–1621) led preaching out of the groove of almost scholastic dogmatism into which it fell after Luther's days, into the more fruitful paths of spiritual teaching and practical edification. His sermons contain a sober mysticism, and breathe a mild, humble, loving spirit. He dwells on practical truths, and on faith working by love. He is best known by his work on "True Christianity," once a most popular book of practical religion. Spener (1635–1705) gave a still more powerful impulse in the same direction. His great influence was owing, not to gifts of style, which he had not, but to the contrast which his practical expository teaching presented to the intellectual orthodoxy which formed the staple of so much other preaching. Knowledge, he said, is only valuable as it leads to practice. Justification must not be separated from a new nature and holy life. Love of God and our neighbor is the spring of Christian morality. Spener has often been called the German Wesley. That he did not effect the reformation in Germany which Wesley did in England was due to the timidity which prevented him from acting independently of the Church authorities of the day. His bravery ended in words. We hear a great deal in some quarters about the regularity and insubor-

dination of Wesley's proceedings. The simple answer is, that without such irregularity or independence the good which the same critics profess to applaud could not have been done. If Wesley had waited for the consent and approval of Church authorities, where would the revival of the last century, with its manifold effects, have been? Had there been less slavish deference to and dependence on civil and ecclesiastical dignitaries in Spener and other German preachers, the religious history of modern Germany would have been different, blessedly different, from what it has been. Mosheim († 1755), the Church historian and a universal scholar, exerted great influence on the pulpit of his day by renewing its connection with eloquence and culture. He maintained that pulpit eloquence only differed from other kinds in its subject and purpose. Other things being equal, the most eloquent and most cultured preacher will be the most effective. He also drew attention to the important distinction between a written and a spoken style, the latter allowing and requiring greater freedom and variety than the former. Tillotson was a favorite with Mosheim. His own sermons remind us of Blair's, but they have far more force and warmth. Mosheim's principles are well illustrated in Lavater († 1800), whose sermons are polished, thoughtful, and impressive in the highest degree. Reinhard († 1812), Müslin, Theremin († 1846), Dräseke († 1849), deserve more extended notice than we can give them. All these set themselves to recommend positive Christianity to cultured hearers, and in different ways they are classical examples of success in this art. Scarcely less eminent names are those of Rieger, Albertini, Menken, through whom the succession goes on to Schleiermacher. In the Reformed Church we should have to notice Daillé, Claude, Saurin, if space permitted.

The modern Roman Catholic pulpit reached its highest point in France at the close of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century. That was the Augustan age of French literature, and Fléchier, Bossuet, Bourdaloue, Fénelon, and Massillon are to be added to its classics. In point of form they are typically French orators. As studies in style they will always be full of interest and value to others than Frenchmen. Bossuet, despite his tendency to florid grandiloquence, has an eagle sweep and grandeur; Bourdaloue, "the king of preachers

and preacher for kings," charms by his clearness and serenity; Fénelon is a mystic without a tinge of obscurity; Massillon impresses by his fearless honesty, knowledge of human nature, and power of description. Still, there is great truth in Rothe's criticism, that the substance of the teaching of these great French pulpit orators was Deism, ornamented with Christian phrases and qualified by insistence on the powers and functions of the Catholic Church. One also wonders at the apparently slight effect of their wonderful efforts. The Grand Monarch might say to Massillon, "When I hear other great preachers, I am satisfied with them; but when I hear you, I am dissatisfied with myself;" but we fail to find the evidences of such dissatisfaction in his public policy or private life. His court still continued to imitate the court of the Cæsars, not only in its ambition and luxury, but also in its unblushing immorality.

The English pulpit has no reason to fear comparison with that of any age and country. Taylor, South, Andrewes, Donne, Barrow, Farindon, Reynolds, Tillotson, Manton, Baxter, Howe, Wesley—to say nothing of preachers like Beveridge, Wilson, Stillingfleet, Sherlock, S. Clarke, Doddridge, and more recent names—are worthy to rank beside English poets, historians, and philosophers. They have helped to make the English language. Their works are a library of divinity in themselves. They have absorbed the wisdom of the previous Christian centuries, and reproduced it in noble English. A minister who should make a study both of the style and contents of their sermons would act wisely. Taylor, with his exuberance of imagination, seems like a Basil or Gregory Nazianzen in English dress. South's terse, sinewy style exactly fits his strong, manly thought. Barrow is full of noble, strenuous energy. Farindon cannot be excelled for richness of matter, nor Tillottson for clearness and simplicity of style, nor Baxter for burning earnestness, nor Howe for comprehensiveness of treatment. Some of the judgments on English preachers expressed by Rothe, whose work gives us much of the matter of this article, are exceedingly amusing. The great masters are passed by with meager notice, while Joseph Fawcett receives long and unstinted praise! Wesley and Whitefield, he says, are harsh and narrow in their views; they were no doubt powerful preachers, but their power is often violence; their aim was to work on the imagination of their

hearers by terrible descriptions, "a violent delivery, and tempestuous action." It is certain that Rothe could not have read Wesley's sermons or his "Earnest Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion." The association of "a violent delivery and tempestuous action" with John Wesley is ludicrous. So much for a German's knowledge of English life.

The result of this brief review of the Christian pulpit may well be to inspire Christians, and especially Christian preachers, with pride and confidence. A similar review of more recent, not to speak of living, preachers would be the best reply to the complaints heard here and there of the decay of the pulpit. The decay of an institution that has been the chief organ in the maintenance and extension of Christianity, and that was ordained for this very purpose (Mark xvi, 15; 1 Cor. i, 17, 21), could only follow from the decay of Christianity itself. Those who make the charge mistake change of form for vital decline. On the same principle every change in forms of government would indicate decay. No institution has passed through greater variety of phase than the Christian pulpit; but this is merely an evidence of its power to adapt itself to different kinds of need and different forms and stages of culture. The inspiration of preaching has always been drawn from the grandeur of the truths which Christianity reveals, and till these truths are disproved—that is, till Rationalism and Atheism have established their positions—this spring of inspiration will remain. "I believed, therefore have I spoken," is the rationale of preaching. Faith, conviction, experience, joined with the gifts and enthusiasm of the speaker, have made preaching; and preaching has made Missions, Revivals, Reformations, Churches—in short, has made Christendom.

Art. V.—FOREIGN MISSIONARY METHODS.

Protestant Missions are the outgrowth and expression of the modern spirit and ideas in the Christian Church. Unhindered by the traditions of former times, and freed from the worn-out methods and forms of expression which have lost their vitality, and without the ossification of ideas and impulses which renders so rigid and unyielding the activity of the Church at home, it might be presumed that there is less occasion with them for insisting on progress, and on the further development and improvement of the accepted policies and methods employed. But while it may be with them granted that the spur is less necessary, the fact remains that for various reasons it cannot be wholly dispensed with. The secretaries and managers of the various boards very largely shape and control the plans and methods of the missionaries, and the conservatism of the home Churches intensifies the natural caution of the administering authorities. The field of operation is so new, and the problems involved so complicated, that one generation of missionaries could not hope to solve them all, or acquire a perfect insight into their conditions. The enterprise of the missionary may be exhausted before the situation is comprehended.

The home missionary enters into a heritage of methods and principles of work, the net results of centuries of experiment, and in cases of doubt he can appeal to his own feeling for a decision; but the foreign missionary must make his own experiments, and, after a careful study of the situation, develop his own principles and methods. In an alien land he cannot trust his spontaneous impulses and personal impressions of fitness, but he must rely exclusively on matured judgments based on personal observations. After a longer or shorter course of investigation and study, according to his opportunities and his native enterprise and patience, he draws his conclusions and formulates his plans. He naturally glides into the groove thus laboriously prepared, and is all the better satisfied to remain in it because it represents such thorough and careful consideration. Those who join him later, or become his successors, knowing the situation only as the results of his experience, readily settle into the same grooves. Such being the

case, the stimulus of outside criticism is quite as much needed abroad as at home. At the same time the Church at home will be profited by a discussion of advanced foreign missionary methods, since it will thus learn to sympathize with the efforts of the worker abroad to improve his methods, and to avoid hindering their successful application by undue cautiousness.

All this would be true even if there were no changes occurring in the conditions among which the work of the missionary is to be done, and the expediency of such discussions would be only a question of perfecting our knowledge of the physical, mental, moral, social, religious, political, and other affairs of the people among whom he labors. But beyond this it must be understood that the rapid development of our century is not confined to Christian lands, but is manifest among heathen nations as well. Although the history of Protestant missions extends but little over a century, it can be said to have an ancient and a modern epoch. The last fifty years have brought more changes in nearly every part of the world than did the three preceding centuries. In every part of the globe the essential working conditions of the missionary have been transformed during that time, and corresponding readjustments must be made in our policy and methods. These changes bring greater opportunities, which demand such a reconstruction of the disposition of forces as will assure the largest possible returns in the largest number of communities. They present new problems to which the old solutions will not fit, and which require a fresh consideration unbiased by conclusions previously won. They offer new conditions, which must be utilized, or to which plans and methods must be readapted. The very success of the past peremptorily demands that the ruling ideas, plans, and methods be enlarged and developed to fit the new surroundings and opportunities which give that success its highest meaning. A modest discussion, which shall sweep the whole field in a panoramic and suggestive way, cannot fail, therefore, in having some value, even if in some respects it should have only the suggestive value of error.

It has been well said that foreign missions are the outgrowth and expression of the ideas and spirit of the Church in Christian lands. It follows that any progress made at home should find a corresponding development in the foreign missionary

field. Indeed, it should find a freer and a more harmonious and symmetrical development, since the past has no such mortgage upon the present and the future there as it has here. Building up, with them, does not necessitate so much preliminary tearing down. The interests involved are not so complicated, nor the sacrifices of feeling and prejudices so great. We have a right to expect, therefore, a more rapid realization of many of our advanced ideas in the foreign field than at home. A careful study of the more notable progressive tendencies at home will reveal as fully, perhaps, as any other course of investigation, the path of needed progress abroad. While such an investigation may not throw light on every problem that perplexes the conscientious missionary, nor perhaps point out all the needed improvements, it certainly will emphasize the most important, and give them the sanction of the manifest leadings of the Spirit of God in the Church at home.

The importance of these tendencies has been realized by many missionaries, and they have made an earnest endeavor to reach the ends they seek. Hence many of these needed readjustments are already in progress in some of the mission fields, and the strongest advocates of all of them may be found among the missionaries themselves. The sanction of success which God has given to their experiments in these directions has proved that these strong tendencies are general orders from the great Captain for the whole army, at home and abroad.

In delightful contrast to the polemical intensity of former theological disputations, the Protestant Churches have learned to emphasize the cardinal doctrines of Christianity on which all evangelical Christians agree, and to manifest a charitable toleration toward differing views on nonessentials. A broader and more thorough knowledge has made evident the relative importance of Christian doctrines, and given to those worthy to lead their appropriate precedence. Loyalty to these kingly doctrines, rather than to any of their subordinates, is now the test of citizenship in the kingdom of our Lord. In the very nature of things, nowhere should this broad, liberal spirit find completer mastery and fuller expression than in the presence of the heathen. In the great conflict with the powers of paganism, all minor dissensions between Christians must be forgotten. Spec-

ulative theology, with its abstractions, like algebraic symbols empty of all real content, and many of them hardly more practicable than the theory of the fourth dimension of space, but cumbers the ground in the presence of the urgent concrete needs of the heathen sitting in the shadow of death. To emphasize the subjective doctrines of the "higher life," as is done by the Plymouth Brethren of the China Inland Mission, or to insist upon immersion as the only valid mode of baptism, as in the recent Baptist mission in Constantinople and Armenia, can be fruitful only of schism and unmitigated evil. It matters comparatively little whether the blood-poison of sin is a direct inheritance from Adam or due simply to an inherited predisposition. The concrete fact of sin, and its temporal and eternal results, is what concerns the missionary. Is the atonement best explained by the theory of Anselm, Grotius, or Bushnell, is a question of little importance compared with the satisfying truth that "we have redemption in the blood of Christ, even the forgiveness of sin." The doctrine of the "perseverance of the saints" can mean nothing to the heathen until they have become subjects of salvation, and even then it were better to construe the phrase in a practical, rather than in a dogmatical, way. Whether election is unto faith or in view of faith may be an important question dogmatically, but its discussion will profit nothing in foreign missionary work.

To come down to more recent discussions, we may suspect that the problem of constructing a theodicy based on 1 Peter iii, 19, should be left exclusively to the schoolmen of Andover, and views, *pro* or *con*, should have no influence on a board of missions or their workers abroad. The heathen need the fundamental facts and vital principles of Christianity, not our theories. "For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," is a sufficient creed for the foreign missionary. The facts it suggests and motives it brings to bear, when applied by the Holy Spirit, are sufficient for the salvation of the heathen. When a few generations have passed away, and the meditative stage of their religious life is reached, they may be trusted to form theological systems of their own, which will be of all the greater value to them in the work of the Church that they will be conformed to their national genius.

The more civilized heathen will reach that stage comparatively soon, and others, less promising, may prove no less able to grapple with the mysteries of our faith than the present descendants of the savages who overran Europe fifteen hundred years ago and buried the civilization of the Roman Empire. Some of the races of the Orient will doubtless find other, and perhaps better, answers to the questions that have perplexed the Caucasian philosophers than have yet been given. Their points of view will be different, and will disclose relations between the doctrines of Christianity which now are unsuspected, just as in the cathedral at Munich from a certain point all the windows are completely hidden. Certainly when the Hindus—our cousins in the Orient—shall turn their philosophical profundity and dialectical acumen upon the facts of Christianity, a system of theology will be produced that will put our Occidental attempts to shame. The Greeks may be said to have solved the problems of theology proper; the Latins, those of anthropology; and the English and Germans, those of soteriology; may it not be the mission of some of the races now under our tutelage to solve those of eschatology, which now so vex the Church? The spectacles of the dead past do not distort their vision, and rob them of their fresh insight and immediate intuition, as they too often do ours in spite of all our efforts. The period of their spontaneous creative reflection should be permitted to accomplish its results unmolested, and not until the sobering critical reaction shall have set in should the history of past attempts in the same lines engage their serious attention. After their results have been thoroughly analyzed and critically compared with those previously obtained, another epoch of creative power may follow which shall crystallize in perfect forms doctrines that are now only vaguely discerned. The various race idiosyncrasies will become powerful factors in completing and rounding out perfectly the body of doctrine received by the Church universal. The one-sidedness produced by the idiosyncrasies of the Teutonic races will be corrected, and the final symbol of the Church's faith (if the earth will ever see a final symbol) will gain the symmetry that now is lacking.

The theological liberality, of which mention has been made, is preserved from degenerating into a shallow latitudinarianism

or indifferentism by its demand for the transformation of Christian doctrine into life and character. Not simply to know doctrines, but to feel them as concrete realities, and by assimilation to convert them into spiritual forces, is the demand of the age. It is only as knowledge is sublimated into experience that we recognize its value. To this practical tendency of the Christian Church at home the work abroad must be adjusted. Instruction in the Scriptures, in the cardinal doctrines of Christianity, and even in the learning of the Occident, will have its value, but this is not the end for which our missionaries have gone forth. A personal saving knowledge on the part of the heathen of the Lord Jesus Christ is the great object in view, and only as heathen attain this can missions claim success. No amount of social, mental, or merely moral improvement, valuable as it may be, will take the place of the new birth and the wakening of a new spiritual life. The impartation of this religious vitality by the Holy Spirit in co-operation with the work of the missionary is the definite end of foreign missions which the maze of means and methods should never be allowed to obscure.

Nor is this to be looked upon as a finality which shall crown a long course of preparatory education and culture, but as a result that may be expected comparatively soon. The long years of waiting for results, which so sorely tried the faith of missionaries like Judson and Morrison, were spent in establishing proper relations between themselves and the heathen about them. When once they had learned how to approach the natives properly, and more especially when the heathen had learned to trust them, the harvest began. It was their life, not their instruction, which prepared the way. A missionary from New Guinea writes: "In the early days of a mission like that of New Guinea, very little dependence can be placed on oral teaching. I believe strongly, more strongly now than ever, in the power of a consistent Christian life." When the missionary has an opportunity of breaking down the prejudices and suspicion of the natives against Christians, created by their commercial and even civil representatives, such as was afforded him by the famines in India and China, conversions follow by tens and hundreds and thousands. The rapidity with which conversions follow the work of native preachers establishes the fact beyond controversy. The noted Karen preacher, Quala, estab-

lished nine churches, with seven hundred and forty-one converts, among the Toungoo Karens during the first year of his labors among them. The same rapidity of results characterizes the labors of native preachers in Micronesia. The Gospel is so simple in its primary elements that very young children are often favored with most joyful and blessed experiences. The very simplicity and ignorance of the heathen makes them all the more docile and accessible to the Gospel. Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., so long secretary of the American Board, in his lectures before the Andover students in 1868 used the following language:

"The heathen know they are sinners; they have a conscience; and if boldly and affectionately approached by one whose own heart is full of the subject, and solemnly assured of their lost condition as sinners and of the free salvation offered them through the Lord Jesus Christ, experience has abundantly shown that there is no way so effectual as this of securing the aid of the Holy Spirit for their conversion. The Gospel may have direct access to the most debased heathen mind. Nothing necessarily precedes the simple declaration of salvation through the cross of Christ when it comes from lips that have been touched with a coal from off the altar of God."

Perhaps no one idea has done greater harm in mission work than that it is necessary to prepare the minds of the heathen by a long course of instruction before they can accept the Lord Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour. In many ways it has unhappily affected the methods and plans of missionaries to their detriment. It robs them of that expectant faith, eager and enthusiastic, which is so aggressive a power. No immediate results being expected, no measures are taken to secure them, or to provide for them should they appear. The schools and colleges for the education of the heathen youth may be made a temptation and a snare to the missionary, leading him to substitute intellectual inspirations and ambitions for the baptism of power from above, and the divine hunger for soul-saving. Savages are in danger of confounding Christianity with civilization in the form of scholastic education, æsthetic development, and merely outward propriety of life. That so many of our foreign workers have been scholarly men has made them all the more susceptible to the allurements of the educational as opposed to the evangelistic policy. On the one hand, it in-

volved less sacrifice, less contact with the repulsive aspects of the work, and on the other greater intellectual satisfaction and progress in culture. Purely pedagogical conceptions of the work begin to control, and unconsciously the making of Christians is subordinated to the making of scholars. Secularity cuts the aggressive missionary nerve, and the missionary degenerates into a mere instructor of human science. Studies in philology, history, or science, fresh and attractive materials for which lie all about him, engage his interest and time. The scientific results of missions, as recorded in the Ely volume, inspiring as they are in many respects, also wake the suspicion that they are the fruit of more than incidental observations and passing reflections. Heroic as must be the spirit of the missionary who makes all the sacrifices involved in leaving his native land to reside in the uttermost parts of the earth among the heathen, he is still human, and susceptible to all the influences which so often cripple the usefulness of the minister at home.

While a stirring of the soil is essential, and a fertilization sometimes may be necessary, nothing but weeds will grow unless the vital germs of the good seed be planted. A long course of preparatory training often defeats the purpose desired by robbing the truth of its freshness before the personal application is made. Moreover, the pride is stimulated by the new power and standing gained, and the heart is thus closed against spiritual truth. The distinguished missionary to the Choctaws, Dr. Kingsbury, after an experience of over forty years, gives the following testimony:

> With a few interesting exceptions, those who acquired the most knowledge of the English language seemed the farthest from embracing the Gospel and the least disposed to attend on the means of grace. They regarded themselves as elevated above their parents and the mass of their people.

Education truly brings power, but it may be a power for evil. On this point President Seelye's (of Amherst) remarks are worthy of serious consideration:

> If the missionary spends his time in teaching the ignorant to read, this acquisition may enable them to read the Bible and good books, it is true; but it is equally true that it may furnish them acquaintance also with books of another and contrary nature.

What these latter books are we may learn from the following statement of the "Indian Evangelical Review:"

Very few of even the best vernacular books are free from obscenity. Immoral books and pamphlets are obtained easily by the pupils in the schools and colleges, and circulate freely among them.

The works of our infidel philosophers and scientists, and of the more vulgar opponents of the Christian faith, are read with avidity. No department of the public library at Tokio, Japan, is so well supplied as that of infidel and materialistic literature. The blasphemous writings of Ingersoll are scattered broadcast, and are exerting a wider influence for evil abroad than they do at home. Hence the education given to many heathen youths only "sets them the more against us, and gives them a club to break our heads," to use the language of a speaker at the Allahabad Conference. Nowhere, perhaps, has the educational policy ruled more fully than in India and Japan, and nowhere does infidelity and materialism so mightily re-enforce paganism as in these lands. Not only the professedly neutral government schools, but even those under the charge of the missionaries, are often hot-beds of infidelity. One of the largest educational institutions under missionary control in India spent one hundred and fifty thousand dollars during thirty years and only made two converts. Many of the bitterest and most harmful enemies of Christianity in India are graduates of the mission schools and colleges. Some of them officiate at some of the most abominable altars of Hinduism. Rev. W. F. Bainbridge states, that one such graduate declared to him that "the religion of Jesus answered very well for college speculations, but now he had come out into life, and must earn his bread." Said another, who could speak twelve languages, "There is nothing in the world so detestable to me as Christianity." A great majority of some schools come out confirmed atheists, scoffing alike at their native religion and Christianity. To both missionary and pupil, therefore, the educational policy is dangerous. These facts do not prove that the heathen should not be educated, but that they ought to be thoroughly converted before they are given the higher education; for it is as true of intellectual culture as of any thing else, that if we "seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, all these things will be added unto us." On the one hand the

exercise of living faith is easier for a simple-minded, uneducated person, and on the other conversion is often just the beginning of the intellectual life. Not education preparatory to conversion, therefore, but conversion before education, should be the idea. The leading truths of the Christian religion once impressed as realities, the whole mental development is vitalized and quickened, and harmful perversions prevented. Evangelism first and education afterward is peculiarly the hope of the heathen world.

In looking again at the Christian Church we are struck by the growing tendency to minify the importance and sanctity of the various forms of Church polity which obtain in the Protestant Churches. Our Episcopalian brother may believe quite as firmly in the reality of the apostolical succession as formerly, but he is not quite so apt to reject as unworthy all other forms of Church government. Nor does the Congregationalist insist as vehemently as in other years that his polity alone has scriptural precedent and divine sanction. The Convocation of Canterbury is to have a third chamber, made up from the laity. The stated secretaries of the Congregational Home Missionary Society incidentally exercise not a few episcopal functions. Not denunciation but appreciation, and even appropriation, is the order of the day. This spirit of mutual appreciation is also breaking down the less honorable walls of division between denominations more nearly related in polity and creed. While the "Church consciousness," or *esprit de corps*, so valuable in the sight of denominational leaders, is increasing rather than diminishing, it is applied to aggressive work for God rather than as formerly to combats with neighboring denominations. The unsuccessful attempt of Count Zinzendorf to found an interdenominational society among the Germans of Pennsylvania in 1742 was prophetic of the numerous union enterprises now so powerful and useful among us. The idea of co-operation among the Churches is rapidly developing, and the future is big with promise of organic union among related denominations.

If this growing tendency among us is fruitful of good, how much more valuable would it not be among the small and scattered squads of Christian workers in foreign lands? Every argument in favor of interdenominational effort and organic

union at home is multiplied manifold in force when transferred to the foreign field. What is confusion here in the multiplicity of denominations, whose differences can scarcely be distinguished by the non-expert eye, becomes confusion worse confounded when our divided missionaries are met in heathen lands by the almost equally divided workers from America, Great Britain, and the Continent. The results are illustrated by the fact that there are no less than thirteen different Presbyterian organizations doing missionary work in India. Rev. Dr. Chamberlain, a prominent missionary of the Reformed (Dutch) Church of America in India, in an able address delivered in New York last January, in stating the following facts, gave a graphic picture of their relations:

> Alas, they are not united. Judah vexes Ephraim, and Ephraim envies Judah. In one up-country station in India, which I have repeatedly visited, where one mission could well do all the work, the representatives of two different branches of the Presbyterian family, both represented in the late Belfast council, have been working in unseemly rivalry. Members of the one Church, publicly excommunicated after careful judicial process by its ecclesiastical courts, were received to the Lord's Supper in the other without a question, and rival services were held in the same street, so near that the singing in the one sometimes prevented the congregation in the other from hearing the preaching of their own minister.

An organic union of all the Presbyterian missions, and of all the Methodist, all the Baptist, and so on through the groups of denominations in each country occupied, is earnestly demanded. The work would be better organized. The expense of management would be greatly diminished. The division of labor would be more exact, and so yield better results. Improper rivalry would be largely avoided, and the moral, or rather immoral, effect of the present unedifying church differences upon the outside heathen world counteracted. That such an organic union is feasible is proved by abundant experience in Australia, Japan, and China. The four Presbyterian organizations working in Japan have united their work, and the "United Church of Christ in Japan" stands as a monument to their sagacity and large-mindedness. Native ministers are trained in the common theological seminary at Tokio, in whose faculty representatives of the several organizations at home unite. The

testimony of Dr. Chamberlain, quoted before, is conclusive with reference to the union at Amoy (China), where all the Presbyterian missions of England, Scotland, and America, are working in thorough union. He says:

> Missionaries at other stations on the coast intimated to me that the unusual success of the Amoy missions was because they presented so united a front without dissensions.

This large measure of success has opened the eyes of the other missionaries of China, and other like unions are forming. The General Synod of the Reformed (Dutch) Church has delegated Dr. Chamberlain, the earnest champion of the organic union of all the Presbyterian missions of India, to visit these missions and confer with them in regard to the union of all in one confederated Presbyterian Church of India. It has also been favorably considered by Presbyterian Synods in Canada and Scotland, and by the General Synod of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church. It is to be hoped that this powerful movement among the Presbyterians will inspire other Christian bodies to emulate their example and adopt the same policy. The Methodist Churches, especially, should be drawn together by their common history, spirit, doctrines, and methods. Their family resemblance is even greater than that of the Presbyterians. In Japan the missions of the Methodist Episcopal Church, the Methodist Church in Canada, the Wesleyan Methodists of England, the Methodist Protestant Church, and the Evangelical Association, ought to be united, forming the Methodist Church of Japan. The small missions of the last four named Churches would succeed far better if carried on in connection with the more extensive work of the Methodist Episcopal Church, saving the cost in time and money of independent operations. A union of Methodist missions in China and India is also both very desirable and easily feasible. What changes has the diverse institutions and manners of our North and South made in the Gospel, or even in the fundamental ideas of Methodism, that the Chinese and Hindus should be perplexed by distinguishing between the Methodist Episcopal Church and the Methodist Episcopal Church, South? And when they are taught the reason of the separation, will it be altogether creditable to our Christian faith? While difference of nationality might possibly excuse to the heathen the division

between the English and American Methodists, a union that ignored these differences would prove in a way they could not fail to appreciate that the Christ whom Methodism preaches is a reality and a power. The United Methodist Churches of India, China, and Japan would give Methodism three national Churches of no mean proportions, with an influence greatly exceeding the total of their divided strength.

These organic relations in the field among the missionaries need not conflict with their relations to the several home boards which support them. That they would be a little less directly under the control of the home authorities may be true, but that certainly would be no calamity. Such relations could be kept up between the several home Churches and given portions of the field as would still appeal to the sense of responsibility and ownership sufficiently to awaken the enthusiasm of the several denominations at home. Our mission boards have no difficulty in interesting subordinate organizations, such as mission bands, Sunday-schools, and the like, in the support of specific enterprises over which these organizations expect no control. A larger application of this principle will solve the problem of the support of these united Churches. What the Presbyterians have done and are doing surely the Methodists can do equally well. And if organic union at home should be hastened a little by the organic union abroad, there would be only additional cause for congratulation.

One of the chief advantages of this co-operation and union is the opportunity it gives the native Christians to organize an independent homogeneous Church. In the development of the organization of this they should be largely left to the guidance of their national genius, even as the Gentile Churches in apostolic times were emancipated from the conservative and narrowing influences of the Jewish Church by the aggressive liberal mindedness of Paul, and permitted to work out a Church life of their own. On this point the words of Dr. Christlieb have great value:

> It may appear evident, after a time, that one heathen people, according to its whole natural disposition and history, its customs and habits of life, may have an inner predisposition for this, another for that, evangelical form of worship and constitution, while for a third, in the course of time, an entirely new ecclesiastical form or combination of forms may be developed.

If the organizing instinct is strong in a people, by all means let them work out a close Episcopalian organization. If individualism is the ruling instinct, let them organize on the Congregational basis. If hybrid forms should ensue, combining elements from the Congregational, Presbyterian, and Episcopalian polities, our artistic preference for the pure, historical forms should not lead us to condemn them if they best meet the needs of the given people. It was Paul's policy to form local churches under the charge of its own elders, as far as this was possible. Acts xiv, 23. Native churches, having competent native pastors, should be left to manage their own affairs as soon as it is at all possible. They will make mistakes and commit costly blunders, of course, but that is the usual price the world over of valuable experience. Missionaries are repeating in our own day the mistakes of Columbanus and his associates and successors among the Germans in the sixth century, making the mission house the center of all religious and mental life, instead of casting the natives upon their own resources and building up a self-contained, independent, native Church. Variations from English or American church life are not necessarily weaknesses or defects; indeed, they may represent real improvements. They certainly do prove that the vital principle of Christianity is clothing itself in a national garb that will all the more certainly give it access to the hearts of the unconverted. That the Christianity of different nations will display various externalities, and even differ in the particular doctrines emphasized, will not matter as long as its vital force is manifest. It is the high glory of Christianity that it is cosmopolitan in spirit, and able to enter into and adapt itself to national idiosyncrasies and peculiarities without losing its value.

Organic union between the divergent types among our denominations is at present not only not feasible, but also not desirable. Experience has proved that honorable denominational rivalry, sweetened by Christian charity, is a valuable stimulus to missionary activity. It has done the Baptists good to have the Methodists enter Burmah; and in Japan the same aggressive people are proving an inspiring spur in the sides of the Presbyterians. As in England and America, the gentle rivalry has led to greater progressiveness in methods and more

aggressive enterprise. If the pure gold of missionary motives be occasionally adulterated with the copper of emulation, whatever we may think of it in an ideal way, the alloy, unless the proportion of the baser metal be too great, will prove even more serviceable for practical use than the pure metal.

There is room for interdenominational organization. The American Presbyterian Press establishment at Shanghai, China, patronized as it is by all the other missionary societies in that field, suggests a field that is open to union enterprise. Medical dispensaries and hospitals, asylums and schools of various kinds, would produce larger results for a given outlay under union management. Interdenominational councils for interchange of experience and methods, for a more systematic division of the work, for settling interdenominational differences, for formulating interdenominational laws, and for other purposes of a like character, should be organized in every field. The neglect of this fraternal intercourse has led to the repetition of costly mistakes which a knowledge of the experience of other missionaries might have prevented. A uniform policy in the treatment of such questions as caste, polygamy, slavery, and minor social institutions and practices, is very desirable in many countries. An apportionment of the unoccupied parts of the world among the missionary societies of Protestant Christendom, as suggested by Rev. A. T. Peirson, D.D., and a systematic division of each land among the denominations occupying it, would insure the more systematic and thorough evangelization of the world, and prevent the friction which now sometimes occurs in the more promising fields. By these and other methods, and by the exercise of the charity which the Gospel that the missionaries preach demands, all the evil results of denominationalism could be avoided without diminishing in the least its stimulus.

Parallel with this tendency toward co-operation and unity is the growing liberality with reference to methods of work. The false mechanical biblicism which must find minute biblical precedent for every method, and the superstitious subordination of church work to custom and tradition, are breaking away, and the God of to-day is permitted to put the sanction of success upon methods adapted to the needs of to-day. The church edifice is no longer the only shrine, nor the clergy the sole

stewards, of the divine mysteries. The laity are asserting their rights as members of the universal priesthood of the saints. The self-assertion of the laity in mission work is of comparatively recent date, but in the zenana, medical, and educational work they have already done great things. The importance of enlarging these enterprises need hardly be urged, but the profit, in general, of increasing the proportion of lay to clerical workers seems not yet to be duly apprehended. The value of Christian colonies in which every trade and business shall be represented has never been sufficiently tested. If administered with proper care, and the needful disinterestedness, the moral and religious backing of such a body of Christian believers might tend to counteract the influence of the antagonistic commercial and civil representatives of Christian nations, and greatly strengthen the hands of the ordained missionary. The influence and spiritual power exerted by Gen. A. C. Litchfield, Consul-General to India for the United States, and still more recently by Lord and Lady Dufferin, are standing illustrations of the value of lay-workers abroad.

But this tendency should also find a fuller expression in the use of native preachers and laborers. The 10,274 native helpers connected with American missions show that the lesson is being slowly learned. But cannot our missionary authorities make more rapid progress in the study? There are to-day fewer ordained natives than ordained Americans engaged in our missions. There are only four native helpers of every kind for each American missionary. The policy of extreme caution in appointing native preachers as pastors obtains too largely among our missionaries every-where. Judging by home ministerial standards, and exaggerating the weaknesses of the native material, missionaries have been very slow to trust natives with pastoral responsibilities. The American Board found it necessary to send deputations to India in 1854, and to the Sandwich Islands in 1862, to induce the missionaries there to develop a native ministry, which they seemed very loath to do. The rapid development of a native pastorate has been so thoroughly approved by experience that it is amazing how backward missionaries are to accept the policy. When the European missionaries of Madagascar were driven out, native preachers arose who had tenfold the success granted previously to the European workers.

When the French seized the island of Tahiti, in 1842, there was not a single native ordained pastor on the island, although thirty years had passed since the people had been converted. The English missionaries being driven out, the ordination of natives became a necessity. The results are given by Dr. Tidman, Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society, who says:

> After twenty years of French misrule, notwithstanding all the influences of Popery on the one hand and of brandy and wine on the other, there were living under the instruction and influence of these native pastors a greater number of church members than they had aforetime.

Two missions were located in Foochow (China) at about the same time, and with about the same resources. Fourteen years afterward the Methodist mission had accomplished ten times as much as the other, because at the instance of a visiting bishop the corps of native workers had been rapidly enlarged and pastoral responsibilities placed upon them. Some of the most brilliant results in Japan have been achieved by native preachers. Polynesia has largely been Christianized by natives sustained by native missionary contributions. The missions of the United Brethren in Christ, in Africa, are almost wholly served by natives, and are recognized as the most successful on the West Coast by the Freedmen's Aid Society of England, and those two societies are now in active co-operation. The Niger mission, under the charge of the colored Bishop Crowther, is manned exclusively by Africans. In a letter to the Bishop of Jamaica, written in 1867, the Rev. Henry Venn, author of a biography of the Catholic missionary, Xavier, and one of the highest authorities on missionary subjects, writes:

> It may be said to have been only lately discovered in the science of missions, that when the missionary is of another and superior race than his converts, he must not attempt to be their pastor; they will remain in a dependent condition, and make but little progress in spiritual attainments. The same congregation, under competent native pastors, would become more self-reliant, and their religion would be of a more manly, home character.

Says the Rev. A. O. Forbes, secretary of the Hawaiian Evangelical Association:

> The greater the trust and confidence placed in the natives, the greater their faithfulness. Those who have been sent to foreign

work, being thrown entirely on their own responsibility, have developed into some of the noblest Christians and best workers the board has.

With an unstudied adaptability to native feelings, prejudices, and point of view—with a simplicity and directness of ideas and speech after which the sophisticated missionary strives in vain—and with the enthusiasm and ardor of a new experience and fresh, unhackneyed ideas—the native preacher and lay-worker are the key to the position, the hope of the heathen world.

It goes without saying, that training schools must be provided to fit these natives for their work. This need has been recognized as clearly by those who refuse to ordain native pastors, and have used native helpers only in the most subordinate capacities, as by the more progressive, and there is no need to insist upon it at length. It is, however, important to urge that this training shall really subserve the desired ends. Not the scholastic ideals of our home educational work, but the careful fitting of the worker for his specific task, should govern. Not general scholarship, but power in leading his countrymen to accept the religion of Christ, must be the end in view. Even in regard to teachers, a missionary writes Dr. Christlieb as follows:

> For the first few years of a mission, a thoroughly converted young man taken out of the congregation, of but imperfect culture, but with a decidedly Christian spirit and a good understanding, is of more value to the school than one who is well trained but not thoroughly converted.

The danger of miseducating the native candidates for the ministry is illustrated by the words of the venerable Dr. Anderson:

> The native preachers were sometimes too highly taught in secular knowledge for the incipient stages of the work. Raised too far above the general level of intelligence among their people, they longed for more cultivated hearers than they found in the villages, and shrank from pastorates in obscure places.

The true training will seek rather to cultivate than to weaken all the bonds of social and intellectual sympathy which unite them to their countrymen that do not conflict with loyalty to Christ. Dr. Christlieb enjoins that:

The native Christian should, as far as is consistent with his Christian training, remain a full and entire member of his people, even as to his mode of life, for only then can his congregation support him.

To lead them to adopt Occidental dress and mode of life is to rob them of influence and power. To insist upon our literary and rhetorical canons in public address and literary production is to handicap them in their labors. In general, whatever denationalizes them strips them of the very elements that make them powerful.

But this native ministry should be as nearly as possible supported by the native churches, and as little as may be by the missionary societies. Else there will be established a parasitism which Dr. Yates, a Baptist missionary who spent forty years in China, calls "the bane, yea the dry-rot, of modern missions." "Rice Christians" may serve to swell the reports of work done, but the whole brood of such are only a harm to our native churches.

Rev. Dr. Houston, Secretary of the Southern Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions, himself a successful missionary in China for many years, writes as follows:

The native preacher who is supported by foreign money is necessarily handicapped in his testimony for Christ. His heathen countrymen think that he speaks because he is paid to speak.

While the subsidy system cannot in all cases be at once abandoned, it should be sparingly applied, as dangerous and liable to perversion. The policy of self-support, while it should not be applied in an extreme way, yields the best results, as Dr. Christlieb has reason to remark:

In fact, the cause of the extraordinary results obtained in the South Sea missions lies to a great extent in this truly American idea of educating the native Christians to self-support.

The attitude of the Christian Church toward the temporal welfare of men as seen in its humane and charitable undertakings, in its interest in educational, scientific, and civil affairs, in its study of the social problems presented by our complex civilization, should be imitated abroad. Civilization will naturally develop from conversion, but that development will need careful direction.

Both physical and mental degradation react disastrously on Christian character. Its higher forms imperiously demand a symmetrical development of the whole man. It will become the duty of the missionary, therefore, not only to seek the spiritual, but also at length the mental and physical, elevation of the people among whom he labors.

Says Dr. Anderson on this point:

> Without education it is not possible for mission churches to be in any proper sense self-governed. The common school, therefore, is a necessity among the degraded heathen, to help elevate the converts, and make the village church an effective agency.

But the upward movement must be a natural, healthy development of the old life, not the mechanical introduction of a new life. All old manners and customs, civil, social, and intellectual, which are compatible with Christianity, and neither physically, mentally, nor morally detrimental, should be deliberately retained and made the basis of the new Christian life. Bishop Patterson insists that there should be change only in "that which is incompatible with the simplest form of teaching and life." If Japanese art could prove such a stimulus to our artists and decorators, may there not be other elements in their strange civilization equally stimulating and refreshing? An Oriental prostration is not stranger or more ungraceful to us than is a Parisian bow to a peasant of the Black Forest. The words of Bishop Patterson are only too true, as he writes: "I have for years thought that we seek in our missions a great deal too much to make English Christians." The educational ambition has been individualistic and not national, and while individuals have been raised to a highly civilized state, they do not lift the organic national life, but are separated from it. This impatience of results which concentrates its forces upon the individual rather than the masses is unfortunate. Rev. W. F. Bainbridge testifies:

> I have seen few sights in heathen lands more pitiable than native young men and women educated out of their sphere. They cannot endure their own homes, nor are they welcome to those of foreigners. They can neither command salary, nor marry so as to support the manner of life to which they have become accustomed in the mission schools. What can they do? I fear almost a majority go to the bad.

Speaking of the educational work in another country, at another time, he remarks:

> How can nine tenths of the youth from the Christian families of India spend years in some of these grand school palaces, far better than the average of our own colleges and seminaries, and then return with any measure of contentment to their own mud hovels, where there are no chairs, or tables, or bedsteads, and no ornamentation save a few daubs of whitewash upon the dingy walls?

This higher education produces not the noble discontent which inspires to higher attainments, but the acrid dissatisfaction which corrodes character. But these unfortunate results are not the necessary consequence of all education. False ideals, false methods, are alone to blame. Our missionary teachers have been building the superstructure before the foundations were laid. To have moral value, the higher education must rest upon primary instruction among the masses. Not in the college or scientific institute in the great centers of population, but in the village school, where the populace are taught, should education do its most helpful work. Instruction in practical branches, which will be of value in their daily life and give them appreciable advantages in getting a livelihood, should be here given. Manual training would be a valuable adjunct to the present system, and industrial schools could be established with good results in many places. Capt. J. A. Lewis, United States Consul, resident of Sierra Leone, Africa, in his book on "Missionaries and Missions," insists that

> Too much importance cannot be attached to the labor department, for this renders them fit to do something in their own country and among their own people. They need knowledge that is useful rather than ornamental, and that they can apply to the every-day life of their surroundings.

Rev. D. F. Wilberforce, principal of the training school for native preachers at the Shaingay Mission on the west coast, himself a native African, in his book on "Sherbro and the Sherbros," remarks on this point:

> If you would benefit Africa, and bring about the conditions necessary to make a people prosperous, train our young people in the industrial branches. The African is not insensible to personal comforts, and when properly instructed in agriculture and industrial pursuits, he will desire to live as a converted and

industrious being; will have better farms, build better homes (for in civilized localities splendid buildings have already been erected), and the battle will then have been well-fought; for Christianity can thrive better, and take deeper root in a soil so prepared.

As fast as they can assimilate them, new arts and industries, new forms of manufactures, new methods of business, new agricultural plans and appliances, can be introduced. Fully as valuable as the formal training school in these practical branches will be the presence of a Christian colony which shall illustrate both the value and the best methods in these lines, and so instruct and inspire the natives to seek a more civilized life. These Christian mechanics, merchants, and manufacturers would not only instruct and direct the heathen, but open new opportunities and avenues for their activities. These laymen need cost the missionary authorities nothing, as in almost all cases, if not in every case, they can support themselves. The observation of Rev. Mr. Bainbridge leads him to remark:

It would be well for pious farmers and mechanics and tradesmen to improve the opportunities of setting examples and superintending industries in their own line among these poor and perplexed converts from heathenism. Rich blessings from God would rest upon manual labor consecrated to the cause of Christ among distressed native Christians in foreign lands.

Rev. D. F. Wilberforce, the scholarly and brilliant native, whose book has already been quoted, says:

Only a comparatively few can be brought under the direct influence of our schools. By far the greater number are beyond this influence and must be reached in some other way. I can conceive of no plan that would prove so effective as that of planting Christian colonies in various portions of the country, so that the masses as well as those under our instruction may be benefited by this constant contact with men and women from civilized or Christian countries. More can be learned from this object-lesson as to the order of a Christian home or family life and various methods of doing business than from any instructions. The advantage to the country and people arising from this plan is next to being brought to this country or Europe. *

* While there can be no question about the need for instruction in the arts of industry as a measure for Christianizing a semi-barbarous people, the experiments that have been made in that direction have not generally been so successful as to justify the undertaking of that work by our missionaries, on any considerably extensive scale. Our first missionary work on the Columbia River was

The need of progress in the lines here surveyed, and many others for whose treatment space is lacking, is emphasized by the rapid development of Satan's foreign missions—the sale of rum, the introduction of the vices of civilization, the rapacity and injustice of nominally Christian governments, and by the recent extraordinary opening to the Christian missionary of all the nations of the earth. So great are the forces to be conquered, so vast is the field to be occupied, that any waste of resources, any blind adherence to plans and methods that experience has proved inadequate or inefficient, would be criminal as well as foolish. The American genius for invention and adapting means to ends which has done so much for industrial pursuits, ought to be applied to our missionary methods until they have reached the highest possible adaptation to the ends sought. There is a science and an art of missions, and both ought to be developed until the largest and best results are secured. Abroad, as well as at home, the Gospel herald must study "to show himself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." 2 Tim. ii, 15.

essentially that of a Christian colony; and it failed utterly. Our Liberia mission has been essentially that of a colony, and as a mission to the natives it has accomplished very little. John Wesley's mission in Georgia was of that kind, and like them it failed. Bishop Taylor's "self-supporting" missions in Africa propose to repeat the experiment; and though the dangers of failure in them seems less than in either of those referred to, it may be well to await the outcome before extending the system.—ED. *Meth. Rev.*

EDITORIAL MISCELLANY.

CURRENT TOPICS.

NOTES OF A TRUE CHURCH.

In the "Forum" for June, 1886, Bishop Huntington, of Western New York, appears in a kind of spiritual autobiography, though written in the third person, which is largely confessional, somewhat apologetical, and especially assertive, though not offensive in any of these particulars. The sketch might have been entitled "A Search for a Church," such as should respond to the felt wants of the soul in respect to one's confessed obligations to God, to his own salvation, and to the duties that arise out of the relations in which he is found. With the narrative generally, which is both interesting and instructive, and especially well-written, we are not now concerned, but only with what is said on the topic named in our heading.

The ideal Church for which the writer was searching, it was assumed, should be distinguished by three invariable signs, without either of which any association, however excellent in other respects, must be fatally defective as not being conformed to the divine model, nor fitted to respond to the wants of man's spiritual nature and to the services which the Church is designed to render. These notes of the ideal Church, which it is assumed were realized in the times of the apostles, and are indeed still realized in all things essential at the present time, having never been wholly interrupted, are three in form and number: "1. God in the Holy Scriptures; 2. God in one kingdom, set up as he declared by Jesus Christ, having laws, a covenant, a door of entrance, a history, and a continuous common life; 3. God in the testimony of his Spirit in the spirit and mind of men made in his image." A religious body combining all these conditions the writer thinks that, after passing from the Puritanical orthodoxy through various shades of Unitarian liberalism, falsely so-called, he found in the Church of which, in middle life, he became a member by its appointed rites of initiation, and successively thereafter a "deacon," a "priest," and a "bishop."

Of these "tests," the first simply recognizes the Holy Scriptures as divine in some form and degree, which is the attitude occupied by the Anglican Church since the Reformation, which perhaps as correctly as any body apprehends the true character and relations of the written word. The third "test" recognizes the testimony of the Holy Spirit in the human consciousness, the same in substance, no doubt, with that which the old divines called "the assurance of faith," and which in Methodist terminology we call the "witness of the Spirit." Both of these, the first and the third, may be accepted in their evident meaning, but without assenting in advance to such uses of and inferences from them as might

perhaps be made. Our concern in this writing is with the second, to the words of which, at least, we can also heartily assent.

The divine origin of the Church, which is the "kingdom of God," is assumed. Of this divine institution Christ is the founder and the perpetual ruler; and in this general statement all that is further declared in the "test" we are considering, is included by natural implication. If there is a kingdom, there must of course be laws; and if it is to be constituted as a free state, into which each subject is to be initiated, it must have its covenant, offered and entered into, the giving and acceptance of which, in due form, constitutes the "door of entrance" into its fellowship. So, also, since the Church was ordered in its specifically Christian form more than eighteen hundred years ago, and still exists, that fact implies that it has a history and a continuous being.

These "tests," so carefully expressed and enunciated with so much seriousness by the good bishop, though of the highest importance in themselves, are only commonplaces of Christian beliefs. As statements of the consensus of orthodox Christendom they are worthy of perpetual recognition as *criteria* of churchhood, and the things by which the family of God on earth is differentiated from all other associations. Accordingly, every evangelic society of Protestant believers will accept these tests as distinctive of their own character, and yet there may be very wide differences of views among those who assent to the same verbal statements; for it is impossible by any form of words to accurately represent the conceptions of the speaker or writer to the hearer or reader.

In respect to the kingdom of God, that is, the Church of Christ among men, the Papists say, that it is governed by a single individual, who is Christ's vicegerent, and also infallible in his official acts and utterances. The Prelatists say, that the government of the Church is in the hands of self-perpetuating oligarchy, known as the order of bishops; while the theory of Protestantism is, that the headship of the Church is in a present Christ, ruling by his word and Spirit and providence, and that all his subjects are brethren, each having equal rights and privileges. In their vocabulary such terms and phrases as "laws," and "covenants," and "doors of entrance," have quite another meaning than in that of either the Papists or the Prelatists. They are as thoroughly "Churchmen" as any others, but they locate the elements and functions of churchhood in the whole body of believers, who in their organic action are competent to shape the details of its government and to indicate its personal administrators. And they rely for both the good order and the perpetuity of the Church on the abiding presence and directing energy of the immanent and ever active Christ.

The notion of the oneness of the Church supposes the existence of some one ruling element, or more, in which that unity abides, so that wherever that or those elements are found there is the true Church. And it is because of a lack of agreement in respect to what those elements are, that the Christian world is divided into a multitude of sects. Some find this unity really, if not exclusively, in external conditions. The "laws"

which express its entity and selfhood are conceived to be those which appoint its ordinances and designate its methods of continuous activity. Its sacraments in the hands of its divinely ordered hierarchy are the media and ligaments by which the members of Christ's mystical body are joined to their Head; and although the salvation of the Gospel originated with Christ, yet it is conveyed to mankind through a self-perpetuating body of men, and by means of certain external ordinances. Another class, while accepting and emphasizing the idea of the Church's unity, and heartily assenting to all that is claimed for it in the "tests" given above, still insist, first of all, and always, on "the unity of the Spirit," manifested in personal spiritual life and experience; and this they consider the sufficient *criteria* of the oneness of those who together constitute the mystical body of Christ, united in his name, by the power of a common and spiritually transforming faith. The Church so constituted must be continuous so long as the smallest remnant of the sacred seed continues; and because of the conquering power of the divine word and Spirit the work is destined to be perpetual. The personal constituents of Christ's Church, in the full sense, are such by virtue of a spiritual union with their Head; and they can be certainly known only by himself. And wherever two or three such persons are joined together in Christian fellowship, with whom Christ is sure to be present, there is the Church. The Church is not the creature of its own ordinances; but wherever it subsists in its vital reality it is competent to originate out of itself, by virtue of the indwelling Spirit and the present and efficient headship of Christ, all things needful for its organic completeness. The apostolical character is realized by the presence of the Spirit, and it is made manifest by its work of spiritual healing and upbuilding. The tests of genuine churchhood are, the doing of the work committed to the Church by its head, preaching repentance, leading men to Christ, healing the sinsick, casting out the demons of lust and sinful passions, and quickening the spiritually dead by the power of regenerating grace.

Though not absolutely necessary, it may still be expedient, for the sake of good order and as a protection against abuses, that churches and ministers shall be constituted and recognized according to properly ascertained methods, in respect to which the conditions of historical continuity and general acceptance of methods should not be disregarded. But if in any case, and for any cause, these are not available, the Church so situated is abundantly competent to ordain and bring into practical effectiveness its own methods of procedure. It may also be desirable that the churches of a given province or locality should become associated for mutual help and directions, yet not so as to interfere with the liberties of the personally associated body of believers.

As such associated persons, themselves souls renewed by the Holy Spirit, are the constituent elements of local or particular churches—congregations of faithful men—so these are the constituents of the larger, the Church universal, the "holy catholic Church" of the Apostles' Creed, which reaches through all lands and continues to all times. It spreads

without dividing, and continues without wasting; each part contributes to the common strength, and the progress of its affairs is perpetually accumulating larger resources. To the merely philosophical observer there may seem to have been times of retrogradation and decay, but manifestly in every age since our Lord ascended and sat down at the right hand of the Father, "from thence expecting until his enemies shall be made his footstool," there has been growth rather than decay. As with Israel in the days of Elijah, so with the spiritual Israel in the darkest times of the prevalence of heathenish superstitions in the outward Church, there always remained a faithful seed; and the germs of spiritual life lived on and gathered strength, awaiting the spring-time of hope, which was reserved in the divine purpose. At no time were there wanting more than the seven thousand who kept the faith in the midst of the darkness, and who walked with undefiled garments among the abounding pollutions. Although all the conditions of the organic Church may have become base by reason of their profanation to the vilest purposes, the spiritual life was still preserved in humble and faithful souls, and the communion of saints was maintained in obscure and secret places. By these the historical Church was perpetuated, even when the hierarchy which had usurped the holy places had become the synagogue of Satan.

But, after all, the living Church must perpetually renew its own credentials by its unceasing activities and their fruits. The prophetic promise, "The Lord shall send forth the rod of his strength out of Zion," and Christ's own assurance that he would himself accompany his apostles "always, even to the completion of the Gospel age," by their realized results in the salvation of souls and in the upbuilding of the truth, is the one ever-present and sure test of genuine churchhood.

The final and incontestable proof that any given Church or ministry is really of God, must be sought for in the fact whether or not God owns them, and attests his approval by the gift of the Spirit and by using them as instruments for bringing men to himself. To churches and ministers may be applied the same tests that we are taught to apply to individuals—we may know them by their fruits. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of thistles?" The fruit is the criterion by which to determine the character of the tree, and not the tree that of the fruit. It is always safe to judge, in whatever relates to the Church, by Christ's own tests, and as he recognized casting out devils in his name as a sufficient proof of discipleship, so the manifestations of saving power among associated Christian bodies is the best possible proofs that they have God's favor, which is itself enough. Only the Holy Ghost can save men from sin; and his work, wherever and through whomsoever wrought, attests its own divinity; and any body of believers, among whom he thus manifests his power, may be safely accepted as a branch of the living Vine. These are the signs of genuine churchhood, and having found these our search may cease; without them all other conditions are insufficient. The Church is a living organism, a spiritual entity, and much more than can be determined by any outward forms or conditions.

THE BEST TRAINING FOR OUR MINISTRY.

When a class stands seeking admission to one of our Conferences no questions are asked with regard to study in any educational institution; but if it is an average class, the probability is that the majority of its members have never been in college, that three fourths have had no instruction in theology in any school, and that not more than one tenth have completed both a college and a theological course. This would not be strange if the Church and Conference welcoming these young ministers were hostile or indifferent to higher education. But the very opposite is true. In an average Conference the majority are the devoted friends of that education. By toil and self-sacrifice they have helped to establish and build up academies and colleges, and they are the loyal patrons of theological schools. The representatives of such institutions are cordially welcomed and attentively heard. Commendatory reports concerning them are favorably received, and resolutions adopted pledging hearty support and urging the young people of the Church to attend them. Individual members of the Conference are often the earnest advocates of the highest training; and many who never enjoyed its advantages urge their younger brethren, by all means, to secure it. Taking a broader outlook upon the Church, we find the bishops, the Church press, and the General Conference either warmly supporting or definitely commending thorough intellectual preparation for the ministry. It may be confidently asserted that the expressed conviction of our Church now favors a liberal preparatory training for our ministry.

It seems also beyond doubt that there is in the Church a great and increasing demand for thoroughly educated ministers. There are, and probably always will be, here and there, brilliant self-educated men. There are, and are likely always to be, some men whom all the advantages of the schools cannot save from dismal failure. Piety, common-sense, and natural ability are essential to success, and scholastic training is not. All this is assumed as self-evident. But it seems almost equally clear that many ministers of piety and ability are cramped and crippled, and fall far below their highest possible success and usefulness simply because they have not had a liberal theological training. Yet untrained young men flock into our Conferences, while bishops, presiding elders, and other leading ministers and laymen testify that in all parts of our Church there is a crying need of young ministers who are consecrated, efficient, and educated. We are freely told that it is hard to find men to fill the more important and difficult places. Surely this is not because we lack men of ability and devotion, but because so many truly able and devoted men have, for some reason, not had the training required to fit them for these more difficult and commanding positions.

One marked indication of this is the fact that important appointments are given to recent graduates of the theological schools and colleges. However the friends of higher education may deplore the strain to which men

of small practical experience may be thus put, the evidence borne to the urgent demand for educated men is clearly apparent. Students are even tempted away from their studies by positions offered on the strength of their partial preparation. Another striking proof of this growing demand is seen in the large number of those who, already in the active work, and with families to support, realize their deficiencies, recognize reasonable demands which they are unable to meet, and, by heroic effort, break away from strong ties, brave a measure of humiliation, and enter some college or theological school to obtain, if possible, thus late, the education whose lack they keenly feel. One is constrained to ask why they did not earlier learn their needs, when they were free from family cares, when their memories were more retentive, and their mental habits were less firmly fixed. Did the great Church to which they are so loyal, do her whole duty by them when they pledged their lifelong service at her altars? Did some older brethren unwittingly do them a great wrong by some words of counsel given or withheld? Instances of this belated preparation are significantly numerous. A well-known institution has had between thirty and forty in a single year. The trials and heroism of these devoted men urge an observer to cry out in behalf of their probable successors. But the great fact thus illustrated is a higher motive for this advocacy. It is evidently the judgment of the Church that there should be a large increase in the number of candidates for our ministry who are liberally trained for their work.

A glance over our history reveals the growth of this conviction and demand in favor of a thorough ministerial education, and shows that it is in harmony with that loyalty to the law of adaptation which has ever marked the Methodist Church. All who are familiar with our history know that we have passed rapidly, in our twelve decades, through great changes in the conditions of our work. These have not caused any noticeable variations in our doctrines or spirit, but have wrought so great a revolution in external things, and in methods, as to raise sometimes an unwarranted charge of disloyalty to our principles. It was fidelity to the spirit of the past which led to these changes in the letter. The accidental was varied in order to preserve that which was essential. To meet the extraordinary exigencies and abnormal conditions of the first period an unusual ministry was called forth. It was composed largely of men who were rugged, heroic, mighty in faith, often eccentric, and generally young and unmarried. It was itinerant, in a sense impossible and unnecessary now. It was intensely evangelistic. The times called for the hammer and the fire, and they broke and kindled every-where. Self-training and an apprenticeship in the actual work were all which the exigencies allowed to most of them, and these were sufficient. Yet without disloyalty or ingratitude we may trace the clear evidence that its peculiarities were excellences only because they were adapted to unusual conditions, that it was weakest when the surroundings approached most nearly to the average circumstances of our day. Very often even Asbury's spirit strangely drooped, and his tongue lost its wonted power, when he faced audiences

like those to which a large portion of our preachers must now regularly minister. It is most significant that, as the years passed, this peculiar type of evangelist became rare in the older States, and moved steadily westward with the advancing frontier, to practically disappear, now that the railroad and telegraph have well-nigh obliterated that pioneer life in which his great triumphs were won. Now and then, in remote places, the old conditions recur, and some young hero appears to win success with the old-time methods. But this very man, if sent to an ordinary charge, seems shorn of his strength, and, conscious of his deficiencies, is likely to turn to the schools for help. A sense of need of intellectual discipline and furnishing has filled with candidates for the ministry our Conference seminaries, colleges, and theological schools.

In the early years of Methodist colleges the proportion of young preachers in attendance was so large as to give character to the whole collegiate spirit and work. Our colleges then were as strongly denominational, and almost as distinctively a training-school for ministers, as biblical institutes are now. It is important to note that most of our Church leaders of to-day were trained in the colleges of that period. But the progress in ministerial training did not end with the colleges. The Church continued to advance in numbers, wealth, and education. By the interaction of the various evangelical denominations, others learned from us a warmer religious life and more earnest evangelism, and our people in turn began to desire a more highly educated ministry. The lengthened pastoral term, the change from circuits to stations, and the growth of large churches in the cities tended to increase the intellectual demands made upon the ministers. Meanwhile the theological element in the colleges had manifestly decreased. The proportion of ministerial students declined. The courses of study were enlarged to admit more attention to scientific studies and modern languages. Dreading the charge of sectarianism, our colleges became less strongly denominational. They provided a better general training, but became less and less able to give the young minister that special preparation which was increasingly demanded. It was to meet this new necessity that with heroic faith and sacrifice the first biblical institute was established. The founding and growth of the other theological schools further illustrate this effort to supply a great need arising out of the changed conditions of our Church life and work. Their history furnishes a thrilling and inspiring chapter in the marvelous record of our first century. Their present condition and prospects confirm the belief that they were providentially established, and that their work is still essential to the prosperity of the Church. A glance at the three principal schools reveals the rising walls of new buildings, and an increase of instructors and students. The former prejudice against these institutions, arising naturally from our early history, has been replaced by cordial interest and generous support.

In spite, therefore, of the anomaly which the entering classes at the Conferences present, we have, in favor of a liberal theological training, the expressed conviction of Church authorities, the manifest demands of the

work, and the consistent historical development of our educational institutions. It is not difficult to trace sufficient reasons for this conviction, demand, and development. The minister is called to perform an arduous intellectual task, and the more intelligent and highly educated his congregation, the more urgent need he has for thorough mental discipline and extensive knowledge. Yet we can hardly conceive the progress made in education in the United States during the past hundred years. Public schools of all grades, academies, colleges, and universities have been multiplied, and their courses of study and methods of instruction constantly improved. Our people have shared as largely as any in the benefits of this advancement. Hundreds of thousands of the sons and daughters of Methodist homes have graduated from the high schools, academies, and colleges of the land, and entered into all the honorable professions. They have taken their place in the congregations almost every-where, to be instructed and edified by our ministers. And increasing multitudes of our children and youth press into the schools and colleges. Other things being equal, the influence of the preacher over the educated minds in the community, and especially over the cultivated young people, will be in direct proportion to his education. His training is almost sure to decide whether he will win or repel these classes. As we find less scope for adult evangelization and more need of working for the conversion of the young and the edification of believers—as we see the preacher becoming less a prophet and more a pastor—we see that our training must aim to make the Methodist minister less distinctively like Elijah or John the Baptist, and more like Paul.

Again, as religion is attacked in the name of knowledge—as the higher education becomes more secular and even antichristian—the young ministers of Christ should prepare themselves to meet intelligently, and answer successfully, the objections of learned unbelief. Though they may not often do this directly in the pulpit, the words which are spoken there should be weighty, and they will find in private conversation and less formal discourse abundant opportunity to use all their resources in the service of Christ and of their fellow-men.

There are, doubtless, many churches which are well satisfied with pastors of very moderate education if they have piety and native gifts; but these are the smaller and remoter fields, and even in most of these superior education would greatly increase the usefulness of the ministers.

The nature of the training advocated presents also strong arguments in its favor. The misconceptions about this in the minds of students, as well as the people, are most unfortunate. The chief object of a college and theological course is thought by many to be the acquisition of a certain amount of learning consisting largely of Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy, Hebrew, and abstract theology. The student's mind is thought to be painfully filled with erudition for which the people care little or nothing, in consideration of which he is adorned with a diploma or degree as a reward for years of difficult and expensive drudgery. False notions like these foster sincere prejudice, and turn many young men aside from their

wisest course. Misunderstanding the nature and aim of the higher training, able young preachers, while yet immature and untrained, yield to the pressing calls of some ardent presiding elder, and doom themselves henceforth to a lower plane of work and usefulness. Even after a college course the young graduate, weakened by misconceptions concerning the theological course, is often over-tempted by the desire to grasp prematurely the joys and rewards of the active work, especially if further allured by the prospect of a speedy marriage, and of release from college debts. If these could all understand how the churches are longing and praying for consecrated and thoroughly trained young men, and also what great things the college and school of theology can do for them, then surely the men of talent, and courage, and grace, would brave delay and expense, would postpone salary and marriage and untimely service, and seek to add to Pauline devotion a truly Pauline training.

Briefly stated, the aim of the college is to educate the student as a man. It undertakes to send him forth more of a man than when he entered. The physical health of the students is receiving in most colleges increasing attention. The spiritual welfare of the undergraduates is generally the object of earnest solicitude. Yet the main object is to increase the intellectual power and knowledge of the student. The college promises to discipline his mind, to give him a broad outlook upon the vast fields of human knowledge, to furnish him with a goodly store of useful learning, and to teach him how to find and use the further knowledge he may need. As Dr. Hopkins says, "A sound body, a disciplined mind, a liberal education, and right character ought to be the result of a four years' course in college." It is because these great objects are so generally attained that the churches continue to build and support colleges, and fill them with their most promising sons and daughters. It is because it is soon to increase his power for good that the earnest young candidate for the ministry is urged to secure the thorough discipline they can confer.

But the college has educated him only as a man. His Christian classmate who intends to be a lawyer or doctor has had precisely the same course. For the arduous work of the ministry he has had no special training. The theological school promises to train him as a minister. It invites him to apply his disciplined powers in a systematic way, under experienced leadership, to a course of study which will directly prepare him for his arduous and sacred calling. It promises a great increase of knowledge and power for his special work. It narrows its field to those studies which center in the Bible. It considers the origin and inspiration, the component parts and vital unity, of the sacred book. It helps him to read and interpret the two Testaments in their original languages ; it sets forth the doctrines of the Bible in a definite system, and shows their relation to each other and to the discovered laws of human thought; it unfolds the mighty developments of the divine revelation in the history of the Church; it teaches him how to prepare and deliver the message with which he is intrusted; it offers him the benefit of ages of experience concerning the work of a preacher and pastor. From the Bible and the experience

of the Church he is taught the lofty science of a minister's work, and, so far as possible, is instructed in the sacred art of winning souls and building up the Church of Christ. With leisure, system, and wise guidance he begins that discipline for his high calling which should end only when he ceases his work. He receives often in a single hour suggestions, growing out of long experience, which shall save him from disastrous mistakes. A sentence or a look may give him an inspiration which shall prove a life-long blessing. Directions as to methods check his wrong tendencies and give new power and greater assurance of success. He faces the hardest problems of life and thought when his teachers are present to help him either to solve them or to calmly leave them unsettled. He adds to his consecration hard study under able masters, and to his study practice under skillful guidance.

He will not then be abashed before the young doctor who has taken his college and medical degree, and has had hospital practice before attempting to heal the bodily diseases of his fellow-men. He will not then be put to shame even by the musician who has spent years of weary study and painful practice at home and abroad before seeking to win the money and applause of the pleasure-loving public. Seeing the wisdom of the children of this world, the children of light should for their holy cause endure an equal or severer discipline. It is doubtless true that some are providentially debarred from full courses of study. Simpler training may be better adapted to some minds and for some peculiar fields. Higher education has its peculiar perils. The courses of study have their defects which should be pointed out and remedied. But experience and reason seem to direct to our colleges and theological schools as the means of the best available training for those young men who are to become Methodist ministers in the immediate future. It is none too good for the average candidates for admission to our Conferences. As never before, conservation should mean for them thorough preparation. It is their present chance for heroic Christian service.

Those who are in the forefront of the battle should pass the word back to the young recruits that the great Methodist host will soon need large accessions of thoroughly trained leaders. Through the REVIEW and the Advocates—through the Board of Education and the Sunday-School Union—by bishops and presiding elders, by pastors and teachers—the message should be given to our young men and boys in even the remotest churches, and Sunday-schools, and homes, that Methodism now calls, as never before, for thoroughly trained ministers, for workmen who in the bright light of the twentieth century shall not need to be ashamed.

Garrett Biblical Institute. CHARLES F. BRADLEY.

FOREIGN, RELIGIOUS AND LITERARY.

DENMARK is not at all behind in Christian activity, notwithstanding the popular expression, the "phlegmatic Dane." At a recent general meeting in Copenhagen of the clergy and laymen of the various religious tendencies, there was a very broad expression of feeling in regard to the necessity on the part of all the Churches to exert their influence in the direction of moral reform.

The first subject discussed on that occasion was that of "Work Among the Unbelieving Masses in the Capital." Copenhagen is in even greater measure the heart of the little kingdom than is Paris that of France or Berlin that of Germany, for every seventh Dane is a "Copenhagener." All the good, as all the evil that appears in Danish life, has its center in the capital. The Danes sometimes point to the many and well-filled churches of their principal city, but there is still a dearth there in religious work. All Copenhagen numbers but forty-three thousand communicants, and in two parishes there are but two churches for the care of one hundred and ten thousand souls.

Now, in order to correct this evil, there is a serious work to be done outside of that of building churches and preaching sermons; there is need of food for the hungry and clothes for the naked, if the fourth estate in Christianity is to be brought into the fold. Denmark needs also a good Christian press that can meet and combat the teachings of the radical organs, and Copenhagen has but half the number of physicians and pastors *pro rata* that are found in the provinces.

A discussion concerning the relation of the Church to the school drew forth a unanimous protest against the so-called "unconfessional schools" —that is, those without any religious teaching. Finally the great struggle with the "Social Democracy" reached the platform, and was wisely treated by a professor of political economy. He warned the Christians of Denmark against setting up any special social political programme; he considered the Christian social party in Berlin as a significant warning in this matter. Quite a feeling was manifested in favor of popular schools of political economy for the working-men of the towns and the peasants of the rural regions. On the whole, this convention was a great success, and encouraged those present to work hand in hand, with the help of God, for the elevation of the masses by means of Christian effort.

THE GERMANS IN EAST AFRICA are making a serious study of the products of the land, and the probabilities of making their experiment in colonizing a success. They have left the flat lands of the coast, and gone into the interior, on the higher lands, where they find a fertile and beautiful terrace from 3,000 to 4,500 feet in elevation. Beyond this lies a barren steppe, which is followed by another very fertile plain that extends to the lakes of Central Africa. The entire territory is intersected by a well-formed and clearly defined river system.

Several of these rivers are navigable for a long distance, thus affording a prospect of a future water-way for commerce; but their greatest promise is their possibility in the line of irrigation. In these regions there are all climates, from the tropical glow to the coolness of the higher Alpine lands. The animal world is rich and varied, while the soil is already covered with rice and tobacco in large quantities. In the cultivation of this the Negroes use a sort of lance-like pick with which the earth is very slightly turned, and this is all the cultivation that it ever gets.

The various gums are obtainable in large quantities, and successful experiments have been made with tropical vegetables, as well as with the coffee-berry and vanilla. The smaller coffee-trees find a valuable protection under the mighty bananas. The German agents and missionaries report that all they want is railroad transport to extract great wealth from the region; and it will again be remembered that this is in East Africa, which has hitherto been a doubtful territory, and one very little known in comparison to the western coast. This report accounts for the zeal lately developed there by the German nation in extending a protectorate over lands claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar.

The agents report the population as divided into three groups, the bulk of which is composed of very peaceable Negroes, from whom no obstacle is feared in the development of the German colonies. They hate the Arabs, and make every possible concession to the whites with a view to obtain their protection. The Arabs form the second factors in this population; the third is composed of Hindus and a few English, and these are chiefly occupied as sheep-dealers.

THE SECTS in Bavaria seem of late to cause a good deal of uneasiness to the "Superior Consistory" of that country, which examined and reported on their *status* quite minutely at a recent convocation. Their growth is said to be largely owing to the crookedness of the late crazy king, who was quite inclined to give free play to all who would help him make headway against the tyranny of the Catholic powers which rule Bavaria with an iron sway. These sects are reported as belonging to ten different denominations, which are reduced to five principal and important ones, namely, the Baptists, including the Mennonites, the United Brethren, the Methodists, the Plymouth Brethren, and the Irvingites. The Mennonites, numbering about four hundred and fifty souls, are represented as a very quiet people, holding aloof from all propaganda, and growing only as their families increase. The Darbyites, or Plymouth Brethren, number but twenty-nine, and have but one small group and chapel in the town of Oeltingen. There is also a small body of Lutherans, in no connection with the German Lutheran Church. The Irvingites were introduced into Bavaria in 1862 by Professor Thiersch; they number about 200, and have small meeting-houses in Nuremberg and Augsburg.

But the most aggressive, according to said report, "are the Methodists from America, who have a considerable money assistance from that country. They began their activity in 1876, and since that period they have

chosen the large cities, as Munich, Nuremberg, Fürth, as the centers of their agitation. From those points they spread, in 1877, to Augsburg and Hersbruck, and in 1879 to the village of Jochsberg. Since 1884 they have greatly increased their efforts, and have forced their way into all important points. Since 1885 they have penetrated other cities of Central Franconia, and also some villages; they have even drawn into their circle the University city of Erlangen.

"They sent a minister to Bayreuth, and soon gained a few followers there, and from that point they extended their operations to the following places in Upper Franconia: Pegnitz, Creussen, Kulmbach, Weissenstadt, Münchberg, Stammboch, Naila, and Wunsiedel; these places they have visited (using the same word that they do for the plague) with their religious *declamations (sic)* and divine worship. In Lower Franconia they have established posts in Kitzingen, Schweinfurt, Schwebheim, and Oberalterheim, near Würzburg; this latter town itself they have not reached. Hitherto they seem not to venture to visit Catholic points, but to prefer to gather their booty from their Protestant co-religionists, whom they seem to regard as semi-heathen." Now we warmly recommend this circumstantial report to our missionary authorities for adoption, with thanks to the Upper Consistory for the thorough work which they have made of it. But we must not fail to add, that it is closed with the hopeful promise that the police authorities are now threatening to put a stop to this invasion of a foreign sect, and prevent this unauthorized intrusion on the native evangelical organizations.

"CATHOLIC PIETY" is at present the subject of considerable discussion in theological circles, because of an effort now being made by the Jesuits to increase the number of objects of devotion on the calendar. There are doubtless a good many ingenious little accidents in the Catholic popular code that no one in particular is responsible for, such, for instance, as the pious fable that angels brought the holy house of Jesus from Nazareth to Loretto to form the basis of the most noted shrine in Italy, if not in the world, etc. But these and thousands of other like superstitions do not form an essential element of Catholic piety.

But when we see how, within the last two hundred years, the adoration of the "Heart of Jesus" has spread over the entire Catholic world, and this in spite of the opposition of churches and even of some of the popes, we are led to consider this a dogma of the creed for which the Church at large is responsible. If devotion is to be considered a test of practical piety, then this worship of the "Heart of Jesus," proceeding from the Jesuit camps, must be considered as the most essential element of Catholic Christendom. But even this seems not to be enough; there lately appeared before the Catholic world a new "devotion" on the programme; namely, the worship of the Eucharist. There recently gathered in Freiburg, in Switzerland, a considerable body of Catholic dignitaries, clergy, and laymen in the form of a "Eucharistic Congress." It seemed at first as if it would exert no influence, but it is now pressing itself on public

attention, and will probably soon occupy the foreground. Its religious object is to cultivate a special devotion for the Holy Sacrament, and it looks now as if the German Catholics will adopt the *cult*. Such devotions have their periods, and change according to the fashions. This new object of adoration will probably prove a rival to Mariolatry and the worship of the Heart of Jesus.

THE SCHOOLS OF ROME present a very interesting feature of activity just now in the Eternal City. Under the Papal rule they were beneath contempt; and at the entrance of Victor Emanuel into the capital it was virtually a city of *illiterates*. The first movement of the new city government was to establish a popular school system, in order to take elementary instruction, such as it was, out of the hands of the clerical element. In the year 1870 over twenty schools were opened, eight of them for girls, and the number of pupils rose to about 4,000. In addition to these, evening schools, as well as those on the Sabbath, were opened, largely for those whose occupation prevented them from attending during working hours. At the same time a free evening school was established for the working-man, and this soon became very popular.

The girls of Rome had been greatly neglected; few of them ever learned to read or write, and to these special attention was soon paid, which they responded to by flocking to these municipal schools. This work has been growing for the last fifteen years, and about 12,000 pupils have been thus educated. The elementary schools that are open only on Sundays or holidays or of evenings are among the most successful, showing an eagerness for instruction in those classes that had been most neglected. During the first five years instruction was entirely gratuitous, but many parents preferred to send their children to private schools, though poor, to the promiscuous commingling of their children with the very ignorant and depraved masses. To satisfy a demand, the government established graded schools with higher studies, the remuneration to be according to the grade. These schools are also quite successful.

The next move was to open a series of Kindergarten schools, mainly with a view to take care of the children of the working-women while they are at their daily toil; these supply a great want, and are assisted by private benevolence, especially those for the poorest classes. To aid in this work the Protestant missions of the various churches, especially the Waldenses, established popular schools. The Free Church also saw its duty and the opportunity to lay the best foundation for evangelical work in the establishment of elementary schools. And the denominations that could not open day-schools made up for this in founding Sunday-schools for Bible teaching.

But the ancient powers of Rome could not remain quiet in the midst of this to them dangerous activity. "The Society for Catholic Interests" founded new clerical private schools for girls. The teachers in these were of course the "Sisters" who had received the certificate of competency for the work. But this line of competition did not become very

decided until the advent of Leo XIII. He placed himself at the head of the opposing agitation, and devoted a portion of the Peter's-pence to that cause. A revival of the clerical schools all along the line was the result, but special effort was made to keep the girls in the schools of the Church. This competition has, of course, drawn many pupils from the other schools, though the "Free Church" continues its activity. But the total result is now a city well provided with schools of all grades, instead of the most illiterate city in Christendom, as it was under the Papal rule.

THE KULTURKAMPF in Prussia seems to have reached a fixed station, and it may now be profitable to study the status of the alone-saving Church in Italy, as a matter of comparison, where measures are also being instituted for a compromise with the State. The Holy See has the right of free correspondence with the episcopal powers of the Roman Catholic world without the least interference of the Italian government. The *Placet* and the *Exequatur* do not exist in the kingdom of Italy. No clerical official can be called to account for an ecclesiastical proceeding in the line of his office. Any stranger who visits Rome as a clerical embassador enjoys all the personal guarantees granted to Italian citizens.

The exercise of ecclesiastical authority is entirely free from any State interference, and there is no obligation on the part of the State to help in the enforcement of the authority of the Church. In the city of Rome the seminaries, academies, colleges, and Catholic schools have their authority alone from the pope without any interference on the part of the civil government. The gathering of chapters, councils, and all other religious bodies depends in no wise on the permission of the government. The appointment to all ecclesiastical offices depends alone on the Church; but the appointees, in order to receive their salaries, must be Italians, and must inform the government of their appointments. In view of this autonomy of the Church, the misuse of ecclesiastical power toward the State is very severely punished.

All civil registration is left to municipal authorities. The individual is free in the matter of baptism of his children, in manner of marriage, and in the forms of burial. All religious fraternities are deprived of their corporate rights. Their property has been taken by the State and pensions have been awarded them instead, and they have no longer the right to teach. All the property of the Church has been seized by the State, and government securities are awarded instead. The government's financial guarantees to the Church are still in force, and it is said that the Vatican is now inclined to draw from the State the revenues that it has so long rejected.

THE BISHOPRIC IN JERUSALEM seems at last settled, according to the announcement of the Prussian journals. It has been an open question for the last five years whether England or Prussia should enjoy the privilege which had hitherto been divided between them. A division has been reached there since. The Prussian crown will maintain its own bishopric

in the capital of Palestine. This is in accord with the contract of Frederick William IV. with the Established Church of England, which has been in force now forty-five years, with an endowment of £15,000 sterling, and an annual interest of £600.

Since the establishment of the seat three bishops have occupied it, and all were consecrated by the Archbishop of Canterbury, whether called by the English or the Prussian side. The first bishop appointed by the English Church was Alexander, of King's College of London, by birth a Jew, of Posen. His successor was Gobat, of Switzerland, who entered the Holy City in 1846. In 1879 the Englishman Joseph Barclay was ordained Bishop of Palestine. He lived but a short time after his arrival in the city of Jerusalem.

Since that time the seat has remained vacant, because the Prussians were unwilling any longer to submit to an English veto on the Prussian appointments. The English would not yield, and thus a separation has followed, which is doubtless the best solution of the problem. It is said that the first occupant of the "German Protestant" bishopric of Jerusalem will be the German missionary, Hefter, who has labored in Palestine already, and is quite familiar with matters there.

In Hungary there seems to be quite an ardent desire for a revival of Protestant effort. The Theological Academy in Presburg has given a sign of life in publishing its first annual, containing information that it is very desirable to spread abroad in order to raise the *morale* of the institution. There are ten teachers in the faculty, some of whom have recently appeared before the public with their pens, thus showing the spirit which animates them. The Protestant Church of Hungary has been in the dark as to the color of its academic teachers and their veritable creed. This academy is the servant of the Lutheran Church, but does not seem to have been at all decided or zealous in its labors. Its tendency has been toward a positivism that has not been acceptable to the body that mainly sustains it. Instead of training up a class of decided theologians, it has sent forth a race of negative Protestants.

According to this annual there were last year fifty-five students in attendance. In the summer *semester* there were thirty obligatory studies, but several of them were of a philosophical rather than a theological character. There is a Unitarian congregation in Buda-Pesth that seems to be quite attractive to the loose school of Protestants, and it recruits its numbers in a peculiar manner. It possesses full liberty of action, and a sort of independent jurisdiction. Divorce cases are treated by it so liberally that those that have been for years in court are settled by it in a few weeks. This facility draws a membership.

Bavaria, under its Prince Regent, is trying to improve its relation to the Vatican. The pope found it quite a difficult matter to get along with the mad king at the head of the government, and Dr. Döllinger so influential in the Church. It was, of course, necessary for his holiness to sym-

pathize with the country in its bereavement, but he at the same time gave it to be understood that he could not indorse a great deal that had been done in the spirit of the modern State. The Prince Regent took to the advances of the pontiff a little too readily in promising that he would have a new understanding with the Vatican that would be more acceptable to it. The question immediately arose whether there are not some other parties to such an agreement besides the prince, and who in the nature of the case would have much to say regarding it. The pope, it seems, is better pleased with the actual condition of things now than with the general theory of the relation of the State to the Church. It is quite singular that a State so thoroughly and blindly Catholic should give the pontiff so much anxiety.

DRESDEN is to have a new enterprise among the home mission workers; it is nothing less than a practical school for training in the work for all who are inclined to devote themselves to the cause of benevolence in its various phases, where they may obtain a thorough insight of the most effective ways and means. In the morning there will be regular lectures by men of age and experience, and in the afternoon the pupils will go forth on their respective errands of Christian activity. It is interesting to note the curriculum of studies: 1. History and Theory of the Home Mission, by Pastor Lehmann; 2. The Organization of the Home Mission in Germany, by Pastor Höhne; 3. Fraternities and Asylums; 4. The Institution of Deaconesses, by the rector himself; 5. Bible Societies and Christian Literature; 6. The Home Mission in War — that is, "Campaign Deaconry;" 7. The Home Mission in its Relation to Children and Young Girls; 8. Young Men and the Homeless and Unemployed. And then we find The Needs of the Great Industries, the War against Drunkenness and Prostitution, Aid and Comfort to Discharged Criminals, etc., etc.

HOMILETICAL LITERATURE for the masses seems to be greatly on the increase in the Fatherland. Among recent publications we notice one entitled "Sabbath Rest," a devotional book for all the year. The court-preacher of Dresden is a fiery and magnetic preacher, and has just published ten of his sermons bearing the name of "The Earthly and the Heavenly Zion." Pastor Pahneke, of Darmstadt, seems to be a very practical theologian, to judge from his Christmas greetings, entitled "He is Called the Prince of Peace." A pastor in Suabia treats of the parable of the Prodigal Son in twelve sermons that are well worthy of so prolific a subject. Pastor Jordan gives to the mourners a series of sermons, entitled "Why Weepest Thou?" in which he beautifully teaches how to find comfort even in sorrow. Pastor Huhn's sermons on the Passion of our Saviour has already reached a third edition, a very rare occurrence in Germany. They owe their popularity to a warm and enthusiastic testimony to the "excellence of the death of Jesus." This is a new and very desirable phase of pastoral work in Germany that is much needed.

MISSIONARY INTELLIGENCE.

THE DISASTER TO OUR WEST CHINA MISSION.—The Church has already been made acquainted with all the immediate facts concerning the disaster which has suddenly overtaken our mission in West China. The letters of the missionaries in Chung-king, as printed by our Church press, show that the rising against the "foreigners" was premeditated, a circular posted June 28 in public places in the city announcing an attack for July 2. The mobs which forced their way into the mission buildings on that day seemed to be concerned only with looting and the destruction of the property. No attempt to take life was made, and no serious personal injuries were inflicted upon those who endeavored, as did Mrs. Gamewell, to defend their property. The American and English buildings were soon robbed and demolished, and the Catholic buildings, including the cathedral, reduced to ashes. The missionaries found shelter in the office of the district magistrate, and thence escaped down the river. On the third of July wealthy native Catholics were sought out by the mob, the desire being, of course, to obtain a large booty. City troops were used in one case to protect a wealthy native Catholic, who defended his property so energetically that no fewer than twenty of the mob were killed. From Chung-king the rising spread to the capital, Cheng-tu, and throughout the province, and the Catholics, who, as will be seen on another page of this department, are very strong in Sechuen, have suffered severely.

Outside of Chung-king, on the Yang-tse-kiang, and Cheng-tu, the capital, there are no Protestant missions in the province of Sechuen, which is the largest of the eighteen provinces of China in area, embracing 166,800 square miles (equal to New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania combined), and one of the largest in population. The China Inland Mission entered Chung-king in 1877, and Cheng-tu in 1881. The August number of the organ of the society, "China's Millions," states that there was a staff of six missionaries, including two ladies, at Chung-king, with three more at Cheng-tu, two of whom were ladies. Our West China Mission was begun in 1881, and had, at the time of the outbreak, eight missionaries—Messrs. Gamewell, Lewis, and Crews, with their wives, and two representatives of the Woman's Foreign Missionary Society. The yearly reports show that the mission was fairly prosperous, ten converts being part of the results of last year. The average attendance on Sunday services was one hundred and thirty, and there was a Christian community of about seventy-five, including six members and sixteen probationers. How soon the missionaries will be able to return and resume their work it is not possible to indicate. Probably the excitement in the province will soon subside, and a way will be opened to the re-establishment of the interrupted missions. No thought will be entertained of abandoning the field.

We add a paragraph from one of Superintendent Gamewell's letters concerning the cause of the riots:

In a recent letter I mentioned an attack by a mob on our premises in the suburbs on June 6. This matter was promptly reported to the local magistrate and to the American Legation at Peking. I was apprehensive of more serious trouble, as the official treated the affair lightly. A few days later the magistrate called on me and requested that we cease work on our building for awhile, stating as a reason that the military examinations were about to occur. I told him that the houses were within a foot or two of the eaves, and I would like to finish them to that point if possible. He insisted that we must not build at present, and work was stopped on June 20. He had a good deal to say about there being dissatisfaction about our building, which was disturbing a dragon which resided on the hill and which controlled the fortunes of Chung-king. I replied that we were negotiating for land for a year, and that our object in purchasing property was generally known; that no one had any objections to make while negotiations were under way; that the property was not purchased altogether, but first a part, and then after an interval of a month or more the remainder was secured; that he himself had stamped our deeds and had issued proclamations stating that we were going to build a hospital and girls' school, and were not to be molested. He said he knew all this, and that the talk about the place was only "hsien huas"—malicious talk. We ceased building, and moved into the city on June 20.

ROMAN CATHOLIC MISSIONS IN CHINA.—Catholic missions in China have suffered much from violent persecution since they were established in the sixteenth century. They appeared to have gained a strong foothold in the first hundred years, and were even regarded with favor by the emperor; but a collision with European powers stirred the natural dislike of the Chinese people toward foreigners till it became active hatred, and Catholic Christianity was all but extinguished in the outbreaks which followed. It is only within the last half-century that the ground alleged to have been lost in the general revolt against the missions has been regained. So far as Catholic organization is concerned it covers the whole of the empire, there being one or more vicariates apostolic in every one of the eighteen provinces, making a total, according to the latest reports from the Propaganda Press in Rome, of 29 vicariates apostolic, 28 bishops, 485,403 Catholics, 2,460 churches and chapels, 440 European missionaries, 308 native priests, 1,804 schools with 25,219 pupils, and 84 seminaries with 666 seminarians, besides colleges, asylums, hospitals, and the like. In the province of Sechuen, where our own West China Mission was established, the Catholics have three vicariates apostolic, with 120 churches and chapels, 82,879 converts, 81 European missionaries, and upward of 4,400 pupils in 400 schools. The figures are large, embracing about a sixth of the Catholics, missionaries and pupils, in the empire; but the province is a very populous one, being credited by Catholics with 30,000,000, which is 10,000,000 larger than other authorities allow. The rising at Chungking, which compelled our missionaries and those of the China Inland Society to leave their property and flee for their lives, appears to have extended throughout the province, and to have resulted not only in great loss of property to the Catholics, but of life also. According to the indefinite dispatches to the Associated Press, a number of native

Christians have been killed, and churches and chapels have been burned or demolished.

It is a matter of general observation and comment that the Catholics are liked far less by the Chinese than are the Protestants. While in the demonstration at Chung-king Protestants as well as Catholics were mobbed, our missionaries tell us that the popular hatred of the Catholics was one of the chief causes of the outbreak, with all its disastrous consequences. They know Catholicism only as a French religion, Catholic missions in China having long been under the diplomatic care of the French government. Consequently Catholics were identified in the native mind with the course of France. What reason the Chinese have for looking with doubt and distrust and hatred on every thing French is well known; but how thoroughly the sympathy of the Christian world, outside of France, was given to China in the late wanton attack of the French forces on the empire, the masses of the Chinese have no means of knowing. They only know that the Catholics are Christians, and that Protestants are also Christians. They have not learned to make proper discrimination between Christians and Christians. The inconvenience of the French protectorate has been so long and so strongly felt by the Catholic missions that the pope has been endeavoring to get rid of it, and negotiations have been in progress for the establishment of a nunciosship at the court of Peking. The Chinese government has helped this project along, and but for the strenuous opposition of the French government the papal plan would have been speedily carried out. France has done her utmost to avert the blow at her influence in China, and has been so far successful that the pope has consented to send Mgr. Agliardi, not as a papal nuncio to Peking, but as a prelate charged with a temporary mission. He is to make inquiry as to whether it is desirable that direct diplomatic relations be established between the Vatican and the emperor. France has, of course, means to influence the pope in this matter. She could have proceeded to the abolition of the Concordat, and could have harassed the Church in many ways if the pope had refused all concessions. There is little reason to doubt, however, that the Catholic missions would suffer less under Vatican than under French protection.

THE MASSACRES OF CATHOLICS IN THE CHINESE PENINSULA.—The long strip of territory extending from the tropic of Cancer to the southernmost part of Cambodia, with the Pacific Ocean and the Gulf of Tong-king as its eastern boundary, and Siam and Burmah as its western, was known until a quarter of a century ago as Annam. The province to which this name is now restricted is the central part of this narrow strip. The lower province, Cambodia, was seized by France in 1862, the middle province, or Annam, in 1874, and the northern province, or Tong-king, a year or two ago. Three centuries ago all this country, together with Burmah and Siam, was a part of the Chinese Empire, and China claimed suzerainty over the Annamese districts till France set up her protectorates. Catholic missions have existed in this territory more than two

hundred and fifty years, and if the reports which we find in Catholic authorities are to be relied on, these missions have been a complete success from the beginning. In less than three years 6,000 pagans were baptized, and in fifty years over 200,000 converts had been won. Persecutions subsequently arose, and many converts and priests were put to death; but at the close of the second century, in 1857, there were, according to the vicar apostolic of Western Tong-king, no fewer than 530,000 Christians in the Peninsula.

At present there are seven vicariates apostolic, four of which are in Tong-king and three in Cochin China, or the provinces of Annam and Cambodia. The missions are sustained by the Paris Society of Foreign Missions, whose representatives have been laboring in that territory for two hundred and twenty-five years. How many priests and churches and communicants were in the Peninsula at the outbreak of the recent French war we have no means of learning. In what is known as Indo-China, which includes Burmah, Siam, and the Malay Peninsula, as well as Tong-king, Annam, and Cambodia, there were, it seems, in 1882, 110 missionaries, 143 native priests, 485 catechists, 934 churches, 8 seminaries, 605 schools with 8,906 pupils, and 240,707 Christians. This is a smaller number of Christians than were reported in Tong-king alone more than a hundred years ago. How the discrepancies are to be explained we do not now undertake to inquire. It would be a matter of no little difficulty, especially when the further fact is mentioned that a high rate of increase is claimed in recent years, 35,415 adults and 382,879 children having, it is said, been baptized between the years 1880 and 1883. Whatever may have been the degree of prosperity enjoyed by the missions the recent persecutions have arrested it and turned the tide the other way.

The massacres, which up to the middle of the present year had quenched the light of 17 missionaries, 15 native priests, 200 catechists, and over 40,000 converts, began in the province of Yunnan, in south-west China, in 1882. That province was then in the hands of a governor noted for his hatred of foreigners. Being requested by the viceroy, Li Hung Chang, to visit the English consul, the governor gave this characteristic reply: "Excellency, if you want my head, take it; but visit a European, never!" Under a governor of this spirit the populace would need little urging to rise against the priests, particularly as the priests came of a nation then seeking to wrest the suzerainty of Tong-king from the empire, and preached a doctrine at variance with the religion of the government.

Father Terrasse was the first to suffer. His house was attacked by a mob at night. Finding defense useless, he withdrew to the chapel with his followers, and after giving the last absolution opened the door to the furious populace, and said: "Here am I to answer for all." He was soon cut to pieces. His converts were sought out and killed, their property was devastated, and the fury against Christians spread to other parishes, and in village after village men, women, and children were remorselessly

butchered. The first serious French reverse in Tong-king, when Rivière was killed, roused the people of that province against the priests, and the work of extermination began, under the semblance of legal procedure. Father Béchet was arrested and taken before a mandarin. In less than an hour he and five of his followers had been tried and executed.

After a short respite persecution broke out again near Hué, and more summary proceedings were taken. Four parishes were destroyed in one day and fifty converts decapitated. Some purchased life by renunciation of the faith, but the great majority met death without flinching. A native priest was warned to save himself by flight. "Those who wish to go," he said, "may do so; but as for me, I will remain with those who will not abandon their homes." He and part of his flock were massacred. Terrible scenes were enacted from Tong-king south to Cambodia. Fire and sword laid waste on every hand, and the most fiendish cruelty was displayed. Surrounding a house, the rabble would fire it, and if the inmates attempted escape from the flames they were pierced with lances. Their screams of agony were answered by savage shouts of exultation, and scarcely a village escaped the popular fury. It was not always that speedy death came to the poor victims. The most horrible tortures were employed: the cangue, a sort of cage, which does not allow its prisoner to escape, to sit, to lie, or to rest; slow strangulation; impalation on iron hooks; hanging by the thumbs; kneeling on spiked chains; dislocation; mutilation; tearing of the flesh by hot pinchers; the stake; and many other methods, of barbaric cruelty.

Father Châtelet was among the brave men who met death with calm resignation. He awaited his executioners at the open door. When they told him to descend to the place of decapitation, he replied: "I shall not go so far; if you want my head, come and take it here." Thereupon the mob fell upon him, and with lance and saber and bludgeon made an end of him. In some cases bodies of native Christians under the leadership of the missionaries attempted, behind rudely constructed forts or intrenchments, to defend themselves. Fathers Dangelzer, Girard, and Closset, with 4,000 Christians, withstood a siege of two months, and were finally rescued by French troops. In these persecutions, which have, it appears by recent dispatches, been renewed, 500 churches were destroyed or pillaged. The work of reorganization, when the country becomes sufficiently settled to permit of reorganization, will be a slow and difficult one; but Catholic zeal will, no doubt, be equal to it. Would that the Christianity they establish were as pure as their zeal is fervent and their conduct heroic!

A dispatch from Tong-king, dated September 10, states that 700 Christians have been massacred and 40 villages burned in the province of Manhoa, and that 9,000 Christians are perishing of hunger.

THE MAGAZINES AND REVIEWS.

CONSIDERING the amount of attention now given in English periodicals to the question of disestablishment, it is evident that great change in the status of the Anglican Church is relatively near at hand. This is the logical outcome of the extension of the suffrage and of the perception by all but bigots that the Church of England is no longer the Church of the people of England, for a majority of them dissent from the State Church. In the July number of the "Westminster Review" the leading place is given to a discussion of "The Endowments of the Church of England." In reviewing an article by E. A. Freeman, Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, on disestablishment and endowment, and another by the Dean of Wells with the same title, the anonymous writer excepts to Mr. Freeman's statement, that the endowments of the Church of England are national property. The writer holds that if the ancient endowments are to be kept for the uses which the pious founders contemplated they should be handed over to the Church of Rome, with which the Church in England was originally incorporated; but he maintains further that the intentions of the founders, pious or not, have little or nothing to do with the matter. The State has the moral right, and not merely the power, to disregard the dictations of the dead when it is expedient to do so. It is on this condition that the State allows the gift to be made. The ecclesiastical endowments are, in the view of the writer, national property of the nature of public trusts, whereof the beneficiaries are, in the aggregate, the people of England and Wales. The question of the expediency of disestablishing the Church is a separate one, in his judgment, from the question of the right of disendowment. There is here also a very useful article on "What and How to Read," in discussion of the recent volumes by Frederick Harrison, the Earl of Iddesleigh, and others. There is a very important paper in this number worthy the study of all political students, on "The Basis of Individualism," which has nothing to do with the individualism against which the ecclesiastics inveigh, but the basis of individual rights. We do not remember to have seen for years an abler paper. The number closes with a very full and accurate account of the socialist movement, by Annie Besant. This is a very specious paper, putting socialism at its best, and showing that the English phase of it is really the outcome of more or less exact social philosophy.

In the "Quarterly Review" (English) our readers will find a study of "Ancient and Modern Bribery," with special relation to the corruption by which the union of Ireland with England was secured—a dreadful story, for the facts in which England is paying, in political unrest and in the decay of the value of land, a terrible price. The most noticeable paper in the volume, however, is a paper on "Modern Christian Missions," which are being very widely discussed in English periodicals. This article is strongly in favor of Christian missions, while one in the "British and For-

eign Evangelical Review" is strongly critical of them. The particular point made is, that the experience of Christian missions shows that Christianity is not ethnic, but human, and capable of lifting up the most debased tribes to participate in the fellowship of regenerated humanity. Concerning India, which in the thought of some is the least fruitful of mission fields, though the noblest of all in some respects, the writer gathers the testimony of distinguished observers that Christian missions have produced a great moral and intellectual revolution, Lord Lawrence testifying that the missionaries had done more to benefit India than all other agencies combined; that they were the instigators of all the philanthropic reforms; that to them is due the extension of primary education, the introduction of a continually growing school of the language and literature of England, the freer communication by railways, the drawing closer of the political and social relations with the seat of empire, so that there are now nearly two millions of natives professing Christianity. The work seems to be more successful with the Hindu population, carrying living Hindu thought out of the old benumbing pantheism toward belief in a personal God. Caste is being undermined and relaxed, the education of Hindu women being the death of caste. With the Mohammedan population things are different. Possessing a purer faith, having no idols to get rid of, no philosophical bondage to escape, no horrible customs to throw aside, the Indian believer in the Koran has generally more solidity of character and more steadfastness of habit, and hence is more difficult to convert. The work in China and Japan, beginning later, has not yet reached the Indian proportions, but the success has been proportionately great. Missionary labor remains the most characteristic feature of the Christianity of the present century. We live in the era of advance and of conquest, and this movement has come providentially to answer the unbeliever's taunt, that the religion of Christ is effete. The Christian faith within a century has doubled the Church in England, and sent out its missionaries into all lands. Nothing more alive can the world show.

In the "British and Foreign Evangelical Review" for July will be found a strong criticism of Professor Huxley's recent articles on Cosmogony. The paper on the "New Testament Deacon" shows that in the Roman, the Anglican, the Greek, the Protestant Episcopal Churches—and he might have added our own—the New Testament office of deacon does not exist, being absorbed as an order in the ministry. As an analysis of the true work of the diaconate the paper is valuable. Those who would study ritualism at its foundation head will be much interested in the discussion of John Henry Newman and the tractarian movement. The paper on "A Century of Protestant Missions," to which we have already alluded, is a remarkable one in respect of both its aggregation of statistics and the bold statements which are made. The results of modern missions, the writer holds, are numerically probably as great as those from the preaching of the apostles from the day of Pentecost to the close of the first century; yet he endeavors to prove by statistics that the number of

heathen and Mohammedans now in the world is vastly greater than when Protestant missions began a hundred years ago; that these systems are not merely increasing the number of their adherents by the ordinary birth rate, but are annually making more converts than the Christian missions. He italicizes the statement that no religion which has been formulated into a system, or is possessed of sacred books, has been even arrested in its progress by our modern missions—Hinduism, Islamism, and Buddhism, standing their ground and making proselytes by tens of thousands. But these facts only lead the writer up to the statement that the Christian Church is able in Christ's name to conquer all systems of error and to make disciples among all nations. A very striking exhibition of the need of greater liberality on the part of the Christian Church is shown in the statements, confined to Great Britain, that the total income of all classes in England is $5,000,000,000; of the government, $450,000,000. Expenditure—for the cost of collection, $50,000,000; for education, $25,000,000; for the army and navy, $150,000,000, the cost of the recent Egyptian expedition of England being almost $50,000,000. Looking at the matter from another point of view, the writer shows that the English people spend annually on beer, spirits, and wine more than $600,000,000; on tobacco in various forms, $65,000,000; on amusements, $62,000,000; on missions, $6,250,000. The writer makes a strong plea for unity in mission work, and emphasizes what all observers of missions know, that there has been a great waste in the rivalry of the Churches in the same field. The trouble does not seem to lie with the agents abroad, who usually get on very well together, but with the societies at home.

The article of greatest interest to our readers in the "Edinburgh Review" for July is that on Bishop Lightfoot's "Apostolic Fathers." The writings of the Fathers are now being examined afresh, and new editions of their works, with notes and comments, appear both in England and in America. It is in the writings of the Fathers that we see how in the second century elements were introduced of a very different character from those which appeared in the first, while in the third and fourth centuries we see the development of a situation which on one side is regarded as the necessary outgrowth of the earliest Christian teaching, while in another it is looked upon as an evidence of its distortion and corruption. The great fallacy of Roman theologians, and of all prelatical theologians in fact, lies in the assertion that it is impossible to conceive that the mediæval ecclesiastical system could have been developed out of a state of things quite dissimilar. We have had in our own time the extravagancies of Irving developed out of the bald Presbyterianism of the Scottish Church. The task of Bishop Lightfoot, in his comment on the epistles of Ignatius, was not merely to show that the narrative of the martyrdom of Ignatius was neither impossible nor unlikely, nor is it confined to the mere separation of genuine from spurious or forged matter. Dr. Lightfoot makes the important point clear, that the Christians between Trajan and Pliny betrayed no sign that any new policy on the part of the Roman

Empire towards the Christians was at that time adopted. A very important fact in ecclesiastical history is, that the long form of the Ignatian epistles was dominant during the Middle Ages, and yet is now universally admitted by all scholars to be spurious. Some passages in this long form were held to favor the Roman supremacy, while others were supposed to maintain the divine authority of the episcopal order. The long form was, therefore, passionately adhered to by the ecclesiastics of the time. It is also important as embracing a forgery, undoubtedly of the eleventh or twelfth century, which has been the basis in the Roman Church for the development of Mariolatry. The importance of a critical estimate of the letters ascribed to Ignatius is seen in the fact that Hall, Bishop of Exeter, in his work on "Episcopacy by Divine Right Asserted" he quotes from those passages which the sagacity of Vedelius had cast aside as interpolations. It is very creditable to the candor of Bishop Lightfoot that, notwithstanding the influence of authority, he holds himself reverently before the truth.

The conclusion reached by Bishop Lightfoot and confirmed by the writer is, that in the epistles known as the Middle or Vossian form, we have substantially the genuine work of Ignatius. This admitted, there comes the question whether the language of Ignatius really lends itself to the high sacerdotal and sacramentarian theories which it has been supposed to favor. Of the strength of Ignatius's language on this point there can be no question, but concerning the aim of Ignatius there is a great uncertainty. Dean Milman long ago found that the purpose of Ignatius was not to raise the sacerdotal power but to enforce Christian unity, and Bishop Lightfoot has proved decisively that no other conclusion is admissible. Submission to the bishop is indeed required, but equally so to the presbyters and deacons. The conception of the episcopal office is wholly different from the ideas which prevailed in the latter years of the second century, and throughout these letters there is not the slightest tinge of sacerdotal language in reference to the Christian ministry. The alternative against which Ignatius fights is isolation and self-will. The letters throw a strong light on the unequal development of the episcopate in different parts of Christendom; and when we come to the eucharistic phraseology of Ignatius, the key to his expression is found in his own definition, that the blood of Christ is declared to be his love and his flesh is represented by faith. The letters, therefore, plainly represent a time of transition between the spiritual faith of the apostolic age and the comparatively rigid dogmatic system which had established itself in the days of Irenæus. So it is made evident that the word Catholic in the Ignatian letters has no reference to orthodoxy as opposed to heresy; it means simply that which is general or uniform. The whole work has immense value as showing how the earliest faith in a divine kingdom of truth and righteousness, sympathy and love, working against and fighting with the kingdom of evil, was brought into contact with influences which tended to weaken, destroy, and corrupt it, and how still later there came changes which overlaid the pure Gospel of Christ with a net-work of iron formulas, put forth as living principles.

The "Contemporary Review" for August gives large space to the recent electoral contests in Great Britain, followed by a very valuable paper by Sir John Lubbock on the "Study of Science." The author writes strongly concerning the purifying and ennobling influences of science upon religion, and how, whatever their motives have been, men of science have contributed to the spirit of real Christianity. He claims that scientific study does more than benefit a nation in a material point of view; it strengthens and raises the individual character. To theological readers, however, the paper on the "Present State of Research in Early Church History" will be of the greatest interest. The paper has value as showing where the much-famed Tübingen school failed in its attempt to show that Judaism had few differences of shade; in its identification of the stand-point of the original apostles with that of the rigidly legal and exclusive Jewish Christians; in its identification of the Pauline teaching; in its resolving of all antagonisms in the Church of the second century into the antithesis, Jewish and Gentile Christianity; and in several other important particulars. With regard to the field of early Church history it is asserted that in the case of several very important works we have obtained new and better manuscripts; original works which had been lost have been recovered from the books in which they have been elaborated; valuable discoveries have been made by means of the inscriptions found in the catacombs at Rome, and new—hitherto unknown—Christian primitive writings have been discovered, as, for instance, "The Teaching of the Apostles." With regard to the gospels, the discovery of the "Diatessaron" of Tatian has furnished new materials. With regard to "The Teaching of the Apostles," which, on account of its omitting so much which has been dear to bigot has been the subject of intense controversy, the writer holds it as secure that the booklet which was known in the Church of Alexandria as "The Teaching of the Apostles" is the one which has been discovered by Bryennios. How important this discovery is, may be seen from the fact that in this document dogma has no development specifically its own, but belief and life appear in closest and most perfect union. The candidate for baptism is instructed in the moral law, in the Christian system of ethics, and when he comes to the ordinances and rites of the Church he gives the baptismal formula in the words of Matthew; advises that we baptize in running water, but expressly adds that if such water be not at hand, sprinkling in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is sufficient. The vast importance of this with regard to the exclusive views of our Baptist brethren is seen from the fact that scruples about the mode of baptism were of very late origin in the Church. The Doxology, which concludes the Lord's Prayer, concludes the Teachings, and the Teachings are the *earliest* authority for the Doxology that we possess. It also appears that the Lord's Supper was an actual meal from the expression, "After ye have taken your fill, then give thanks." The document is fatal to prelacy, showing, as it does, that the apostles did not ordain a bishop for every church as their successors. There is no wiser teaching anywhere with regard to

the labor question than that contained in this document. How full of wisdom are the words which follow: "If he that cometh be a wanderer, ye shall help him to the best of your power, but he shall not abide with you longer than two or three days, and that only if it be needful: but if he be willing to remain among you, inasmuch as he is a handicraftsman, then he shall labor and eat; but if he understandeth no handicraft, take ye care, according to your discernment, that no Christian live among you as an idler. But if he love not so to order his life, then he is one who speculates with Christ for gain. Keep yourself far from such."

In the August number of the "Nineteenth Century" there is a great variety of matter, but nothing of marked importance except the paper on the question "Are Animals Happy?" The writer, while declaring that the general review of mankind and of high scientific authority is that animals are not happy, being engaged in a constant struggle for existence, yet argues that there is much reason to believe that they possess a happiness of their own very closely comparable with that of man except on the side of high intellectual development. The points made are, that animals do not commit suicide, which fact creates a presumption that there is no misery sufficiently unbearable and hopeless to cause self-destruction. Secondly, the perpetuation of a particular species would indicate that the life of that species has, on the whole, been a happy and prosperous one. In the very acute investigation of human pleasures it is said, that taking the double pleasures of man's life, local or ganglionic pleasures largely predominate both in volume and intensity over the central or brain satisfactions. He concludes that in all animals the primary instinctive acts were originally highly pleasurable, and that in all flourishing order of animals sufficient pleasure still attaches to them to insure their continuance. Against this solid substratum of pleasure which accompanies the activities preservative of individual life and of the species, four things are to be set off, famine, exposure to weather, bodily injury, and violent death. In respect to death, much is made of the great skill that the carnivora have in effecting the death of their prey, but the writer certainly does not make sufficient account of the fiendish delight which the cat tribe, whether large or small, take in playing with their victims before killing them, or of the agony of those victims in expecting death. Yet it is a fact that the victims of wild beasts perish speedily under circumstances either of struggle or flight which probably minimizes the suffering, and when it is considered that the nervous organization of a wild animal, and of our domestic animals also, is much coarser grained than that of civilized man, it is probably true that the amount of pain which the lower animals suffer from a particular wound is vastly less than that which a man suffers. A wolf will give no cry of pain if its leg is cut off, while a dog will howl if you tread on its toe. Similar differences have been observed between Europeans and the American Indians. We have personally seen a noble horse which, stepping into the burrow of a prairie dog, had broken his leg

so that it hung helplessly; yet the horse went about on three legs grazing as he did before. The general conclusion of the writer is, that so far as bodily pains and pleasures are concerned, if in humanity there be a surplus of pleasure over pain, there is in brutes a still greater surplus; that, if in humanity there be any thing like an equality between pleasure and pain, there is in brutes a large preponderance of pleasure; and that if in humanity pain predominate, then in brutes the proportion should be reversed.

Mr. Gladstone, as an appendix to the articles, prints an assurance from Professor Dana of Yale College (whose work Professor Dana declared that Mr. Gladstone neglected), that he is in complete accord on all essential points with Mr. Gladstone in the belief that the first chapters of Genesis and science are harmonious.

The August "Bibliotheca Sacra" opens with a paper on "Pastors and Acting Pastors in the Congregational Churches." While the article is of special interest to the Congregational body it is also of interest to us as showing how happily, in our organization, we have escaped from the mistake of definitely attaching the ministerial character to an actual pastorate. This is followed by a discussion of the conditions and limitations of probation by President Fairchild, of Oberlin, in which he maintains that the unfavorable conditions in which some are born do not imply an unfair probation in the case of any mortal. They imply an inequality, but not injustice. He holds that a second probation is essentially a contradiction. There is also a very beautiful paper on "The Family and the Church," by the Rev. Edward Trumbull Hooker, of California. "The Revised Version of the Old Testament" is discussed by the Rev. Dr. S. I. Curtiss, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, in which the author concludes that the changes have not been made in the interest of any school of critics, and that the Bible is not a dead level from Genesis to Revelation, but an ascent from Paradise to the New Jerusalem, and that it is not a legitimate use of the Old Testament to seek in it proof texts for all the doctrines that are found in the New. The writer is strongly in favor of the adoption of the Revised Version of the Old Testament by all English-speaking Christendom, and he believes that it will be finally adopted by all the Churches. While admitting that the English company represented superior scholarship, he also feels that it would have been well if they had paid more heed to the clear discernment and common sense of the American reviewers.

The "Confessions of an Episcopalian," in a late number of the "Forum," are very interesting, and will call forth caustic criticism as well as praise. Theoretically the doctrinal position of the Protestant Episcopal Church is singularly free; practically, the writer admits that it has its full share of intolerance. He also declares that there are many factors working together to depress the intellectual life of the clergy. He says, what other denominations have noticed, that "the exaltation

of the service has become practically a depreciation of the sermon." Few sharper things have been said than the following: "Men are often attracted to our ministry because of the comparative ease with which success may be won, if so desired, upon a minimum of brain waste." He also pointedly declares that the episcopate has for many years been degraded by the strength of party feeling in the Church, and by the obtrusion of the money qualification. "Better far now than stores of grace, for an ambitious presbyter, is a rich wife." At a recent convention a witty parson suggested that the form of consecrating a bishop should be amended by the introduction of an additional question: "*The Presiding Bishop:* Have you satisfied yourself that you are financially qualified for the office and work of a bishop? *Answer:* I think so, my father-in-law being my helper." Indeed, if any one outside the Protestant Episcopal communion had written this paper he would surely have been denounced as a slanderer of the brethren; but we find scattered along through this article statements like these: "It is within the legal power of a bishop to keep a man out of the ministry because of his own intellectual incapacity to understand that man's thought. . . . The episcopate has always been the great barrier to intellectual progress."

The July number of the "Andover" has a symposium for two on the question, "Is Christian Union to be Organized?" by Dr. C. A. L. Richards, an Episcopalian, and Samuel L. Caldwell, D.D., a Baptist. Of course the Episcopalian sees possible union and absorption in that Church. Dr. Caldwell, while admitting the evils of the divisive tendency, has a clear eye for the advantages which have accrued to Christianity because of the independence and individualism which have been fostered by the Protestant spirit. His position is, that "not unity, homogeneous, heavy, inviolable, but unity in diversity; free, various, interactive, is the ideal state." Rev. Edward A. Lawrence finds confusion of thought in "Drummond's Natural Law in the Spiritual World," but yet recognizes that he is aiming at an important truth, that a thrill runs through the whole length of the cable that unites us to God, the secret of the world lying in the divine thought and purpose which quicken all nature, and that there is unity and continuity of law in all worlds; something distinct from law, and yet using law to form a universe." Under the caption, "A Political Positivist," Noble C. Butler unfolds the political philosophy of Machiavelli, and shows the importance of its method in modern thought. There is a *résumé*, by Rev. Mr. Dike, of the conditions of religion in a portion of Vermont in "Sociological Notes."

The August "New Englander" has only two papers of value to theological readers, one by Philo R. Hurd, on the "Scriptural Grounds of Divorce," and another by L. W. Bacon, on the "New Method of Church Discipline," from which he appears to have suffered. The paper on divorce is strongly in favor of a strict interpretation of the Christian teaching. He urges the ground which our own Church steadfastly

affirms, and asks the pregnant question: "Were the Church with united voice to fix its ban of condemnation upon every deviation from the letter of the Master's law in this respect, who can doubt that the evils of an easy divorce would speedily begin to disappear?"

That Horace Bushnell is still a great force in the religious thought of America, and a great force abroad, appears in the August number of the "Andover Review," in a paper by Dr. S. H. Chesebrough, on the Theological Opinions of Horace Bushnell as related to his character and Christian experience. The paper is a very sympathetic and instructive one. With reference to the increase or decrease of the American Indians, Dr. William Barrows concludes that they are wasting, and writes the following vigorous sentence: "The civilization which cannot make citizens out of Indians, or the religion which cannot make Christians out of aborigines, must become modest in its pretensions." The paper on the "Ethics of Tips, Fees, and Gratuities," by H. C. Bierworth, is interesting, and really touches a great matter in respect of its influence upon the large number of students that yearly wait at our great hotels.

The September "Unitarian Review" has an opening paper by Rev. Dr. C. A. Bartol, in his terse and epigrammatic style, on "The Unitarian Idea and Situation," in which the central idea is that we ought to cease from attempts at defining or making any final statements whatever about the infinite, above, within, or beyond, and yet he declares that a sect without ideas of its own to urge has no title to be free or to exist. "If Unitarianism is to continue, it will be by reason of the special convictions it is charged with." Can any living man tell us what Unitarianism is to-day?

J. W. Chadwick in an exceedingly well-written article on the "Basis of Religion" does not find it in science, but in the race-experience of the unspeakable wonder and compelling beauty of the world—those passions for the beautiful and good which have already done so much to make the structure of religion the majestic thing it is.

We are indebted to the "American Catholic Quarterly Review" for a very striking paper on "The Significance of Anatomical Anomalies." The writer, Professor Thomas Dwight, M.D., while admitting that these anomalies have always furnished one of the favorite arguments of evolution, declares that the attempt to explain them by heredity is a failure. "The Philosophy of Prayer," by the Rev. M. Riordan, is a strong presentation of the Christian privilege, reasonableness, and duty. The article on the Russo-Greek Church is particularly interesting as an exposition of that Church from the Roman stand-point.

The July–August issue of "Christian Thought" opens with a paper by Dr. Deems on the "Superstitions of Science." President Buttz, of Drew, writes most helpfully and in a scholarly fashion, of the apologetic value of Paul's beliefs. Those who have wondered at the persistence with which the bishops of the English Church and the House of Lords have forbidden

marriage with a deceased wife's sister will find the explanation in the paper in the July "Church Review," by the Rev. George W. Dean, S.T.D., on "Marriage, the Table of Kindred and Affinity." Bishop Huntington's article on the "Labor Question," and Mr. Dunlop's on "The Early Creeds of Asia," are both excellent specimens of magazine work. The number furnishes little else of interest to our readers.

The August "North American" preserves its reputation for varied interest. John A. Kasson, formerly our envoy abroad, has an excellent paper on "Bismarck as a Man and as a Minister." The Rev. S. M. Brandi, of the Society of Jesus, epitomizes his reasons for being a Romanist. It will not greatly impress those who are familiar with the impostures and interpolations of the documents on which the Roman Church bases its exclusive pretensions. Quite a card for this review is a paper by that radical of radicals, Henri Rochefort, on "Radicalism in France." Henry George, whose great ability and great influence are remarked of all, gives an account of the condition of labor in Pennsylvania, and shows how there has been an advance in the condition of the laborers secured by their co-operation. The famous negotiations with General Sherman are now described by Gen. Joseph E. Johnston, and much light is thrown upon a mysterious matter.

We have found ourselves intensely interested in the "Indian Evangelical Review," a quarterly journal of missionary thought and effort, edited by the Rev. K. S. McDonald, M.A., and published in Calcutta. Its various papers on mission work, Jainaism and its founder (this last by our friend, Ram Chandra Bose), on the Natural History of the Bible, on Miracles and Modern Missions, are all so intelligent and helpful as to convey a high impression of the ability of the missionary workers in the great Indian peninsula.

The August number of the "Homiletic Review" opens with a very strong article by Dr. George R. Crooks on the "New Theology," and in criticism thereof. Professor George H. Schodde answers the question, "Has Modern Criticism Affected Unfavorably any of the Essential Doctrines of Christianity?" in the negative.

Our bimonthly survey of the periodical literature of the world, the results of which are given here only in part, deepens the conviction long held that questions of religion are still the most important in the minds of men. We take up no periodical, even of secular origin and intent, in which some of these great questions are not discussed. That Christianity is a great force, an abiding ferment, a victorious power, we would be compelled to believe if we should approach the study of periodical literature from the stand-point of the unprejudiced student; for that which occupies so much space, commands so much ability, and attracts so much attention cannot be numbered among the things of the past.

BOOK NOTICES.

RELIGION, THEOLOGY, AND BIBLICAL LITERATURE.

Systematic Theology: A Compendium and Commonplace Book, designed for the Use of Theological Students. By AUGUSTUS HOPKINS STRONG, D.D., President, and Professor of Biblical Theology, in the Rochester Theological Seminary. 8vo, pp. 758. Rochester: Press of E. R. Andrews.

IT is a remarkable fact that no one of the many very able theological writers of the Baptist denomination of the last half-century has, till now, given to it and to the church-public a comprehensive treatise on Systematic Theology, though a number of able monographs have appeared. But this lack is now abundantly supplied by the issue of the work the transcript of whose title is given above. The author is well known to American students in theological and biblical learning; and his position at the head of one of the best theological schools of his denomination entitles his utterances to special consideration, as representing the opinions of the most conservative and probably much the largest proportion of the Baptists of America. For while the Baptists have no specific and regularly formulated and authoritative doctrinal standards to which even its ministers are expected to subscribe, it is still no doubt true, that there is less variation of doctrinal opinions among them than in almost any other considerably large body of Christians. They have some decidedly able biblical scholars, and an association of these has produced a revised version of the Bible scarcely inferior to any other, except in respect to a class of texts, forced interpretation of which was required in order to give support to their own distinctive notions. Many of their more general theological works will not suffer in comparison with any others; and now that they have this comprehensive digest of Christian doctrine, they may be said to have contributed their share to our theological literature.

The work appears to be made up of the matter accumulated by its author during the many years in which he has occupied a chair of Biblical Theology and has been actively engaged in the work of teaching. This fact in respect to the genesis of the book has also determined its form and methods of presentation. It is especially a book for students rather than for more general readers; a compilation of the commonplaces of theology, arranged in an order adapted to the wants and convenience of special students. The division and arrangement of its matter, though evidently the author's own work, does not vary very widely from the forms usually adopted in such productions. Its style is directly didactic and dogmatical, giving first of all the determination of each subject, and afterward the proofs and arguments by which its conclusions are sustained. The author seems to think, and in this we agree with him, that one who undertakes to teach should have settled convictions of his own. The enunciation of positive opinions is better adapted to lead out the thoughts, and to promote intelligent inquiry, than the suggestion of doubts or the state-

ment of notions simply as mooted questions. But by submitting his positions to proofs and arguments he removes them from the simple authority of the teacher, and subjects them to the learner's own decision after weighing the offered proofs, a process in which, if ably conducted, the tutorial *ipse dixit* often fails of its needed support.

Dr. Strong's positions on nearly all points are those of a thoroughly orthodox and conservative theologian of the Calvinistic-Baptist type of fifty years ago. In treating of the Bible, which, in common with all Protestants, he accepts as the only and sufficient rule of faith, he touches but lightly upon the many difficult questions raised by modern criticism, and of course he leaves his students without the needed preparation to grapple with them. His theory of inspiration is not extreme in either direction, nor especially definite, though perhaps sufficiently so. The changes of opinions and doctrinal attitudes which have seemed so conspicuous in some places, and which are thought by many to call for a revisal of the old creeds and for re-statements of many Christian beliefs, do not appear to have at all reached him. He abides within the ancient landmarks, and his work is an example of the kind referred to in the article in our last number respecting the utterance by the theological schools of doctrines which have ceased to be heard from the pulpit. He is a Calvinist of the straitest, *bluest* type. He states the doctrine of the "decrees" with a directness and clearness like that of one of the Westminster divines, and with a boldness that might shame all the make-shift modifications of modern predestinarians of the New England schools, from Jonathan Edwards to N. W. Taylor and C. G. Finney. And yet even he finds it expedient to utter a caution against an over-free and unskillful presentation from the pulpit of this doctrine, although he so strongly insists upon it as of the essence of the Gospel.

In the wide domain of Eschatology, which has appeared to many to be especially beset with difficulties, he seems to find every thing as plain and easy of acceptance as did the least critical preacher or poet of the last century. The materialistic and sensuous aspects of those earlier conceptions are accepted without any apparent misgivings, and arguments and proof texts are adduced for their support and illustration without any regard to all that has been shown as to the fallacy of the one kind and the irrelevancy of the other. Only occasionally he shows signs of having some knowledge of some of the most formidable of the objections to the views he advocates; but usually he says nothing about them.

He of course pays some attention to the non-Calvinistic theories of religion—and we are free to grant that in his statements and discussions of Arminianism the subject is fairly treated, and also with marked discrimination in respect to its various and variant types. Wesleyan Arminianism he seems to estimate as only a little less excellent than his own favorite "doctrines of grace;" but he does not fail to detect the falling away from that system by some of its nominal interpreters in this country—especially Whedon and Raymond. In whatever relates to the specific beliefs and practices of the Baptists he is a "Pharisee of the

most straitest sect." That any thing but immersion in water can be Christian baptism is in his view quite too preposterous to be thought of, except to be repudiated, and that it should be given to any except believers is equally absurd; and as no one can be accounted a member of the visible Church unless he has been baptized (that is, immersed), and because the Lord's Supper belongs only to those of the visible Church, "close-communion" is a sacred obligation—the arguments and practices of such Baptists as Robert Hall and Mr. Spurgeon to the contrary notwithstanding.

But passing by all these points, which at their worst are but as a few "dead flies" in a large mass of very precious ointment, we may speak of the system of Christian doctrines here given, as a whole, as thoroughly biblical and eminently evangelical. The presentation of the doctrine of sin, of atonement, of justification, and of the Christian life, are all most excellent, and with these wrought into his thinking and experience the Christian teacher will not be likely to lead men very far astray.

We are glad that such a book has been published, for it contains very much that is valuable; and in respect to its errors, they are not to be dreaded while the truth is left free to combat them. By its production its author has made not only those of his own denomination, but the whole Church universal, his debtors.

The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testaments. Translated out of the Original Tongues. Being the Version set forth A. D. 1611. Compared with the most Ancient Authorities, and Revised.
The Revision of 1881 and 1885 Compared with the Version of 1611; Showing at a Glance what Words are Common to Both, and by Diacritical Marks and Footnotes what are Peculiar to Each. By RUFUS WENDELL, Author of the "Student's Revised New Testament." Bourgeois, 8vo, pp. xviii, 886, and xiv, 276. Albany, N. Y.: Revised Bible Publishing Company. Sold by Subscription.

The Revised Bible has now a place among us, and is asserting its claim to the character of the sacred book of English-speaking Christendom; and very evidently it has come to stay. Its right to supersede the older version is not hard to establish, on any grounds of criticism, or of respect to its truthfulness in the reproduction of the sense of the original; but to dispossess the incumbent after two and a half centuries of possession is a much more difficult process than to prove that it ought to be superseded. The English Bible of the version of 1611 has become a large and important element of the body of English literature, in the development of which, much more than any other agent, it has been a controlling and fashioning power. Its forms and phrases have entered into the thoughts and the speech of the people, and men unconsciously talk in its phraseology and think according to its methods. On the religious side it (and not the originals) is the Scripture of the English-speaking world, and scarcely less so its incorrect texts and its faulty translations—of which it contains a not inconsiderable number—than what is genuine and faithfully reproduced, are usually accepted as a final authority by the

learned and the unlearned alike. The praise that has been so freely bestowed upon it, in about equal fullness, by friends and foes of its teachings, needs not to be either abated or qualified. It is a marvelous production, and so true to the spirit of the original "Scripture inspired of God," that of it may be safely predicated all that the Church declares when she says, respecting "Holy Scripture," "that whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith, or be thought requisite to salvation."

But after all this is granted, it must still be conceded that the version of the Bible given to us by our ecclesiastical predecessors is not entirely perfect. The critics so declared when it was first issued, and with the growth of biblical learning have come fuller and clearer demonstrations of its faultiness; and so well has all this been known, that not only do we hear attempted corrections from the pulpit, but even in our Bible classes and Sunday-schools fledgeling critics are accustomed to try their hand at textual rectification and emendation, thus making it necessary that even our children should be taught what are, beyond all doubt, the correct words of the Bible. The often repeated and substantially correct statement that in the old version every great doctrine is generally correctly set forth must also be accepted with some slight modifications. The literalistic conceptions of the things taught in the Bible that prevailed in the Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries no doubt intensified the materialistic imagery of the Bible, and have given an undue degree of anthropomorphic costume to its statements of things spiritual, while the one-sided conceptions of the divine sovereignty induced by their reproduction in the English Bible a notion of God's relation to his creatures that varies somewhat from the truth, and which still prevails chiefly where the English Bible is used.

But when all its confessed imperfections are made the most of — which, however, are not of very much account in comparison with its real excellences—English-speaking Christians do well to love and honor the Bible of their fathers, to venerate even its accidents, and to speak gently of its faults. And yet even that deference should demand that its faults and imperfections should be faithfully remedied by those upon whom this duty is now devolved, by reason of their wider learning and better opportunities. In this spirit we are assured the new version was undertaken and has been accomplished. The completed work is now in the possession of the Christian people of these lands, to be considered on its merits, and the time for rendering their verdict should not be abbreviated, for the duty cannot be hurried. Nor is there much doubt in respect to what that verdict will be. Confessed incorrectness will at length discredit the most rhythmical and euphonious forms of words, and the seeming harshness of the substituted forms will become less and less offensive by familiarity. There need, therefore, be no concern, as there can be but little doubt, about the Bible in English which our grandchildren will read. Probably no other so large, so grand, and so successful a single

piece of learned labor as that of making the new version of our Bible was ever before done, and future ages will render due honor to those who have contributed to so noble a design.

The edition of the "Revised Version" named at the head of this notice is especially worthy of favorable attention. It is a complete English Bible, and by the help of certain unobjectionable marks of reference and very brief notes all the changes from the old version are clearly indicated —a needful arrangement to aid in passing in thought from the old to the new forms. The editor deserves the thanks of all readers of the Bible, and the public will be benefited by his work in proportion as it shall be used.

Four Centuries of Silence, or from Malachi to Christ. By Rev. R. A. REDFORD, M.A., LL.B., Professor of Systematic Theology and Apologetics, New College, London; Author of "The Christian's Plea against Modern Unbelief," "Studies of the Book of Jonah," etc. 12mo, pp. 258. $1 50. Chicago: Jansen, McClurg, & Co.

The marked increase during the last few years of works upon the theme indicated in the book-title given above, is a hopeful indication of the thought of the times in respect to the study of the New Testament. Between the date of the last book of the Old Testament and that of the opening of the Christian dispensation there is a blank in the biblical history extending over four hundred years. To this period belong most of the books of the Apocrypha; but the modern practice—induced by the regulations of the Bible societies, which publish only the canonical Scriptures, of excluding those books from the English Bible—has resulted in a general unacquaintance with their contents among all except special biblical students, to the extent that beyond any other period of the Church of God this important and fruitful era is unknown—a blank in men's conception of the sacred history of the world—even among ordinarily intelligent people. There are extant a good supply of valuable treatises on the subject, historical and critical, and it may be said that its literature is rich and abundant; but it is almost universally written for scholars, and therefore not adapted to the requirement of non-professional readers. This want is now very happily met by the volume whose title stands at the head of this paper.

It is a book that may be read through in ten or twelve hours, distributed into twelve chapters, each devoted to some definite subdivision of the general subject, beginning with Malachi, "the last of the prophets," and ending with John the Baptist, "the voice in the wilderness." In its style, both of language and thought, it is such as may be readily understood by the non-professional reader, and its wealth of learning is conveyed with a desirable clearness and accuracy with only the most sparing use of technical terms. The writers chiefly drawn upon are Ewell and Dean Stanley and Edersheim, the last being evidently the author's special favorite. Less credit is given to Prideaux than he deserves, while Schürer is scarcely named, for the sufficient reason that his work in its completed form was not published at the time these chapters were written. The original

literary sources of the period, the Apocrypha, Josephus, Philo, and incidentally some of the profane historians and poets, are known by all as existing, but they have almost wholly ceased to be studied except by specialists. At this time it cannot be expected that they will be much used by any others. This state of the case necessitates just such a work as this; and it is a cause for sincere congratulation that the needed manual has been prepared by one so well qualified alike by learning and by literary tact for his self-imposed task. It is a book which the biblical student, minister, Bible-class teacher, and indeed every intelligent Christian, will find a valuable help toward the better understanding of countless references in the New Testament to present and past facts of Jewish and more general history, and to customs and usages as they then prevailed among the Jews or other related nations. The need of such instruction is seen in the changed condition of things among the Jews of the New Testament times as compared with the Israel of the older Scriptures. We could wish that the subject matter of this volume could become as familiar as the text of the New Testament, for such knowledge would serve as a key to unnumbered enigmas.

Apologetics; or, the Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. EBRARD, Ph.D., D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Erlangen. Translated by Rev. WILLIAM STUART, B.A., and Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Vol. I. 8vo, pp. 407. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. New York: Scribner & Welford.

With the steadiness of the changes of the seasons for forty years past the Clarks of Edinburgh have sent forth their successive volumes, four each year, which are as promptly given to the American public by the representatives of their house, Messrs. Scribner & Welford, of this city. Their publications are chiefly, but not entirely, translations, mostly from the German, but a few from the French; they also issue many of the ablest theological productions that appear from time to time in the English language, including some well known American works. Their last issue, whose title is given above, is from the author's second edition, rendered in good English, but faithful to the original. The style of the argumentation is decidedly German, which, however, may be readily mastered by the English reader, and then it will cease to be obscure or difficult. The method of the discussion in this first part is chiefly metaphysical (that of the second part will be historical), but using freely the facts of science, and especially dealing trenchantly with the narrowness and shallowness of modern Materialism and its promulgators, both English and German. The work is highly elaborate and exhaustive, approaching as nearly as the subject will allow to an absolute demonstration of the chief truths and doctrines of Christianity. Perhaps no proofs addressed to men's understandings are competent to overcome that form of unbelief which has its seat in the heart; but in respect to positive disbelief the arguments here presented must be to all fair-minded persons as convincing as they are unanswerable. In the presence of such evidence the superficial cavils of the "Scientists" appear simply contemptible.

First Principles of Faith. By MARSHALL RANDLES, Author of "Forever," "Substitution," etc. 12mo, pp. 308. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

This is a concise and compactly arranged system of Christian Evidences, adapted to the prevalent mental *status* and the thinking of the times. The arguments chiefly employed are those that relate to cause and effect —that styled by logicians the "eteological." The doctrine of causality is therefore first considered, and the various opposing suggestions. Next the chief forms of theistic evidence are taken up, and after this the bearings of science and philosophy upon the subject, and the whole discussion brought to an issue in displaying the relations of natural and revealed theology. The whole line of argumentation proceeds with the recognition of the mental freedom of those addressed, and with the implication that the conclusions reached are to be accepted only because the reasons in their favor are more and better than any that can be presented in opposition to them. We can most heartily commend this volume as a frank and manly consideration of the highest problems that can engage the human mind and a defense of the truth so managed that not often are doubts suggested by the arguments employed against them. The work is a reprint from the edition of Hodder & Stoughton, and its author is an honored member of the British Wesleyan Conference.

Commentary on the Gospel of John. With an Historical and Critical Introduction. By F. GODET, Doctor in Theology and Professor in the Faculty of the Independent Church of Neuchâtel. Vol. II. Translated from the Third French Edition, with a Preface, Introductory Suggestions, and Additional Notes, by TIMOTHY DWIGHT, President of Yale College. 8vo, pp. 551. New York: Funk & Wagnalls. $3 50.

The American edition of the first volume of Godet's St. John, which appeared from the press of Messrs. Funk & Wagnalls in the early part of the present year, is so largely made up of preliminary discussions that only five chapters of the Commentary of the Gospel were given. Those "preliminaries" very greatly enhance the value of the work, and should be carefully studied preparatory to the reading of the expository notes. The second volume, now given complete, makes the work one of very great value. As a learned, spiritual, and evangelical writer, Dr. Godet has few superiors; and the publication of his St. John, with the accompanying documents, confers a real boon upon biblical students. Its moderate price makes the work generally accessible.

Storm Signals. Being a Collection of Sermons Preached at the Metropolitan Tabernacle on Sunday and Thursday Evenings. By C. H. SPURGEON, of London. 12mo, pp. 422. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

What Mr. Spurgeon preaches will do to be printed, and when printed it is sure to be read, and wherever read it will pretty surely do good. This last installment from his apparently exhaustless fountain consists of twenty sermons, not unlike others that have proceeded from the same source, which is saying that they are good.

Gospel Faith Commended to Common Sense. By JOHN LEIGHTON, D.D. 12mo, pp. 139. New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

A good many good things are said in this little volume on a subject of no secondary importance with any—guarding it against superstitions and fanatical interpretation and uses. But it is still capitally defective in failing to recognize and insist upon the essentially supernatural origin and character of saving faith. To reduce the exercise of faith to a form of good works, by which salvation is secured, is not the theory of the New Testament. Paul's faith was not a "common-sense" faith, and the salvation of which he speaks as following after the exercise of faith was not "of works," nor founded in the ethical condition of the character of its subject. Faith saves first, and then "works by love."

HISTORY, BIOGRAPHY, AND TOPOGRAPHY.

THE STORY OF THE NATIONS: *The Story of Chaldea*, from the Earliest Times to the Rise of Assyria. (Treated as a General Introduction to the Study of Ancient History.) By ZÉNAIDE A. RAGOZIN, Member of the Société Ethnologique of Paris, etc. 8vo, pp. 381. — *The Story of Germany.* By SABINE BARING-GOULD, M.A., author of "Germany, Present and Past," etc, with the Collaboration of ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A., Author of "The Story of Rome," etc. 8vo. pp. 437. — *The Story of Hungary.* By ARMINIUS VÁMBÉRY, Professor at the University of Buda-Pesth, with the Collaboration of LOUIS HEILPRIN. 8vo, pp. 453. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The announcement some time ago by G. P. Putnam's Sons of their purpose to issue a series of histories in the form of monographs, each covering the "Story" of a single nation, seemed to us when first made to be a happy conception; and that early judgment has been more than merely sustained by the several volumes already published. In their prospectus the publishers said—and they seem to have faithfully performed all they promised—

> It will be the plan of the writers of the different volumes to enter into the real life of the peoples, and to bring them before the reader as they actually lived, labored, and struggled—as they studied and wrote, and as they amused themselves. In carrying out this plan, the myths, with which the history of all lands begins, will not be overlooked, though these will be carefully distinguished from the actual history, so far as the labors of the accepted historical authorities have resulted in definite conclusions.

"The Story of Chaldea" is, first of all, an account of its ruins, and the reports they render to recent investigations, filling more than a hundred pages. The history of the country, as found in ancient literature, is given with all needful fullness, with accounts of its nomad and early great races; the Turanians, and the Cushites, and the Semites, their religion, legends, and myths, all traced with care and skill, and the work brought to a good degree of intelligible completeness, at once readable and instructive.

"The Story of Germany" belongs to the period of real history, and yet its earlier stages lie almost entirely in the regions of myths and legends.

Roman history affords the first authentic accounts of the people, but from other and later sources we hear of the migration of the tribes, and still later of Clovis and Charlemagne, and of the "Holy Roman Empire," the Thirty Years' War, Napoleon's wars, and the modern empire. The story as here given is succinct but very good.

"The Story of Hungary" is a romance, but heroic rather than idyllic. First, it was the land of the "fiery Hun," a race that well answered to that epithet; and after these came the Magyars, no less brave but more cultivated; and these two races have lived side by side, and locally intermingled for centuries, and yet retained their separate existence to the present day. Hungary, successively an independent kingdom, a Turkish province, an Austrian dependency, and, last of all, a component part of the double-headed empire of the Hapsburgs, has maintained through all its changes its own proper nationality, and wrought out for itself a most remarkable history, the salient points of which are well chosen and happily grouped by Professor Vâmbéry.

The method of writing history pursued in this series of "Stories" has many decided advantages, especially for ordinary and non-professional readers. Each volume is complete in itself, and the individuality of each nationality becomes the more distinctly pronounced by being thus treated by itself. The selection of writers of the highest order of talents for the preparation of the several volumes indicate both the good judgment and the enterprise which have governed in the management of the whole undertaking. The mechanical make-up of the books, in type, paper, and binding, is all that can be required, and the set, as a whole, constitutes an unusually valuable historical library.

The Story of Carthage. By ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A., Author of "Stories from Homer," etc. With the Collaboration of ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A., Author of "The Story of Rome," etc. 12mo, pp. 309. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Carthage, as a nation—its people were never a distinct nationality—had a beginning, a growth, a decline, and an extinction, the last so complete that it has not left a wreck behind it. It begins with the legends of Pygmalion and Dido, which Virgil turned to good account in his Æneid; it was the rival and the most formidable antagonist of Rome, in its career of conquest and spoliation; it was the mother of heroes and statesmen; but it failed in battle, and with its fall its glory departed, except what has defied the ravages of time in the form of splendid ruins. In this volume its story is retold with all the scholarly completeness that the subject calls for and the joint authors are so well qualified to give it.

A History of Greek Literature, from the Earliest Period to the Death of Demosthenes. By FRANK BYRON JEVONS, M.A., Tutor in the University of Durham. 12mo, pp. 509. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

The subject which this volume proposes to consider is a very wide one, and very rich in its material, and the author has found himself compelled to omit many valuable details and to avoid giving illustrations by extracts.

The book is full of matter, fairly well arranged, and, while necessarily concisely stated, a good degree of completeness is secured. The progress of Greek literature—which has no rival in all the finer qualities—is traced from the mythical age that produced the Iliad and Odyssey to the simultaneous culmination of both the civil and the literary career of the Grecian people in the times of Demosthenes. The later and not inconsiderable school of Greek literature, as it became naturalized on all sides of the Mediterranean Sea, is not discussed.

The volume is a full one, closely printed, with full pages and small type. With a few additional chapters on the later literature, and a little larger type, and a freer leading, the work would have made two fair sized volumes, which would have been better.

A Budget of Letters from Japan: Reminiscences of Work and Travel in Japan. By ARTHUR COLLINS MACLAY, A.M., LL.B., formerly Instructor of English in Tokio, Japan. 12mo, pp. 391. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son.

The author of this volume, a young American who has spent most of his life in the far East, and who was himself for four years at work in Japan, delineates in the form of letters his experiences and observations in that far-away country. His sketches are remarkably realistic—perfect photographs of the things and scenes described. They tell about the cities and the open country, give some account of the recent history of Japan, especially as respects its relations to Europe and America, with the remarkable changes that are occurring among that strange people. The writer, though not himself connected with the missionary work, evidently was in such relations to those who were (for his own father is at the head of the Methodist mission) that he is able to write intelligently on the subject, and his testimony is most decidedly favorable to both the workers and to the work done. It is written with a good degree of vivacity, and the whole book abounds with valuable information.

The Ante-Nicene Fathers: Translations of the Writings of the Fathers down to A.D. 325. Rev. ALEXANDER ROBERTS, D.D., and JAMES DONALDSON, LL.D., Editors. American Reprint of the Edinburgh Edition. Revised and Chronologically Arranged, with Brief Prefaces and Occasional Notes, by ARTHUR CLEVELAND COXE, D.D. Volume VII, Lactantius, Venantius, Asterius, Victorinus, Dionysius, Apostolic Teaching and Constitutions, Homily and Liturgies. Authorized Edition. Imperial octavo, pp. 593. Buffalo: The Christian Literature Co.

The steadiness of purpose, with corresponding results, that has marked the course of the reproduction in this country of the justly celebrated Edinburgh edition of the works of the Ante-Nicene Fathers, re-edited and enriched, is among the most satisfactory achievements of combined literary and business enterprises. Of the eight volumes originally announced only the last remains to be issued, and the style and make-up of the work cannot fail to be more than merely satisfactory. The matter found in this volume, though not including the works of the most renowned names in the early Church, is still of such value, especially as indicating

the course of thought in the Church, and the development of the order of things that prevailed at the era of Constantine, that only by a careful study of these works can one properly appreciate the character of the transition in the religious attitude of the Roman Empire then about to occur. There was evidently a decline in both the intellectual and the religious forces that had distinguished the writings of some of the earlier Fathers, and also a growth of ritualism, and of deference towards ecclesiastical authority. The beginnings of formularies of both doctrines and disciplines are seen in such productions as the Apostolic Constitutions and the recently re-discovered "Teaching of the Twelve Apostles," which last now takes its place among the accepted Christian literature of those times. The publication of such a set of works at this time is highly significant in respect to their evidently extensive study among our theologians. The publishers deserve well of the public in the form of large sales of these valuable wares.

The Life of Robert Fulton, and a History of Steam Navigation. By THOMAS W. KNOX, Author of "The Boy Travelers in South America," etc. Illustrated. 12mo, pp. 507. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

The name of Robert Fulton is found in the biographical cyclopedias, and a vague notion possesses the mind of our age that there was once a man of that name, and that he had something to do with the beginnings of steam navigation. Beyond this, even in the place of his principal activities where he lived and died, and where is his unhonored grave, very little more is known, and it would not be difficult for a destructive critic to construct a line of proofs that should remand his whole story to the region of myths. But at last he has found a biographer worthy of the real greatness of the man, and the reading public have the opportunity to learn the details of that remarkable episode in our city's history with which the name and fame of Fulton is inseparably connected. The son of a Kilkenny man, but himself born near Lancaster, Pa., in 1765, Robert Fulton was a predestinated inventor, with the resultant perplexities and disappointments of his pursuits. After trying his fortune in several other directions, he at length devoted himself to the practical solution of the problem of propelling vessels over the water by steam-power, and in this he succeeded, to the great profit of the world, and very little to himself; and at last he died poor, and very few know where he was buried.

Mr. Knox succeeds in delineating Fulton's personal history with the needful fullness of details, and, quite naturally, with this is interwoven a succinct history of the origin and growth of steam navigation. The work of collecting and grouping the facts and the incidents employed is well done, and the book makes a valuable contribution to American biography.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Our Youth. A Paper for Young People and their Teachers. Published every week. J. H. VINCENT, D.D., Editor. Vol. I. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

The appearance of the first volume of OUR YOUTH (bound), December to June, marks a stage in the progress of that new and promising publication. It is in the form of an ordinary quarto about eleven by thirteen inches in size, four hundred and sixteen pages, made up of the first twenty-six weekly numbers, sixteen pages each, substantially incased in finely embossed cloth binding, making a valuable volume for all seasons, and especially well adapted to serve as a household book for the young ones.

OUR YOUTH made its advent at the beginning of December of last year, in obedience to the action of the General Conference, with which body there was a feeling that a periodical of a higher character and broader purposes was a felt want. In that feeling they no doubt reflected the sentiments of the best class of the Sunday-school workers of the Church, and especially those of very many Christian parents, who would gladly replace some of the high-toned secular periodicals read by their children by some others of equally elevated tone and literary abilities, but of decidedly moral and religious character. The idea was a worthy one, but it may be doubted whether the difficulty of its realization was adequately appreciated by those who demanded the new publication. A first-class periodical, designed for both instruction and entertainment, is a work of art, which only real artists can be expected to produce, and these are not so abundant that they can always be supplied as called for. Sunday-school literature has advanced to a comparatively elevated level, and some of its periodicals, notably the "Sunday-School Times" (H. Clay Trumbull, Phila.), have attained to the first grade among the periodicals of the day. It was necessary to the success of the proposed paper that it should become in some good degree the equal of the best of these, and, as nearly as possible, at a single bound leap to the elevation up to which they have labored through long years of growth. The enterprise was one of supreme difficulty, but it has been compassed with a commendable degree of success, though thus far all that has been done is evidently only tentative, but intrinsically good, and very full of promise. Much, however, remains to be done, especially in respect to the *personnel* of the staff of sub-editors and stated contributors, upon whom will largely devolve the work that shall result in success or failure. As indicated by this initial volume, certainly the beginnings are highly propitious, and they seem to promise that in its own sphere OUR YOUTH may challenge a not unfavorable rivalry with any of its competitors. For what has been thus far achieved we heartily congratulate Editor Vincent and his coadjutors, but they must practically remember that what will satisfy as promised, will not suffice as fulfillments.

A Little Silver Trumpet. By L. T. MEAD, Author of "The Autocrat of the Nursery," etc. Illustrated by T. PYM. 12mo, pp. 243. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe. $1 00.

Our Sunday-school editor and our publishers are giving practical though not formal effect to the instructions given them by the last General Conference to issue a new volume for each week, by giving an occasional volume. The books chosen are chiefly in the form of fictions—stories, novelettes. Of course they are not great works of art in respect to either their conception or execution, and some of them are reprints not very carefully revised. Because they are the issues of an ostensibly religious publishing house, they must be free from out-spoken devilishness, and also have about them a slight flavoring of religiousness. With these conditions, the book named above, which is a fair specimen of its class, conscientiously accords. If it is without positive excellences, it is also harmless, except as it takes the place of other and better reading. The fact that such books are finding a place in our Sunday-school libraries is not altogether assuring as to the mental and moral robustness of the rising generation. As a specimen of mechanical book-making the volume is all that could be required.

Transactions and Changes of the Society of Friends, and Incidents in the Life and Experience of Joshua Maule. With a Sketch of the Original Doctrine and Discipline of Friends. Also a Brief Account of the Travels and Work in the Ministry of Hannah Hall, of Ohio. 12mo, pp. 384. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. $1 50.

"The Society of Friends" is chiefly a thing of the past, but, like the wine-cask of the fable, it still emits a grateful odor, even in its decadence. The volume before us evinces both of these facts. The author, now an octogenarian, is at once a witness and a monument of what once was and is not; and his book is about equally pleasing as a reminiscence, and saddening because it is a confessed record of the decay of that which it commemorates. The changes here indicated were originally sure to come, since the doctrinal system of the early Quakers contained incompatible elements which were sure to develop in disharmonies; and yet the world is better because of the "Friends."

The Children of Old Park's Tavern. A Story of the South Shore. By FRANCES A. HUMPHREY, Author of "Dean Stanley with the Children." 18mo, pp. 284.

Love and Luck. The Story of a Summer's Loitering on the Great South Bay. By ROBERT BARNWELL ROOSEVELT, Author of "Five Acres Too Much," etc. 18mo, pp. 350.

Jo's Opportunity. By LUCY C. LILLIE, Author of "Nan," "Rolf House," etc. Square 16mo, pp. 175.

All published by Harper & Brothers. These were all summer-time publications, for summer-time reading. The first is a story of children for children—located in Eastern New England. The second has nearly the same location, but is a more pretentious work—for grown-up children. The third is a story of young people, neither children nor fully developed men and women. They all belong to the class of books properly designated light reading.

My Sermon Notes. A Selection from Outlines of Discourses delivered at the Metropolitan Tabernacle, with Anecdotes and Illustrations. By C. H. SPURGEON. From Matthew to Acts—CXXX to CXCV. 12mo, pp. 381. New York: Robert Carter & Brothers.

These are simply outlines, skeletons of sermons, prepared for practical use by the great preacher of the "Tabernacle." We like the plan on which they are constructed, and would commend their method to all preachers, as less burdensome in preparation and better adapted to popular use than more fully composed discourses. As sketches of sermons they do not appear to possess very special value, and had they been published anonymously the book would probably have fallen dead from the press. And still the book is worth having, and the "notes" may no doubt be studied to profit. The appended anecdotes and illustrations no doubt proved very effective, as they were originally used, but rehearsed at second-hand they might prove somewhat less so.

Parliamentary Practice. By Rev. T. B. NEELY, D.D. Tenth thousand. Revised edition. 18mo, pp. 92. New York: Phillips & Hunt. Cincinnati: Cranston & Stowe.

As nearly every American citizen—including the women—at some time, and more or less frequently, may expect to have some part in the proceedings of deliberate bodies, it is well that they should be acquainted with the rules by which such bodies are governed. For that purpose we know of no more suitable manual than this one by Dr. Neely. The fact that ten thousand copies have been sold in about three years indicates the favor that it has obtained from the public.

Voyages of a Merchant Navigator of the Days that are Past. Compiled from the Journals and Letters of the late Richard J. Cleveland. 12mo, pp. 245. By H. W. S. CLEVELAND. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Salem in Massachusetts is famous for more than a single reason, and not the least of these is, the fame of its sea-captains, of which renowned company Richard J. Cleveland was second to few, if any, others. A descendant of that honored name here details in a pleasing style the great deeds of his honored ancestor.

Contributions to the Science of Education. By WILLIAM H. PAYNE, A.M., Author of "Chapters on School Supervision," etc. 12mo, pp. 347. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The writer begins with a question which the reading of his title will suggest to many others, "Is there a Science of Pedagogics," to which he responds affirmatively, and attempts to show, at length. How well he succeeds may be an open question after his book has been read. However that may be, it gives not a few valuable hints and suggestions.

The Iliad of Homer. Books xvi–xxiv, with Explanatory Notes, for the use of Students in College. By W. S. TYLER, D.D., Professor of Greek in Amherst College. 12mo, pp. 420. New York: Harper & Brothers.

The text is well printed, and the names of the editors and publishers may be accepted as a guarantee of its general correctness; the notes are learned and copious, illustrating both the construction and the history brought into view by the song.

The American Congress of Churches: Proceedings of the Cleveland Meeting, 1886. Published under the Direction of the Executive Committee, Hartford, Conn. 8vo, paper, pp. 212. Price, 50 cents. The Case, Lockwood, & Brainard Company.

The "Congress" at Cleveland, held last May, very naturally and deservedly awakened some attention, and elicited not a little criticism. That was, no doubt, just what its promoters hoped and labored for; and now they challenge further and more thorough attention, and criticism, too, to what was there said, by issuing the whole in a well-prepared volume, which is offered at a very moderate price. Our personal relations to that affair disqualify us for the work of a critic in this case. We will only say that the matter is worth reading.

Mary and Martha; the Mother and the Wife of George Washington. By BENSON J. LOSSING, LL.D., Author of "Field-Book of the Revolution," etc. Illustrated. 16mo, pp. 348. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Mr. Lossing's fame as an explorer of historical details, especially in respect to places and persons, stands pre-eminent. In this volume he gives us the fruits of his researches into the history of those really the first families of Old Virginia which stand as the ancestors of the residents of Mount Vernon. The subject has been pursued with characteristic painstaking, and evidently *con amore*, and as the result we have a really charming set of reminiscences of the olden times.

Into Unknown Seas; or, the Cruise of Two Sailor-Boys. By DAVID KER, Author of "The Lost City," etc. Illustrated. 18mo, pp. 176. New York: Harper & Brothers.

Rather rough-and-tumble sketches—perhaps real, perhaps not—but no matter which; evidently intended less for instruction than for entertainment of a rather coarse kind.

PAMPHLETS.

Miracles Wrought in Authentication of Christianity not Intended to be Perpetuated. By NEHEMIAH DOANE, D.D. 18mo, pp. 50. Syracuse, N. Y.: Wesleyan Methodist Publishing House.

Lights and Shadows of Quakerism. By EDWARD RYDER. 12mo, pp. 211. Pawling, N. Y.: Philip H. Smith, Printer.

Our Future Identity as Related to the Doctrine of Salvation. By G. W. GILLESPIE. 18mo, pp. 16. Published by the Author. Boston: Printed by W. Kellaway.

Bible Truth; or, Omnium Gatherum, Embracing the Principal Points of Christian Doctrine, etc. By Rev. T. N. RALSTON, D.D., Author of "Elements of Divinity," etc. 12mo, pp. 101. Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Methodist Publishing House.

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